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RESEARCH DISSERTATION

TITLE

**The role of student leadership in institutional transformation at the
University of Pretoria**

by

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Declaration

Declaration of Originality

I, Martha Thandeka Mahlangu, declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work, and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree. All sources have been identified and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature

Date

Dedication

I dedicate my dissertation work to my late parents, my father (Piet Dasoyi Mahlangu) who pass on when I started schooling in 1996 and my mother (Lizzy Mahlangu) who pass on when I started grade 11 in 1996 and also my sister Nhlanhla Mahlangu who died the same year as my mother.

A special feeling of gratitude to my husband Jammy Sbusiso Ngomane for everything. A big thanks to my brothers (Fana, Lucky & Sphiwe). To Sphiwe I remember each and every encouraging words you told me during this process. And lastly my family aunties and grannies and friends for the support.

Ethical Clearance Certificate



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Ngibonga okundlulele: Mncwaaaaaaaaa.....

Abstract

In this study, I was investigating the role of student leadership played in institutional transformation at the University of Pretoria (UP). In order to contribute to understanding, student leadership role played in institutional transformation at UP and also student leaders understanding of transformation following the #FeesMustFall protests. Hence much research focused on conflict, disruption, violence and closure of universities related to the #FeesMustFall; there are comparatively fewer studies about the role played by the student leadership in institutional transformation at universities. The study researched how student leaders' voices and agency have been represented in the institutional transformation initiatives. A qualitative case study method was used, based on content analysis of transformation documents from social media and transformation and policy documents available at the UP portal.

The documents revealed that the student leaders played important roles and negotiated with the university management and the government about tuition fees and demands for free education, as well as about the change of the language policy; the renaming of the university buildings, and balancing quotas to reflect the SA demographic at the university. Also discussed were the transformation of the curriculum and the institutional and residence culture. Student leaders played a significant role in drafting a policy for the renaming of university buildings and in drafting the four drivers for the proposed curriculum changes at UP and the self-reflection questions for faculties to interrogate their curricula.

The documents reveal that, in response to these demands, there was a 0% increase at South African universities in 2016 for all of the tuition fees and full funding of education for poor students for the following three years was announced. The management changed the language of instruction policy as demanded. The Client Services Centre (CSC) was renamed to the Student Services Centre (SSC) while new buildings are now named after South African heroes.

Most significantly, of the more than fifty thousand students now accommodated at the University, the majority are female and black and many black students are now accommodated in residences. Management also decided to integrate both Indigenous

and Eurocentric knowledge in the curricula and eliminate all legacy systems leading to racial segregation at UP.

Keywords: roles; student leaders; student protest; transformation; University of Pretoria

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to confirm that the thesis titled "*The role of student leadership in institutional transformation at the University of Pretoria*" by Martha Thandeka Mahlangu was proof read and edited by me in respect of language.

I verify that it is ready for publication and / or public viewing in respect of language and style.

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Kind regards



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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
ASSE	Association for a Syndical Student Solidarity
CC	Constitutional Court
CLASSE	Coalition Large de Association pour une Solidarite Syndicale Etudiante
CPUT	Cape Peninsula University of Technology
CSC	Client Service Centre
CT	Cape Town
DASO	Democratic Alliance Student Organisation
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
ECC	Education Charter Campaign
EFF student command	Economic Freedom Fighter student command
FECQ	Quebec Federation of CEGEP Students
FEUQ	Quebec Federation of University Students
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITRC	Institutional Transformation and Reconciliation Commission
KFSC	Korean Federation of Student Councils
KZN	Kwa-Zulu Natal
NCSR	National Council of Student Representatives
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
PASMA	Pan African Student Movement of Azania
PLQ	Quebec Liberal Party

PMB	Pietermaritzburg
SA	South Africa
SAPS	South African Police Service
SANSCO	South African National Students Congress
SASO	South African Student Organisation
SCM	Student Credit Management
SCP	Supreme Court of Appeal
SRC	Student Representative Councillor
SSC	Student Service Centre
STUKU	Student Culture Committee
SCA	Supreme Court of Appeal
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TUKS	Transvaal Universiteit Kollege
TUT	Tshwane University of Technology
VC	Vice Chancellor
WC	Western Cape
Wits	Witwatersrand University
UCT	University of Cape Town
UFS	University of the Free State
UJ	University of Johannesburg
UP	University of Pretoria
UWC	University of Western Cape
UDESMO	United Democratic Students Movement

Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Dedication	iii
Ethical Clearance Certificate	iv
Ethics statement.....	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Abstract	viii
Language editor	x
List of Acronyms and Abbreviations	xi
1 CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL ORIENTATION.....	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Problem statement	8
1.3 Rationale for the study	8
1.4 Research aims	9
1.5 Research question	9
1.6 Concept clarification	9
1.7 Outline of chapters	10
2 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	12
2.1 Introduction	12
2.2 Student leaders and the use of social media.....	13
2.3 Student leaders, university management and fees	14
2.4 Student leaders, government and fees	18
2.5 Student leaders and curriculum transformation.....	25
2.6 Student leaders and institutional culture transformation.....	26
2.7 Student leaders' and issues of labour	28
2.8 The research gap	29
3 CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	31

3.1	Introduction	31
3.2	Transformative leadership theory.....	31
3.2.1	Origin and elements of transformative leadership theory	31
3.2.2	Transformative and transformational leadership theory	32
3.3	Affecting deep and equitable changes	37
3.3.1	Tuition fees and affecting deep and equitable changes	37
3.3.2	Language of instruction and effecting deep and equitable changes....	38
3.3.3	Institutional culture, residence and affecting deep and equitable changes	38
3.3.4	Curriculum and affecting deep and equitable changes	39
3.4	Acknowledge power	40
3.4.1	Tuition fees and acknowledge power	40
3.4.2	Language of instruction and acknowledge power	40
3.4.3	Institutional culture, residence and acknowledge power	41
3.4.4	Curriculum and acknowledge power	41
4	CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY.....	42
4.1	Introduction	42
4.2	Documents availability and access	42
4.3	Example of selection, evaluation and analysis	43
4.4	Document selection.....	45
4.5	Document evaluation	46
4.6	Content analysis of documents	48
5	CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS.....	51
5.1	Findings.....	51
5.2	Tuition fees increment and transformation	51
5.3	UP Language Policy.....	65
5.4	Language of instruction and transformation	66

5.5	Institutional culture and transformation	77
5.6	Residence culture transformation.....	85
5.7	Curriculum transformation	89
6	CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	98
6.1	Conclusion	98
6.2	Research limitations and challenges.....	102
6.3	Directions for future studies and recommendations	103
7	REFERENCES	105
8	APPENDICES.....	112
8.1	Appendix A: Table of transformation document analysis.....	112

LIST OF TABLES.

TABLE 3-1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	36
TABLE 4-1: DOCUMENTS ANALYSIS PROCESS.....	44

1 CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

In this section, I first problematize the area of need, then I give an introduction of the role of student leadership played both nationally and internationally, in order to bring about transformation at their universities.

Much research has been done that has focused on the conflict, disruption, violence, and closure of the universities related to the #FeesMustFall protest, there are comparatively fewer studies about the role played by student leadership in institutional transformation at universities. Conflict arose during the time student leaders started initiating the protest at universities and at various government locations (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014; Maringira, & Gukurume, 2017). Students caused disruptions during the times they interrupted or disturbed academic activities at the universities and through violence between students, the police and private security (Malabela, 2017b; Ndelu, 2017b). The universities were closed because of the chaos that was caused by protesting students and the police (Malabela, 2017b; Ndelu, 2017b; Peterson, Radebe, & Mohanty, 2016).

Although much research has been done that has focused on the conflict, disruption, violence and closure of the universities related to #FeesMustFall protest, there are very few studies that have focused on the role(s) the student leaders played in institutional transformation at universities. Therefore, this study will contribute to understanding the roles the student leaders played in institutional transformation at the University of Pretoria following the context of #FeesMustFall protest.

Student leaders at different universities nationally and internationally have played a significant role in representing the interests and concerns of students to the relevant management structures. Student leaders formed a coalition with members of other organisations, so as to promote strikes at their universities. Student leaders also played a role in assembling other students to strike for their demands. Student leaders have become advocates for student interests, especially in the discussions of student tuition fees or financial assistance issues at the institutional and provincial level, in order to ensure these issues are heard and answered (Bégin-Caouette & Jones, 2014; Jansen, 2017; Maringira, & Gukurume, 2017).

They have represented and negotiated student demands and concerns with the relevant management structures in order to bring about change on particular issues. In some instances where negotiations with the other stakeholders such as university management or the government were not successful, student leaders would also initiate and organise a protest with the aim of pressurising the relevant stakeholder, so that student concerns would be answered (Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014).

Student leaders in countries such as Austria, Croatia, England, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Columbia, Chile, Canada, South Korea, Quebec, Spain and Italy have organised and led other students to protest to the university management and also to the government against the rise of tuition fees in the period 2009-2013 (Cini, & Guzmán-Concha, 2017; Klemenčič, 2014). The same situation has occurred in the United States where student leaders have led the protests on campuses against the rising of student debt (Klemenčič, 2014). A common theme in these protests has been the rise of tuition fees, which had to be reduced or abolished. Student leaders demanded that the state control the increases in tuition fees and eventually make education free for all by fully financing education (Bellei et al., 2014). This is important to my study because student leaders are the ones who played important roles in organising and leading student protests against the university management and members of the government, pressurising them to reduce tuition fee or make education free.

Student leaders at international universities such as in the United Kingdom have also led other students in support of workers' protests against worsening employment conditions (Klemenčič, 2014). Additionally, in Canada during the workers' protest, student leaders mobilised and led other students to support the workers when protesting against outsourcing in the public service (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014). This is significant in this study because student leaders led other students in supporting the workers when protesting for the demands of the workers at their universities.

Due to its political history, South Africa has a strong legacy of students protest action, in which student leaders played various roles in bringing about changes to issues that concerned students. Student leaders from different organisations have played different roles in order to bring about changes at South African higher education institutions since the 19th century.

I am going to review the history of the role the student leadership played to oppose certain higher education policies since 1994 to 2015/16, as student leaders played a significant role in the transformation that has been or is happening at South African universities. I want to review this history so as to show student leaders contributed to transformation at South African higher education institutions and highlight the role they have played in bringing about those changes. The history of student protest is related to the current protest in that previous student leaders were and are still the ones who are leading other students to bring about changes at their universities. Student leaders are the ones who have fought and are still fighting and standing up to ensure that change does occur at universities. This relates to my study in that it indicates the role student leaders have played in the past and are still continuing to play even today at their universities in order to bring about changes to issues that concern students. I will discuss the role the student leadership played at higher education institutions by breaking it into two phases during the period of post-apartheid since 1994.

The period of 1994-2004

The period from 1994 to 2004 is important because it is the period in which South Africa obtained a new democratic government (in the period after the apartheid government), for the first time South Africa was governed by black people. This was the period in which the new government was trying to correct or redress what was done in the past by the apartheid regime and the new era was challenging in that the government was under huge pressure to close the gap between white and black, especially in access to higher education. Another issue was that our democracy turned ten during the 1994-2004 period, while there were two transitions of government (presidency) although the same organisation, the African National Congress (ANC) retained power. At the same time, there were changes at higher education institutions as the result of the efforts of the student leaders that have to be identified and known. The first president that time was the late Dr Nelson Mandela followed by Thabo Mbeki. In South Africa, at historically black institutions before the new and democratic government in 1994, student leaders have mobilised and led other students in protests against an illegitimate government (Jansen, 2004). Things changed after the new democratic government in 1994. Some student leaders in isolation at historically black universities started mobilising students to protest for unlimited access to higher education, more financial aid for poor students, and relief from personal debt to the

institutions (Jansen, 2004). For example at the University of Durban Westville (UDW) between 1995 to 2000, there were students led by student leaders to protest against the increase of tuition fees and an end to financial exclusions (Khan, 2006). This is relevant to my study in that even though it was after a new democratic government was elected but student leaders continued to raise the issue of tuition fee increments that bothered students to the university management in order for them to solve the problem.

Similar incidents also occurred at the former white universities, but it was now about student leaders leading other students to support the workers' protest. In 2000, at Witwatersrand University (Wits), student leaders also led other students to support the workers' protest against the retrenchment of workers (Pendlebery, & Van der Watt, 2006). In addition, in 2004 at University of Cape Town (UCT), when the workers were protesting for changes and improvements to their working conditions, they were supported by a protest that was led by student leaders (Grossman, 2006). This relates to my study because the student leaders led other students in supporting the workers in relation to matters that affected the workers when protesting for change at their universities.

The protests were organised by student leaders at each university, meaning student leaders did not come together and share student grievances. To make matters worse, not all student leaders at the universities had the same objectives, some started to lose focus, as they were induced by the government. They received benefits such as personal cell phones, car allowances, impressive offices, and full or partial fee remissions from their institutions (Jansen, 2004). In this way, the government tried to manipulate student leaders so that they would not cause chaos or disruption at their universities.

The period of 2004-2015/16

The difference between the periods from 1994-2004 and 2004-2015/16 is that students were fighting to gain access to the universities during the first period, unlike the current situation where students have access to universities, but they do not have money or there are not enough funds to support the students through their studies.

The protests of 1994 to 2004 were relatively small and restricted to specific universities and did not receive too much media attention; leaders of the organisations did not work

together, there were no social media used to mobilise students, and these protests were directed at the university management only. In contrast, in 2015/16 the protests became nationwide, unlike many of the previous student protests; especially the #FeesMustFall were people and students from different universities in SA, different races, ages and genders supported the protest. Student leaders from different organisations and different universities were working together; they led the protests from their universities to the members of the government. Social media was used to mobilise students from different universities to join the protest; the protest was highly publicised through media attention. The 2015/16 protests addressed a variety of issues such as decolonising the curriculum, tuition fee increments that turned into a demand for free education, the language of instruction and workers' labour issues.

Both of these periods were similar in that they were both run by the same government, namely the ANC. During these periods there was a lot of transformation that took place and is still taking place at South African higher education institutions.

As the years goes by, student leaders at different universities continued to mobilise other students to protest about different grievances that they wanted the university management or the government to address, in order to bring changes to matters that affected students. This happened in the period between 2004 and 2014, however those protests were not covered much in the media.

With the course of time and the transformation that was happening at universities, many unresolved issues such as the lack of equality, unfair practices, issues of tuition fee increments or free education, the language of instruction, curriculum, and institutional culture at the universities need to be resolved. Student leaders from various universities in SA continued in 2015/16 to mobilise other students to protest and consult the relevant management structures about the issues that they were still dissatisfied with and were not resolved during apartheid or after apartheid. There are many areas of incomplete transformation that have been identified and that still need to be addressed at universities (DHET, 2015). For example, the issues of free education, the language of instruction, curriculum, institutional and residence culture at the universities are still unresolved.

South African student leaders at historically white universities continued in the period 2015-2016 to organise the struggle to bring change to their universities. It started in

2015 with the statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in South Africa. Student leaders at UCT mobilised and led other students to protest for the removal of the statue (Ndelu, 2017b) because according to the history of the statue, it did not seem to accommodate a broader student community at the university. The statue also symbolised the persistence of racial discrimination, non-inclusiveness, white supremacy and represented colonisation; therefore, it needed to be removed from the university premises. This is connected to my study in that student leaders were the ones who brought forward the issue of the statue to the university management for them to ensure the statue is removed at the university premises.

The issue of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes led to the wider protest for the decolonisation of education at different South African universities. Following the months after the incident of the Rhodes statue, student leaders at historically white universities started to mobilise and lead other students to protest for different grievances such as Afrikaans as a language of instruction at some universities (Luescher, Loader, & Mugume, 2017). Some student leaders at universities led the protest for the decolonisation of the curriculum (Malabela, 2017a). This is applicable to my study in that those protests were led by student leaders confronting the university management for them to ensure that Afrikaans is removed as a language of instruction and also ensure that the curriculum is decolonised at the universities.

It was not that long afterwards, or while some of those protests were still ongoing, that South African university were shut down by a wide national protest. Later in 2015, the management at the Witwatersrand University (Wits) in South Africa announced to students that tuition fees will increase (Malabela, 2017b). Student leaders at Wits University and other universities in South Africa started to mobilise students to protest against the tuition fee hike, leading the protest to the university management and to the members of the government for them to address the issue of fees (Malabela, 2017b). The protest was known by its Twitter handle as the #FeesMustFall protest. This is relevant to my study in that the issue of tuition fee increments was brought to the university management as well as the members of the government by student leaders, for the relevant stakeholder to ensure there would be no tuition increment or there would be free education at universities.

Following on to massive protests that took place in 2015 at different universities in South Africa, it was both student leaders and students supporting the workers' protest, as they were protesting against issues concerning labour. Student leaders at different universities in SA in 2016 led other students to support the workers as they were protesting to end outsourcing and receiving better wages (Naicker, 2016). This is relevant to this study because student leaders also stood up and led other students to support the workers' protest, to make certain the university management insourced the general workers at different universities.

Conclusion

In this section, I reach a conclusion in relation to the introduction of the roles student leaders played in bringing about transformation at higher education institutions, both nationally and internationally. Both local and international students demanded the same thing when it came to issues of tuition fees at universities; both groups complained about tuition fee increments and they ended up demanding free education. In addition, when it came to the demands associated with workers, they supported the the demands. However, at South African universities, student leaders' and students' grievances were not only about tuition fee increments but were also about matters related to the transformation of institutional culture, the language of instruction and decolonisation of the curriculum to make it more inclusive for everyone.

Student leaders, both nationally and internationally, played various roles in ensuring that student demands reached university management and members of the government. They also played a role in ensuring that workers were supported by other students during their protest at universities. Both nationally and internationally, student leaders seemed to have played various roles in initiating, mobilising and leading other students to protest against tuition fee increments at their universities and to support the workers' protest. Issues protesting tuitions fee increments at universities were brought to the university management's attention and to the members of the government by student leaders. Student leaders at the universities in SA have also brought issues of transformation, the language of instruction, curriculum and institutional culture to the university management. This study focuses on identifying

the roles student leaders played in bringing about transformation at the University of Pretoria.

1.2 Problem statement

In this qualitative case study, I am investigating the role played by student leaders in the institutional transformation at the University of Pretoria in the context of the #FeesMustFall protest. Considerable research has been done that has focused on the conflict, disruption, violence, and closure of the universities related to the #FeesMustFall protest, there are relatively fewer studies about the role played by student leadership' in institutional transformation at universities. We need to know what the transformation of higher education institutions means to students and what did student leaders did to contribute to transformation at universities.

1.3 Rationale for the study

Different writers have focused on student protests, the conflict between the police and protesting students, disruptions that were as the result of those protests, the closure of universities by protesting students and the violence that resulted from those protests. However, there is limited literature on the role the student leadership played in bringing about transformation at higher education institutions.

Therefore, the objective of this study was to investigate the role of student leadership in institutional transformation at the University of Pretoria, in the context of the #FeesMustFall protest. I conducted a document analysis of transformation documents from social media together with institutional transformation and policy documents at the University of Pretoria that track the student leaders' understanding of transformation.

In order to understand the complex and ongoing process of transformation in South African higher education institutions, the student leadership's role needs to be understood in more detail. The transformation of higher education is an important policy objective (Luescher, & Symes, 2003). For these reasons, I wanted to understand the student leadership's role in the transformation of the University of Pretoria following the #FeesMustFall protest. Students' voice and role are important contributors to debate and research on transformation, which does not receive enough analysis. Therefore, I also wanted to include the relevant current literature on the transformation

of higher education institutions in relation to the roles student leaders played in bringing about transformation in issues that affected students.

1.4 Research aims

The aim of this study was to determine student leaders' understanding of transformation at the university in the context of the #FeesMustFall protest. In this study, I wanted to find out what the transformation of higher education institutions meant for students and what it was that student leaders did to ensure that the transformation of universities did occur in SA. This study aim at addressing the gap in the existing literature about the role student leadership played in the transformation of the University of Pretoria in the context of the #Feesmustfall protest.

1.5 Research question

The main research question is

- What role(s) did student leaders play in bringing about institutional transformation at the University of Pretoria?

The Research sub-questions are:

- What role(s) did student leaders play at the university in ensuring there was change in relation to the tuition fee increment, language of instruction, curriculum and institutional and residence culture transformation?
- What were the changes that student leaders demanded or suggested that they wanted to see at their university in relation to tuition fee increments, the language of instruction, curriculum and institutional and residence culture transformation?

1.6 Concept clarification

In this study, I define student leaders as a group of students elected by other university students to present their interests or concerns on their behalf, such as the Student Representative Council (SRC), and student leaders of the political party organisations, even though they do not hold final decision making authority (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014; Klemenčič, 2014). Transformation refers to a profound and radical change in all aspects of higher education institutions (DHET, 2015). In relation to my study, transformation in higher education in the context of #FeesMustFall refers to all the demands that student protested about at their universities, demands such as free

education, change of the language policy, curriculum transformation, insourcing of the workers, appointment of qualified lecturers, renaming of the university buildings and the removal of the symbols and statues that symbolises apartheid, and so forth.

1.7 The role of student leadership nationally and internationally

In this study, I am exploring the role of student leadership in institutional transformation at the University of Pretoria. I did this by looking at the role student leaders played in bringing about transformation at the University of Pretoria in relation to the demands made by the student leaders for free tuition or reduction of tuition fees, as well as demands relating to the language of instruction, curriculum and institutional and residence culture.

We need research on student leadership because we need to know more about their contribution at universities in relation to student interests and transformation. We also need to understand the challenges they encounter while trying to reach university management and members of the government.

Student leadership is important at the universities in South Africa because student leaders facilitate the process of negotiation between students, university management and members of the government. Student leaders help to voice out student grievances to the university management or to the government. Some of the transformation at universities is the result of student leaders.

1.8 Outline of chapters

In this section, I give an outline of each chapter from 1-6

Chapter 1

In chapter 1, I give an introduction in relation to the role student leaders played at universities in bringing about transformation, both nationally and internationally, in relation to matters that affected both students and workers. I also review separately SA student protest starting from 1994 to 2015/16, due to the fact that SA has a long history of student protest. I separate these protests starting from the new democratic government and consider two periods, which are 1994-2004 and 2004-2015/16. I also state the differences and similarities that occurred during these protests. Then I reach a conclusion in relation to the roles student leaders played in bringing about transformation at higher education institutions, both nationally and internationally.

Finally, I provide a problem statement, a rationale for the study, the research aims, research questions, concept clarifications, the role of student leadership nationally and internationally and outline of chapters.

Chapter 2

In Chapter 2, I give a review of literature in relation to this study. I review the student leaders' roles in relation to social media, tuition fee increments, both in connection to university management and members of the government, curriculum, institutional culture transformation and issues of labour.

Chapter 3

In Chapter 3, I state the theory that I apply in my study, and the elements or the concepts of the theory. I also state how I use the concepts of transformative leadership theory in my study.

Chapter 4

In Chapter 4, I give a full discussion of my research methodology, which methods I used in my study and why.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 is my analysis chapter. I discuss the analysis of transformation documents from social media together with the institutional transformation and policy documents, in relation to the theory of transformative leadership and then state the findings in response to my research question.

Chapter 6

In Chapter 6, I reach a conclusion of how I was able to answer my research questions. I also provide recommendations base on the findings of the study.

2 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature review highlights what is being mentioned by other studies about student leaders' roles in relation to achieving the demands of students at higher education institutions. My purpose is to review what other studies said about what happened locally and internationally at universities when students demanded something from the university management or from the members of the government. I want to reveal the events and the results or the outcomes that are mentioned by other studies that were done locally and internationally when students affirmed their demands.

I started by reviewing the literature on the impact of the use of social media by student leaders in bringing about change at universities. I did this in order to give a clear understating of how social media were used both locally and internationally in order to bring about transformation at universities. This is followed by reviewing the literature on what is mentioned by other studies in relation to student leaders' roles in engaging university management to bring about changes to issues of tuition fees increments or financial exclusion at their universities. The reason I did this is to show what other studies mentioned about the response of the university management internationally to students' concerns in relation to tuition fee increments. I then reviewed the literature on what was stated by other scholars about student leaders' roles in engaging members of the government in relation to tuition fee increments, as student leaders further took students' concerns to the government as the university management was unable to resolve students' concerns. I did this because I wanted to point out what was being said by other researchers in relation to the response that the government globally gave to students in relation to the demands of tuition fee increments at universities. I again reviewed the literature on the student leaders' roles in relation to curriculum transformation at universities, this time I wanted to demonstrate what other authors mentioned about the response university management gave to student demands in relation to the issues of curriculum transformation at the universities. Secondly, I reviewed the literature on the student leaders' roles and the transformation of the institutional culture at the universities. In relation to issues of institutional culture, I also wanted to illustrate what other writers mentioned the answers management gave in reply to student demands at universities. Lastly, I reviewed the literature on what other writers specified about the role student leaders played in relation to matters of

labour at their universities, locally and internationally. Concerning these issues, I wanted to divulge the answers that the university management was giving to workers in relation to concerns about labour.

2.2 Student leaders and the use of social media

In this section, I discuss what other authors mentioned about student leaders and the use of social media during the protests in support of their demands at different universities, both locally and internationally, in order to show how social media contributed in bringing about transformation at universities.

Literature reveals that social media has been used by student leaders and other students both locally and internationally for different purposes during their protest at universities. The use of social media by student leaders relate to my study in that social media became a fast and easy tool that was used, by both student leaders and students, to facilitate the process of bringing about changes at universities. Student leaders at different universities locally and internationally played a role in using social media to bring about change at their universities.

As an example, student leaders in Chile used social media to organise and communicate protest activities (Bellei et al., 2014). At universities in Canada, student leaders used both mass media and social media to communicate with each other and also with other students, and also to disseminate their messages through mechanisms like pasting videos relating to the issue of fees (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014; Spiegel, 2015).

In South African universities, student leaders used social media to mobilise other students both offline and online across the nation, to update students on ongoing protest and provide opinions and comments (Luescher et al., 2017). The literature also tells us that social media, especially Twitter, was used to facilitate the protests action and to mobilise other students from different universities in order to protest against fees' increments (Maringira, & Gukurume, 2017). As an example, the Facebook page of the Student Representative Council (SRC) put out regular updates on the protests (Luescher et al., 2017).

According to the literature, student leaders were using social media such as WhatsApp, Blogs, Twitter, YouTube and Facebook to invite students across the nation to participate, whereby some students also decided to join or follow a particular social

media profile or page (Luescher et al., 2017). Student leaders localised student grievances during the protest by campus-specific Twitter hashtags such as #OpenStellies, #WitsFeesWillFall, #UPrising, #UFSShutdown, #SteynMustFall, and so forth. This made it easy for students to follow what was happening in relation to matters of the specific university that concerned students (Luescher, & Klemenčič, 2016; Peterson, Radebe, & Mohanty, 2016).

Several studies have found that student leaders used social media to mobilise and communicate with other students during the protest at their universities about matters that affected the students.

2.3 Student leaders, university management and fees

This section gives an overview of what other studies said about student leaders' roles in engagement with university management to bring about changes in the issue of the tuition fee increment at universities. I did this to show what other authors mentioned about the reply the university management gave to protesting students in relation to matters of tuition fee increments at universities. The literature has revealed that in both local and international studies, it was found that generally, student leaders were the ones who initiated, organised and led student protests and conveyed students' concerns or interests to the university management and to the members of the government.

The studies below reveal that in most cases when universities increase tuition fees, student leaders at different universities seemed to have seen university management as the first resort in relation to addressing student demands. International student leaders have tried different strategies to inform the university management about the need to bring change to the issue of tuition fee increment at universities.

Studies reveal that the actions that student leaders took in response to the issues of tuition fee increments at universities were sometimes the same as in other countries; however, they sometimes differed from country to country. In 2015, after the management at Wits University, South Africa, took a decision to increase fees, the SRC immediately released a communique to all students indicating their unhappiness about the fee increment for 2016 (Malabela, 2017b). A decision to close the university was taken by a collection of students supported by the SRC (Malabela, 2017b). After the #FeesMustFall protest started at Wits University, it spread to other universities

across SA (Malabela, 2017b). At the University of the Free State (UFS) in South Africa, leaders of the Student Representative Council (SRC) and student leaders from associations and activists drafted a memorandum of demands according to the concerns and interests of students in relation to tuition fee increments at the university and submitted it to Vice-Chancellor Prof Jonathan Jansen. In the memorandum, the leaders addressed issues such as fees, deregistration of students and many more that were not related to fees (Luescher et al., 2017).

It is clear that the issue of tuition fee increments was not an individual matter, student leaders from different organisations came together with their members to speak in one voice in relation to the matter of tuition fee increments at their universities. This also happened internationally. Student leaders in Canadian universities formed a coalition with members of other organisations in order to promote the protest against tuition fee increments at their universities (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014). These organisations in Canada were the Association for a Syndical Student Solidarity (ASSE), the Quebec Federation of CEGEP Students (FECQ), the Quebec Federation of University Students (FEUQ) who formed one association called “Coalition Large de Association pour une Solidarité Syndicale Etudiante” (CLASSE) (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014). Following this, the leaders of CLASSE developed a manifesto against tuition fees and called a general strike. On the same day, between 150 000 and 200 000 students and citizens marched down the streets of Montreal to condemn the tuition fee increase (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014). The strike proceeded. In April, the Quebec Liberal Party (PLQ) congress in Victoriaville was surrounded by protesters and the situation worsened with both students and police officers being badly injured (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014).

The same incident happened at South African universities in 2015 where leaders of different organisations came together with their members to protest against tuition fee increments at their universities (Maringira, & Gukurume, 2017). However, the difference was that they did not form a new organisation. These organisations were the Pan-African Student Movement of Azania (PASMA), the African Congress; the South African Student Congress (SASCO), the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) Student Command, the Democratic Alliance Student Organisation (DASO), and also a non-partisan feminist group (Maringira, & Gukurume, 2017). The literature tell us that in SA during #FeesMustFall protests, protesting students disrupted academic

activities, blocked university entrances and classes were disrupted and students resorted to looting and damaging property both on and off-campus (Malabela, 2017b). Protesting students used barricades, burning tires, benches and any material that was useful in order to force cars and workers, staff and non-protesting students not to enter university ground (Ndelu, 2017b). This happened at both Wits University and the University of Cape Town (UCT) (Malabela, 2017b; Ndelu, 2017b). Based on the literature, the issue of student leaders to complain and organised a protest to the management about tuition fee increment resulted from the decision that was taken by the management to increase student tuition fees.

According to the literature, the management at South African universities responded by approaching the court to seek an interdict, and they called private security and police to disperse the protesting students (Malabela, 2017b; Ndelu, 2017b). The arrival of the police at universities caused more violence as the police started to use brutality towards the protesting students. The police also used stun grenades, water cannons, teargas and set up barricades to disperse crowds of protesters (Malabela, 2017b; Maringira, & Gukurume, 2017; Ndelu, 2017b). In response to the police actions, protesting students also threw stones at the police and private security (Ndelu, 2017a). Some students and student leaders were suspended and arrested for damaging the university property and were released on bail (Malabela, 2017b). According to the literature, universities such as Wits University, UCT, Stellenbosch University, the University of KwaZulu Natal, TUT, Rhodes University, the Cape Peninsula University of Technology and UP were shut down as a result of the #FeesMustFall protest (Malabela, 2017b; Ndelu, 2017b; Peterson, Radebe, & Mohanty, 2016).

According to the literature issues of violence between the police and the protesting students was driven by the actions of both students and the police, as students were also burning tires, barricades the roads, in some instances disturbing classes in progress and so forth, on the other side the police were also using their force to stop protesting students to cause disruption while responding with violence.

In Korea and England, universities student leaders did not form a coalition, but they organised and led other students to protest for tuition-free increments (Cini, & Guzmán-Concha, 2017; Shin, Kim, & Choi, 2014).

Both local and international student leaders mobilised and led other students in protests around campuses about the issue of tuition fee increments or the cancellation of fees at their universities. Student leaders at different universities in countries such as South Africa, Canada and Chile led other students in protesting against tuition fee increments or for free education (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014; Luescher, & Klemenčič, 2016). Thereafter, student leaders directed student demands further to the government because the demands were not met at their universities. In other countries such as Korea, student leaders led the protest against the rise of tuition fees from their universities to the government (Shin et al., 2014). In Korea, it was a different story as student leaders and students at first were more into issues of democratisation and they shifted their focus to issues of fees at their universities later. Because the demands of student were not answered during the protest at their universities, student leaders had to take further steps and direct the protest to the government.

According to the literature, both local and international the demonstrations were made by both students and student leaders as they were unhappy about the decisions that the university management took to increase tuition fees, they were also fuelled by some of the decisions the management took to involve the police instead of responding to student demands.

According to the literature, not all student leaders behave the same when it comes to the issue of tuition fee increments at universities. At times while some student leaders were protesting against tuition fee increment, others were not likely to take part in the protest, because of different reasons such as political issues or because their universities received full subsidies from the government such as in the University of Limpopo (Turffloop) and the University of Zululand (Unizulu) in South Africa (Edwin 2017; Malabela, 2017a). The literature also reveals that most students at these universities received funds from National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), and most of the students from these universities came from poor families (Edwin 2017; Malabela, 2017a). Student leaders in Turffloop started to join the #FeesMustFall protest at the time it morphed to the decolonisation of the curriculum (Malabela, 2017a).

A number of aforementioned studies have shown that student leaders from various countries mobilised and led other students to protest for free education or against tuition fee increments at their universities, they also drafted and submitted a

memorandum of demands to the university management in relation to the issue of fees. This is connected to my study in that it indicates the roles student leaders played in trying to reach university management and inform them about students' demands in relation to tuition fee increments so that the management could address the students' demands. This is also linked to my study in that it indicates the roles student leaders played in mobilising and leading other students to protest for student demands, in connection to fees at universities.

According to the literature, student leaders from different countries had to direct students' demands further, as the university management was not responding according to their wishes. Student leaders took a decision to forward the students' demands concerning issues of tuition fee increments or free education at their universities to the government. The decision taken by the government regarding tuition fee increments had a huge impact on universities and on the government itself, both locally and internationally. A detailed discussion is provided in the following section.

2.4 Student leaders, government and fees

This section states what other authors said about student leaders' roles and the engagement with the government in relation to transformation in tuition fee increments or free education at their universities nationally. I did this in order to reveal what other writers stated about the response that the government gave to students in relation to issues of tuition fee increments at their universities. Both locally and internationally students' demands were directed to the government following the non-satisfactory response that was given by the university management. Student leaders at different universities used different approaches towards entering consultations with the government in relation to tuition fee increments.

Student leaders at different universities locally and internationally mobilised and led other students to march to different government, locations, where they had hoped that student demands would be addressed. Other countries have experienced a number of protests within a short period of time. The literature reveals that after the government in Chile announced that 2011 would be a year of higher education for Chileans, students started to demonstrate in support of their demands (Bellei et al., 2014). From 28 April to the end of 2011, universities in Chile started to have a series of protests, as student leaders started to mobilise and led students to protest together in Santiago.

They also marched around the government palace demanding free education and voiced other demands such as a structural change in the education system. This resulted from students rejecting the idea of the creation of a fund of US\$4000 million for scholarships and a reduction of the interest rate of university loans (14 July). This movement was supported by university presidents and other stakeholders. The momentum of the movement led to another illegal movement on August 4th, which resulted in an ineffectual protest, violently repressed by the police (Bellei et al., 2014).

The government had to try to involve students when solving this matter. The issues of the students were negotiated in the national congress in order to involve the political parties in the resolution of the conflict. In addition to this, the students participated in this legislative process and in 2012, in the national budget legislation (Bellei et al., 2014). Nevertheless, the Chilean students were still not satisfied with this. Leaders of the student organisations in Chile continued through September up until November and mobilised students to march again. In total, there were about 26 marches or public demonstrations, after which students started to get tired by the end of 2011 (Bellei et al., 2014). Students in Chile had to try another approach in order for their problems to be resolved. The students had to confront internal divisions about negotiations with the government and the parliament; however, they were required to return to class and normalise the functioning of their institutions. This was also as a result of the change of leadership owing to the annual elections (Bellei et al., 2014). In Chile, the year that followed was another year of student protests. Student leaders continued in 2012 and 2013 to mobilise and again led protests; however they were now few protests and had lost media presence (Bellei et al., 2014).

The student demands or complaints varied from one country to another and from time to time. Writers reveal that during the military dictatorship in Korea from 1945-1980, student leaders in Korea were more concerned about mobilising and leading students to protest against authoritarianism and military dictatorship and with the beginning of industrialisation in 1970s students also supported economic democracy on issues of labour and inequality (Shin et al., 2014).

The beginning of each year was the same in Korea. According to the literature, student leaders continued to mobilise students in 1960 to protest against political corruption in the presidential election. The protests claimed the president who was in power at that

time in Korea (Shin et al., 2014). As stated in the literature, the military coup in the following year (1961) continued up until 1987, when the Koreans elected their president through free elections (Shin et al., 2014). During the time of military dictatorship in 1965, student leaders were not quiet; they continued and mobilised other students to protest in response to the Korea-Japan Basic Relationship Treaty. Many protesting students were arrested, and the protest did not succeed, as the military government signed the treaty (Shin et al., 2014).

Students in Korea also seemed to focus their attention on issues of the internal power struggle between military rulers. The assassination of the former Korean president in 1980 led to student leaders mobilising students to protest. The protest continued after the launch of the Fifth Republic from October 1980 up until 1987, when the political democratisation was accomplished (Shin et al., 2014). The literature also tells us that in the same year, 1987, student leaders led other students to join the Korean citizens as they were on the streets agitating for a direct presidential election system. The protest was successful in convincing the military government to approve a change to the election system (Shin et al., 2014).

As the year 1988 went by, the Korean students shifted their focus. The student movement changed from focusing on democratisation to the unification of North and South Korea (Shin et al., 2014). The literature reveals that the Korean students found it difficult to adapt to changes in the social and political environment as they were deeply involved in protesting against the military government. In 1980, this led to the breakup of the National Council of Student Representatives (NCSR) in 1993 and a new council called the Korean Federation of Student Councils (KFSC) was established during the same year (Shin et al., 2014). The student leaders of KFSC organised a North-South unification festival in 1996 and continued with their protests. However, during these protests, students and a police officer died, and many leaders of KFSC were put in jail (Shin et al., 2014). The Korean government on the other side also tried to keep the peace in Korea. They encouraged the leaders and members of the KFSC who were not arrested for withdrawing from the organisation. The opposition against KFSC by the government lasted up until 2003 (Shin et al., 2014).

Students in Korea never stopped raising issues that concern them. The literature discloses that these events, the democratisation of Korea in 1987 led to an increase

in college tuition fees. This also resulted in student leaders in Korea, starting to mobilise students to protest against the rising fees (Shin et al., 2014). The protest at Korean universities included taking down the university administration building or starting a hunger strike (Shin et al., 2014). According to the literature, the increase of the Korean tuition fee was the result of the conditions of a bailout by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1999. The rate of increase was actually much higher in early 1990 after the start of the tuition fee liberalisation policy and the social income distribution became more unequal after the neoliberal approach reinforced by the IMF (Shin et al., 2014).

Students in Korea had to try another strategy to resolve the issue of increasing tuition fees. The student unions, as well as student activism groups together with civil society groups, gathered to launch the National Network of Grassroots Action Groups for Tuition-fee Issues and adopted a resolution to coordinate joint actions for demanding a tuition-fee cut (Shin et al., 2014). In 2007, the new presidential candidate who promised to reduce tuition fee by half was elected; however this issue was contentious during the general election in 2008 (Shin, et al., 2014).

According to this history, students in Korea started to focus more on issues of democratisation (or solving problems related to government) and then later shifted their focus to issues related to students. The demonstrations in Korea were made by student and student leaders as the result of the decisions and how the government was doing things.

The student leaders in South African universities led student protests from different universities to different government locations, to seek a solution to the issue of tuition fee increments at their universities. In KwaZulu-Natal, students were led by their leaders from the University of KwaZulu-Natal to protest at the provincial legislature in Pietermaritzburg (PMB), demanding that the premier Senzo Mchunu should address them about the issue of the fee increment (Kujeke, 2017). Student leaders at Wits University and the University of Johannesburg (UJ) led students to march to Luthuli House where the headquarters of the governing party, the African National Congress (ANC), are situated (Malabela, 2017b). In Gauteng, students were led by their leaders to march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, demanding to be addressed by President Jacob Zuma (Luescher, & Klemenčič, 2016; Naicker, 2016).

In the Western Cape, at universities such as the University of Cape Town (UCT), the University of Stellenbosch and the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), students were led by their leaders to march to the Parliament in Cape Town. There they demanded that the minister of higher education, Dr Blade Nzimande, should address them on the issue of tuition fee increments (Luescher, & Klemenčič, 2016; Naicker, 2016; Ndelu, 2017b). At last, the protest was no longer about a reduction of the tuition fee increment but about free decolonised education (Ndelu, 2017a). The literature reveals that in South Africa the police at the Parliament used coercive means such as stun grenades, rubber bullets, teargas and water cannons in order to quell the protest at the parliamentary precinct (Ndelu, 2017b). The reactions of the police at the Parliament did not just end with police exhibiting violence towards the protesting students. Some of the students were arrested, some of those arrested were charged with treason, even though the charges were later dropped. In return, the police were served with an interdict in order to provide restraint against brutality when responding to #FeesMustFall protests in the Western Cape. However, there was no proof of the interdict being successfully invoked as the police who were still using force during the protest that occurred again that year (Ndelu, 2017b).

In some countries, the persuasion did not just end with the protest. Student leaders also had a meeting with high ranking members of the government and discussed issues of reduction or cancellation of tuition fee, because the student demands were not met during the meeting with university management (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014; Bellei et al., 2014). The negotiation with the members of the government also took place in countries such as Chile and Canada. In South Africa, the negotiations that student leaders had with the university management and members of the government were about when the former president, Jacob Zuma, was going to announce the solution to tuition fee increments at universities. Student leaders knew that the government was the option to turn too should the university management fail to respond to their demands.

A similar situation to what happened in Chile, Canada and Korea was also experienced in SA, when universities experienced a number of protests action. However, demands or concerns of student were sometimes the same and sometimes differed from those of the overseas students.

According to the literature, the governments in each country responded differently. In Canada, the government resigned on August the 1st and called an election, expecting to obtain a renewed mandate. In response to that, student organisations campaigned to inspire students to vote (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014). At the beginning of September the results of the election led the Parti Québécois to form a minority government, and in a move the day after the election, the new government rolled back the tuition fee increases and the fees were indexed, based on inflation (meaning the tuition fee was reduced) at Quebec University (Altbach, & Klemencic, 2014, Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014). The government of Chile tried different strategies to resolve the conflicts, first downplaying the protest, then later negotiated with the leaders while suppressing the protesters and then it redirected the negotiations to the parliament while offering limited changes and some resources (such as providing full scholarships for students pertaining to the poorest 60% of the population) (Bellei et al., 2014). In addition to this, after the protests in Chile, the literature reveals that the minister of education (Joaquin Lavin) was removed as he was criticised for being the owner of a private university and for benefitting from a commercial enterprise in the sale of this property (Bellei et al., 2014).

Following on to the number of protests that occurred in Korea, various outcomes occurred. In 19th April 1960, the Korean president resigned, and in 1987, the military government agreed to change the elections system. However, in 1965 the protest was not successful in that the military government signed the treaty with Japan that students protested against. (Shin et al., 2014). In 2011, in relation to the fees, the Korean government and the ruling party announced that cutting tuition fees by half would be fiscally impossible. Instead, they proposed providing scholarships for students who met certain low household income criteria that would be equivalent to tuition fee cut. Universities also froze tuition fee increments and students were given a chance to participate in setting college tuition fees (in decision-making about fees) at each university to accommodate their inputs (Shin et al., 2014).

At South African universities, the government announced that there would be a 0% tuition fee increment in 2016 in all areas related to the student tuition fee. The government has also committed to increasing the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) funds in order to assist all the deserving students and students who

were financially indebted at different universities were allowed to register (Malabela, 2017a; Meth, 2017; Ndelu, 2017b).

The literature also reveals that after the 0% fee increment was announced at South African universities, protesting students, together with the university management, took various actions in response. At some universities, academic activities went back to normal and at some universities protesting students continued to protest against outsourcing of general workers, and demanding housing for needy students. Outsourcing means getting services from outside the university.

At CPUT, a decision was taken by the management that they would erase all student debt history and remove the army from the campuses so that students could continue with their examinations. Students who were prohibited from receiving their certificates due to outstanding tuition fees were allowed to collect their qualification (Ndelu, 2017a).

At UCT, protesters shifted their demands from demanding free, decolonised education to protesting against #EndOutsourcing. In 2016, students continued to protest against the financial exclusion of poor black students, indicating that the university was unable to provide housing for needy students. The students did this by building a shack on the UCT campus (Ndelu, 2017b). Following this, the police and security took over. They destroyed the shack and used stun grenades and teargas. Some students were arrested and some were suspended, expelled and prohibited from engaging in any activities at the university (Ndelu, 2017b). Protesting students at UCT were issued with an interdict, and students appealed it to the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) and the Constitutional Court (Ndelu, 2017b). Students and workers at UCT proceeded to demand that the university lift all the punitive measures (such as interdicts, suspension, expulsion and many more). In return, the students and the management at UCT were bound to an agreement that committed both parties to ensuring the continuation of 2016/17 examinations in a peaceful and accommodating environment and setting up an Institutional Transformation and Reconciliation Commission (ITRC) (Ndelu, 2017b).

The literature states that at Wits University, where the #FeesMustFall protests started, student leaders of the EFF Student Command continued to protest against outsourced workers even though the announcement of a 0% increase has been made. They

continued to protest up until the university insourced the general workers (Malabela, 2017b). According to the writers, student leaders together with students are the ones who fuelled the protests to shift from issues of tuition fee increment after it was resolved to other issues such as free decolonised education, insourcing of general workers and many more, this is as a result that there are still a number of areas at universities that are not as yet transform.

Various studies have found that student leaders led student protest from their universities through to different places of the government to seek a solution to issues of tuition fee increment or free education at their universities. Some studies also reveal that student leaders from countries, mainly Chile and Canada had a meeting and also negotiated with members of the government about issues of fees. According to some literature, it has been found that during student leaders negotiations with the members of the government issues of tuition fees were resolved. This is significant in my study in that after student leaders led student protest to the members of the government and also negotiated with them about issues of fees, solutions were given to students in relation to tuition fee increment at universities.

2.5 Student leaders and curriculum transformation

This section reveals what other studies have indicated about student leaders' roles they played at different universities in bringing about transformation in relation to matters of decolonisation or curriculum at universities both local and international. The reason I review the literature on this is because I wanted to point out that other authors mentioned the response of the management in relation to student demands about issues of curriculum transformation at universities. I wanted to get an understanding of local and international of what do curriculum transformation entails.

Both local and international the literature discloses that student leaders led other students to protest for curriculum transformation. When it comes to matters of curriculum transformation, they differ from one country to another and universities. At Chilean universities, student leaders led student protest for improvement of education quality (Altbach, & Klemencic, 2014). While at South African universities, student leaders led the protest for the decolonisation of the curriculum to the university management for them to resolve matters of the curriculum (Langa, Ndelu, Edwin & Vilakazi; 2017; Le Grange, 2016). The demands for curriculum transformation at South

African universities differ with universities. For example, at the University of Cape Town (UCT) student leaders call decolonisation of the curriculum as improvement of the curriculum to change the curriculum how they are taught at their university (Ndelu, 2017b). To student leaders at the University of Limpopo (Turfloop) the call for decolonisation of the curriculum meant the university should teach students what is being taught at former historically white universities, such as UCT, Wits University, University of Natal and Rhodes University (Malabela, 2017a). At University of the Free State (UFS) to student leaders, the call for decolonisation of the curriculum meant that the university had to change Afrikaans as a language of instruction (Luescher et al., 2017), while student leaders at University of Zululand they refer to the call as decolonised the curriculum and make it more inclusive to all students (Edwin, 2017).

According to the literature, the protests for the decolonisation of the curriculum at the universities were made both by students and student leaders as the result that the curriculum that is delivered at the universities is not the same and some issues have not yet been changed or transformed.

The literature reveals that after student leaders led other students to protest for issues of curriculum transformation at universities, the university management responded to student demands. In South Africa, at UCT after student leaders led the protest to the university management, the management took a decision and appointed a curriculum committee to coordinate the decolonising of the curriculum (Le Grange, 2016). According to studies above, issues of decolonising or transformation of the curriculum were more at South African universities, than at any other countries.

This is essential to my study in that after student leader led other students to protest for curriculum transformation at universities, a decision was taken in relation to matters of the curriculum at university.

2.6 Student leaders and institutional culture transformation

In this section, I reveal what has been said by other studies about student leaders' roles in relation to the transformation of matters of institutional culture at universities locally and internationally. Institutional culture refers to the ways things are done at universities, the values, beliefs and practices that are occurring at universities global. Matters of the institutional culture transformation that are mentioned by other studies

are a) removal of the statues and symbols that symbolise apartheid and b) renaming of a university building that has names that still symbolise apartheid.

Both local and international literature studies reveal that student leaders played various roles in bringing about transformation at their universities in relation to institutional culture transformation.

To student leaders at South African universities, institutional culture transformation means addressing concerns that students had in relation to their universities. Student leaders at South African universities also mobilised and led other students to protest of the removal of the statues and symbols and the renaming of the university buildings that symbolised apartheid at their universities (Kujeke, 2017; Maringira, & Gukurume, 2017). Student leaders at UCT also had a meeting with the university management together with other stakeholders such as transcending racial gender, professional party-political, and age lines to discuss the matters of the institutional culture transformation at university. Concerning the issues of the removal of the statue, voting also took place in that meeting in relation to whether or not the Cecil John Rhodes Statue at UCT in Cape Town should or should not be removed (Ndelu, 2017b). Following the issue of Cecil John Rhodes statue, at the University of KwaZulu Natal in Howard campus, the statue of King George V was damaged (Kujeke, 2017).

The literature reveals that after student leaders led student protests for matters concerning institutional culture transformation at universities, various decisions were taken by the management. It has been found that after the protests, sit-ins, and relentless meetings, convening of the convocation, and voting in favour of removing the statue at UCT, the management at various other universities also took decisions to remove statues that symbolised apartheid at the universities (Luescher, & Klemenčič, 2016; Ndelu, 2017b). On 9th April 2015, the Cecil John Rhodes statue was removed from UCT (Ndelu, 2017b). In addition, in relation to institutional culture transformation, the names of the university buildings that symbolised apartheid were changed (Langa et al., 2017). This is important to my study in that after student leaders mobilised and led student protests against the statue, a decision was taken to remove the statue.

2.7 Student leaders' and issues of labour

The following section discusses what other writers had said about student leaders' part they played in bringing change to issues that affected workers at universities, both locally and internationally. I did this in order to indicate what was being stated by other studies in relation to student leaders' contribution in bringing about change to matters of labour at their universities. This is important in my study in that student leaders also contributed to changes in issues of labour at their universities. Issues of labour that are mentioned by scholars are a) insourcing of general workers and b) improvement of worsening employment conditions.

The literature reveals that in South Africa as well as Canada student leaders led other students at their universities to support the workers when protesting against the outsourcing of general workers or public services (meaning the university should stop delegating the job of general workers to outside companies) (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014; Malabela, 2017b; Ndelu, 2017a). The incident in which student leaders led other students to support the worker when protesting, also happened in the United Kingdom (UK) when the workers were protesting against worsening employment conditions (Klemenčič, 2014). Student leaders at one of the South African universities, the UFS, also drafted and submitted a memorandum of demands to Vice-Chancellor Prof Jonathan Jansen. One of the demands that was mentioned in the memorandum was the insourcing of service workers. They also negotiated with the university management about these matters (Luescher et al., 2017; Luescher, & Klemenčič, 2016).

The literature reveals that these demonstrations were made by some of the workers supported by students because some general workers were unfairly treated at universities and students saw a need to support the workers.

It has been found that after student leaders led student protest and supported workers protest a decision was taken by the management in relation to issues of labour at the university. The university management took a decision to insource general workers (Malabela, 2017b; Ndelu, 2017a; Ndelu 2017b). Research studies also revealed universities where general workers were insourced such as CPUT, UCT and Wits University (Malabela, 2017b; Ndelu, 2017a; Ndelu, 2017b). This is significant to my

study in that after student leaders mobilised and led student protest and supported the workers' protest, general workers were insourced at different universities.

2.8 The research gap

From the aforementioned studies, I identified the following patterns:

1. student leaders mobilised and led other students, which meant student leaders were taking charge of their responsibility;
2. the student leaders used social media to mobilise protest, which meant student leaders were strategizing during their actions and became more advanced;
3. approaching the leadership structure, it shows that student leaders were brave and also committed to going beyond basic requirements to solve student problems;
4. student leaders led other students to form a coalition with members of other organisations during the protest against the tuition fees increment at their universities, which meant student leaders were showing the management and members of the government that the issue of a fee increment was not just an individual issue, but it affected all students at universities;
5. the government responded to student demands in relation to the issue of a tuition fee increment at universities, which meant that the government was delivering services or resources to students, and also it meant that the government was taking responsibility for a promise they made to students;
6. university management responded to issues of institutional and culture transformation, which meant the management was taking the responsibility or was assuming the blame for what was happening at university in relation to issues of institutional and culture transformation at university;
7. the violence between the police and students meant there were anger and frustration in relation to what was happening at universities; and
8. the arrest and suspension of students and student leaders meant the university management and the police were accusing or blaming students for their actions.

Much research has been done that has focused on the conflict, disruption, violence, and closure of the universities related to the #FeesMustFall protest, but there are comparatively fewer studies about the role played by the student leadership in institutional transformation at universities. Conflict arose during the time student

leaders started initiating the protest at universities and at various government locations (Bégin-Caouette, & Jones, 2014; Maringira, & Gukurume, 2017). Students caused disruptions during the times they interrupted or disturbed academic activities at the universities and through violence between students, the police and private security (Malabela, 2017b; Ndelu, 2017b). The universities were closed because of the chaos that was caused by protesting students and the police (Malabela, 2017b; Ndelu, 2017b; Peterson, Radebe, & Mohanty, 2016).

Although much research has been done that has focused on the conflict, disruption, violence and closure of the universities related to #FeesMustFall protest, there are very few studies that have focused on the role(s) the student leaders played in institutional transformation at universities. Therefore, this study will contribute to understanding the roles the student leaders played in institutional transformation at the University of Pretoria following the context of #FeesMustFall protest.

“Research gap is a research question or problem identifies a difficulty which can often be expressed as a contradictions between what is happening and what someone would like to happen” (Bassey, 2002, p. 163). Meaning it is the area of concern, a problem that needs to be resolve.

The authoritative voices in this study are both students and student leaders who demand transformation at their universities.

The main debates are (in SA Luescher et al., 2017) analyses of the concept of funding higher education and sustainability. For example, the feasibility of fee tuition has been critiqued in South Africa and the world over.

3 CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

In this section, I explain in detail the theory that I applied in my study; what the theory is about and where the theory originated. I explain the elements or concepts found in the theory; I then specify the elements that I applied in my study, and I state how the theory was used in an almost similar fashion to transformational leadership but with some distinctions. Later in the chapter, I show how I used these elements in my study.

3.2 Transformative leadership theory

This section provides an overview of the transformative leadership theory that I used in my study. "Transformative leadership is defined as the ability to visualise new social reality and communicate this effectively with others" (Van Oord, 2013, p. 5). This means that the theory refers to when a leader thinks about new ways of doing things and is able to share those ideas with others. In essence, the theory critiques or evaluates how power and privilege are navigated by educational leaders in bringing about institutional transformation (Shields, 2009, 2010). The theory elaborates on the role of leaders in a particular organisation or institution related to questions of justice and democracy. The theory also critiques inequitable or unfair practices that are happening at a particular organisation or institution and offer the possibilities not only of greater individual accomplishment but of a better life lived in common with others (Shields, 2009; Shields, 2010; Shields, 2014). "Transformative leadership focuses on identifying and addressing inappropriate use of power and authority in order to provide equity, democracy and social justice for all" (Shields, 2009, p. 10). Leaders who apply transformative leadership theory will focus on recognising and try to solve any wrongdoing in the organisation or institution in order to provide fairness and justice for all. This means that it is the duty of an educational leader to encourage inclusivity and to eradicate exclusivity because the leader recognises that some groups in social or academic contexts have more privileges than others (Shields, 2014).

3.2.1 Origin and elements of transformative leadership theory

This section offers a brief overview of the origin, the development and the differences between the concepts underpinning transformative and transformational leadership theory. I then elaborate on which elements and concepts I applied to my study.

James MacGregor Burns is the one who created the idea of transformative leadership theory in 1978 and it was further developed to provide capability or possibility by other scholars such as Foster (1986), Quantz, Rogers and Dantley (1991), Shields (2009, 2011, 2013), Starratts (2011), Blackmore (2011), and others (Shields, 2014).

Transformative leadership theory was developed in a manner that is similar to the practices of transformation and transformative learning in other fields of social science and education (Shields, 2010). 'Transformative' has been used almost similarly as 'transformational', although the differences emerged during 1990, especially in their different elements (Shields, 2010). The elements of transformative leadership theory mentioned by Shields in 2009 differed from those that she developed in 2014. In the 2009 iteration of the theory, concepts included: a) social betterment, for enhancing equity, and b) a thorough reshaping of knowledge and belief structures (Shields, 2009). In her 2014 model, Shields added the following elements to the theory: c) deep and equitable change; d) emancipation, equity, and justice; e) addressing inequitable uses of power; f) balancing critique with promise; g) exhibiting moral courage; h) emancipating both public and private good; i) interdependence, interconnectedness, and global awareness and also j) deconstructing and reconstructing knowledge frameworks that generate inequality, acknowledgement of power, and privilege; dialectic between individuals and social (Shields, 2009; Shields, 2010; Shields, 2014). Later on, in this chapter, I explain in detail how I applied some the concepts of transformative leadership theory.

3.2.2 Transformative and transformational leadership theory

The relationship between the theory of transformative and transformational leadership is explained in this section. I do this because both theories emphasise the moral purposes, the end of the current leadership and changing of an institutional context (Shields, 2010). I also explore the essential themes that support Burns' theory of leadership. I specify the exact elements and concepts that I used and state the reasons why I used those elements of transformative leadership theory.

Transformational leadership theory is use mostly exercised by educational leaders "*when there is a need for internal change that has been identified and when the student population is relatively homogeneous*" (Shields, 2014, p. 234). This means that when there is a reason for a change within the organisation or institution, it is likely

that transformational leadership will be used. Transformative leadership theory is used *“when examining what needs to change, a leader determines that the very nature of the school and its relationship with the wider community requires transformation”* (Shields, 2014, p. 325). That means that when the specific aspects needed to change in the essence of an institution are scrutinised, then it is likely that transformative leadership theory will be used. The Random House dictionary lists both the words transformational and transformative as adjectives associated with the verb transform and the noun transformation, this is the reason why the two words have been used almost similarly in the past (Shield, 2010). However, the concepts of transformative leadership theory have not been explained and speculated on the same as for the transformational approach (Van Oord, 2013). The most important themes that defend Burns’ theory of leadership are power, purpose, relationship, motive, values and leadership vs power-wielders and the moral component (Fairholm, 2001).

The theory that I applied in my study includes eight elements of transformative leadership that can be applied by educational leaders to bring about transformation in a particular organisation or an institution. In my study, I applied the following two elements of transformative leadership theory: a) effecting deep and equitable change, which is defined according to Shields as the following:

“In order to challenge social injustice at a particular organisation or institution and promote social justice, educational leaders should apply the element deep and equitable change” (2014, p. 333).

I interpreted the concept affecting deep and equitable changes, by looking at the changes reflected in the documents that student leaders demanded to see at their university in relation to tuition fees, the language of instruction, curriculum and institutional and residence culture transformation. I chose this concept because I was interested in finding out the role(s) that student leaders played at the university from the documents, in order to bring about deep and equitable change.

The second concept by Shields that I focused on was: b) acknowledging powers and privilege. The concept has been explained by Shield as *“new awareness of inequity led not only to more equitable approaches but also to an increased understanding on the part of all staff of issues related to power and privilege”* (2010, p. 278). This means that recognising that there is still a lack of fairness or justice within the organisation or

an institution, has also led to following a procedure to reach to a more equitable position and to awareness of all issues relating to people within the organisation that are related to power and privilege. This idea also has to do with the way leaders or educational leaders navigate their power and privilege to bring about institutional or organisation transformation (Shields, 2009, 2010). This means the exercising of powers and privilege by leaders or educational leaders to demand change, even if it sometimes implies the breaking of the rules (Shields, 2010). For the purpose of this study, I found it most appropriate to focus on the 'acknowledging power' aspect of this dimension from Shield because in this situation 'privilege' did not fit. The concept acknowledging power has been interpreted in this study by looking at the documents at how student leaders used their political power to bring about transformation at their university, in relation to the tuition fee increment, the language of instruction, curriculum and institutional and residence culture. I selected this concept because I was concerned about finding out from the documents how student leaders played their roles, used their political powers, and approached the relevant management in bringing about transformation at their university. I was curious in discovering how student leaders reached or how did they communicated with the university management and members of the government, informed them about student demands and ensured that they became part of the discussion of those issues. I converted the two elements above into a conceptual framework that I used to analyse the documents from social media together with institutional transformation and policy documents, in response to my research questions.

I focused on the above two elements of transformative leadership because these elements helped me explore or investigate the role(s) student leaders played in providing an inclusive educational culture and a curriculum that questions and critiques current approaches and promotes socially just academic excellence (Shields, 2014). Leaders begin by investigating the wider society and the material realities that influence individuals to prosper within the organisation or institution and the organisation's ability to achieve its goal (Shields, 2014). These elements have also helped me to develop my research questions, and have guided my analysis of the institutional and policy documents related to transformation.

Table 3.1 provides a summary in the form of a table of how I applied the concepts of transformative leadership theory in my study in relation to the transformative role(s)

played by the student leaders at their university. The table is grouped in four areas of change; first is tuition fees increment, the language of instruction, institutional culture, and residence and curriculum transformation as identified by student leaders in order to bring about transformation at their university. Under each of these four areas of change, I outline the two concepts of transformative leadership in the form of a conceptual framework.

Table 3-1: Conceptual Framework

Tuition fees increment:	Language of instruction
<p>Effecting deep & equitable change</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An institution that lacks inclusion in the gifted programs, therefore change becomes obvious • Increasing tuition fees exclude some students, change is necessary • Changes demanded by students related to tuition fee increment <p>Acknowledge power</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student leaders use political power to demand change • The end result of using political powers on tuition fee increment 	<p>:Effecting deep & equitable changes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overcoming overrepresentation of other languages at universities, deep & equitable change is required • Languages such as Afrikaans are overrepresented at university, change is crucial • Changes demanded or suggested by students regarding the language of instruction <p>Acknowledge power</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of political powers by leaders to ensure issues of the language of instruction is addressed by management • The upshot of using political powers on issues of the language of instruction
Institutional culture & residence	Curriculum transformation
<p>:Effecting deep & equitable changes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overcoming social injustice and promote social justice at universities, new practice, programs, attitudes, admission standards should occur • There is a practice of culture imbalance at universities; therefore change is required • Demands proposed by students related to change of institutional & residence culture at UP <p>Acknowledge power</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of political power to call for change • Effect of political powers on matters of institutional and residence culture 	<p>Effecting deep & equitable changes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To promote inclusion in relation to the curriculum at universities practice, programs, attitudes, should be change • The curriculum at universities does not focus on South African history • Changes suggested by student leaders concerning curriculum at university <p>Acknowledge power</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of political power to require change • The outcome of using political powers on matters of the curriculum at university

I now provide a full explanation of the two concepts of transformative leadership theory applied in my study through the analysis of transformation documents from social media together with institutional transformation and policy documents, in relation to the four areas of demands made by student leaders.

3.3 Affecting deep and equitable changes

This section clarifies the above concept used when analysing transformation documents from social media together with institutional transformation and policy documents in relation to the four areas of demands made by students, I started by issues of the tuition fee, language of instruction, then institutional and residence culture and finally the curriculum transformation.

3.3.1 Tuition fees and affecting deep and equitable changes

According to Shields, *“In order to challenge social injustice at a particular organisation or institution and promote social justice, educational leaders should apply the element deep and equitable change”* (2014, p. 333).

The reason that I focus on the aspect deep and equitable change in issues of the tuition fee is that I was interested in studying what role(s) student leaders played to ensure that there was a change at their university in relation to issues of increasing tuition fees. I was curious about finding out from the documents what changes students demanded that they wanted to see at their universities concerning the transformation of the tuition fees increment. I wanted to find out from the documents how student leaders played their role(s) in reaching out and convincing the university management and the government to reduce tuition fees, or provide more financial aids, or to consider making free education.

Applying document analysis, I was able to determine how student leaders played their role and ensured that the university management and government were informed about the students' concern in relation to the tuition fees increment and addressed them. I was able to determine what changes the students demanded from the management and members of the government in relation to the tuition fee increment at their university.

3.3.2 Language of instruction and effecting deep and equitable changes

The use of the concept of bringing about change on the issue of the second language of instruction (Afrikaans) at UP, is explained below.

Concerning the idea of the change of the language of instruction at the university, I was curious in studying the actions that student leaders took to ensure that there was transformation at their university regarding issues of the language of instruction. I wanted to find out from the documents what student leaders were saying about other South African languages at their universities. For example, what did student leaders demand or suggest about the change of the language of instruction at UP? Which language was recommended by student leaders for university management to consider for adoption and which language was suggested that the management should consider abolishing? How do students want the implementation of the changes in the language policy to be? I wanted to find out from the documents what student leaders were saying about the issue of language in relation to affecting equitable change and fairness at UP.

I was also fascinated in finding out from the documents what student leaders said about other South African languages and how student leaders played different roles in bring about transformation in relation to the issue of languages at the university. I was also interested to find out the opinions of students about Afrikaans as a second language of instruction at UP.

3.3.3 Institutional culture, residence and affecting deep and equitable changes

This section describes the element of social justice on the issue of institutional and residence culture transformation at UP. By institutional and residence culture I mean the custom that is practised or followed by students at UP and also in their residences, the daily life practices of people or students at the university or in residence.

The reason that I concentrated on the aspect of social justice was because I was concerned about studying the role(s) student leaders played to ensure that there was fairness at their university concerning the practice of institutional and residence culture transformation. I was interested in discovering from the documents, which culture did student leaders demand should be practised and which ones should be abolished at their university and also in residence. I was engrossed in finding out from the documents what changes student leaders proposed that they wanted to see at their

universities and in residences concerning the transformation of the institutional and residence culture.

Studying and analysing transformation documents from social media together with institutional transformation and policy documents have helped me to discover the roles student leaders played in bridging the gap of social injustice at UP and in the residences and promoting social justice concerning issues of transformation of the institutional and residence culture. I was able to recognise and identify how student leaders played their roles in demonstrating which culture/s they wanted to practise and which one they did not want at their university and in the residences. Document analysis revealed student views regarding symbols, signs, building names and the practising of Afrikaans culture at the university.

3.3.4 Curriculum and affecting deep and equitable changes

By curriculum transformation I am referring to the change in relation to the knowledge supplied to students, the way student are being taught and many other things that are happening inside the classroom and are mentioned as an area of change by students. Curriculum transformation relates to my study in that student leaders are the ones who emphasise changing the curriculum at university in order to accommodate all the students to the university management.

The reason that I focus on the aspect deep and equitable change in relation to matters of curriculum is that I was concerned about studying how student leaders contributed to curriculum transformation at university, what role(s) they played in ensuring that the curriculum had to change and accommodate all students on campus in an equal level. An example of this also includes the role student leaders played in ensuring that indigenous knowledge was introduced in the curriculum and what student leaders said about the change of curriculum transformation, accommodating everyone equally.

Transformation documents from social media together with institutional transformation and policy document analysis revealed student leaders' contribution to transformation concerning issues of the curriculum at university. The documents disclosed what student leaders' demands concerning the decolonisation of the curriculum were. What students meant by the decolonisation of the curriculum, which they mentioned as one of a number of issues related to curriculum transformation at UP, needed to be

clarified. It was interesting for me to find out from the documents which curriculum did student leaders suggest adding at the university in order to bridge the gap of inequality.

3.4 Acknowledge power

This section provides details of how I used the above element in relation to four areas of request that students called for, starting with free or reduction of tuition, language of instruction, then institutional and residence culture and ended up with curriculum transformation at university.

3.4.1 Tuition fees and acknowledge power

The concept has been explained by Shield “new awareness of inequity led not only to more equitable approaches but also to an increased understanding on the part of all staff of issues related to power and privilege” (2010, p. 278). Shields also stated that the concept has to do with the way leaders or educational leaders navigated their power and privilege in bringing about institutional or organisation transformation (Shields, 2009, 2010). In the UP context that would mean how student leaders used political powers to mobilise other students to protest for change at the university. As pointed out earlier, for the purpose of this study I found it most suitable to focus on the ‘acknowledging power’ aspect of this dimension from Shield because in this situation ‘privilege’ did not fit.

In relation to the tuition fees increment, I again used the concept of “acknowledge power” of the transformative leadership theory in order to demonstrate how student leaders used political powers in bringing about transformation at their university. My focus was to find out from the transformation documents how student leaders played a role, used political powers, and mobilised other students to compel change from relevant management on the matter of the tuition fee increment. The objective was to find out from the documents how the use of political powers by student leaders affected issues of the tuition fee increment.

3.4.2 Language of instruction and acknowledge power

The application of the concept of power by student leaders in order to demonstrate the role they played in the transformation of the language of instruction is discussed below.

In the element or the concept mentioned above, I was fascinated in finding out from the documents how student leaders used political powers to ensure issues of the language of instruction at UP is addressed by the management.

Transformation documents have revealed how student leaders used their political power to get the attention of other students and convince them to join the protest against the language of instruction at UP.

3.4.3 Institutional culture, residence and acknowledge power

This section points out the use of the element of power mentioned above by student leaders to call for the transformation of the institutional and residence culture at their university to accommodate everyone.

The reason I decided to concentrate on the aspect of acknowledging of power by student leaders was that I was interested in finding out from the documents how student leaders used political power to call for change at their universities in relation to matters of institutional and residence culture.

Conducting an analysis of transformation and policy documents has assisted me to discover the effect the use of political power by student leaders had on the matters of institutional and residence culture transformation at UP.

3.4.4 Curriculum and acknowledge power

In this section, I explain the curriculum and acknowledgement of power by student leaders in order to bring about curriculum transformation at their university.

In the above concept, I was eager to find out from the documents how student leaders used political power to require a change from the management about issues of the curriculum transformation at the university. Issues such as indigenous knowledge, module codes that were still abbreviated in Afrikaans and improving pedagogy were raised by students.

Applying document analysis, I was able to determine curriculum changes that occurred at the university because of political power used by the student leaders.

4 CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I give a full description of my research methodology. I explain the method that I used in my study and why I used this method. I then explain where I accessed the documents that I analysed and what type of documents I analysed. Before explaining in full details of how I did document selection, evaluation and analysis, I discuss the process by looking at one document from the ones analysed as an example where I show the process of selection, evaluation and analysis in the form of a table in the section below. This is followed by an explanation in detail of how the document selection and evaluation were done. Later in the chapter, I discuss how the content analysis of documents was done. The time frame to carry out all these processes is also explained.

My study was based on a qualitative case study approach. "Qualitative research as a research methodology is concerned with understanding the processes and the social and cultural contexts which underlie various behavioural patterns and is mostly concerned with exploring the 'why' questions of research" (Nieuwenhuis, 2007, p. 51). This means that it has to do with understanding how people act and how their culture affects the way they behave and is more concerned with investigating the reason, the cause or the purpose. The reason I conducted qualitative research was to obtain an in-depth understanding of the role student leaders played in bringing about transformation at their university.

4.2 Documents availability and access

I conducted qualitative research on the documents from social media, together with transformation and institutional policy documents from UP, in order to be able to answer my research question. I accessed the social media documents online, also from Twitter, and Facebook. I retrieved the other documents from the University of Pretoria's website, which is in the public online domain. The documents included a variety of reports, budget speeches, institutional policy documents, institutional transformation documents, the language policy and funding structures. The social media documents included reports, a budget speech, and any other documents relevant to transformation at the university that are posted on social media. The

University of Pretoria's institutional and policy documents included letters, minutes of the meetings, memorandums of demands, reports, correspondence, UP policies and the transformation charter.

4.3 Example of selection, evaluation and analysis

Table 4.1 provides a concrete example of how the document selection, evaluation and analysis were done. This is done in order to show an example of how documents were selected, based on what category. Also shown is how the process of evaluation and analysis of the chosen documents was completed. I chose one document from the ones I was analysing as my example, and I focused on two themes from this document in the table below; hence this document mentions four themes which are language policy, curriculum and institutional and residence culture transformation. The table only shows an example of two themes, which are language policy and curriculum transformation.

Table 4-1: Documents Analysis Process

Document selection	Evaluation	Analysis
<p><u>What type of document is it that I have been reading?</u> Record of proceeding</p> <p><u>Does the document have any unique characteristics?</u> Talks about transformation at UP</p> <p><u>When was the document written?</u> 28 May 2016</p> <p><u>Who is the author? And what was his or her position</u> Ms Desiree Homann & Ms Maliga Govender position not stated, Mr Kgomoitso Legari is from the department of residence affairs and accommodation</p> <p><u>Who were the audience in the document?</u> Leaders from different organisations, facilitators observers, facilitators department of university relation, faculty houses, day houses, student culture, SRC, department of students affairs, department of residence affairs and accommodation, executive management of the university, language policy workstream, curriculum transformation workstream, Deans/deputy deans, logistics & notes</p> <p><u>What is the purpose of the document?</u> To speak and improve matters of transformation at UP</p> <p><u>Why was the document written?</u> To discuss transformation in relation to language policy, curriculum, institutional and residences culture</p> <p><u>What evidence is there within the document that indicates why it was written”?</u> Some items of the agenda are 1) transformation workstream report-back & discussion process to be followed 2)independent transformation panel of the university 3) language policy workstream 4) workstream curriculum 5) institutional & residence culture workstream etc</p>	<p><u>Issue/ purpose of the document</u> Resolve matters of transformation (language policy, curriculum, institutional and residence culture) By looking at student demands & actions they took</p> <p><u>Selection & evaluation base on the audience, event and activity</u> Meeting attendance, especially student leaders & university management. Meetings, debates held by workstream, submissions tabled at workstream Is the document solicited, edited or anonymous Yes the document is solicited, students had a demand to a transformation of language policy, curriculum, institutional & residence culture</p> <p><u>Assessed whether the document is complete/selective</u> This document is selective as it is a follow-up meeting</p> <p><u>Relevant of the document to my research problem & fitting of the content to the theoretical framework</u> Transformation at university by student demands, theory affecting deep and equitable change and acknowledge political powers by student leaders</p>	<p><u>I examined the language used in the documents, by looking at repeated phrases and themes</u> (student concerns or interest)</p> <p>E.G Language policy Students demanded to transition to English as the only language of tuition & provide multilingualism (pg 4) Except for AfriForum Youth who sent emails expressing support for Afrikaans language (pg 4). Some student supported the idea of English be the only language of tuition from 2017, with support of tutorials, study materials, test & exam being provided in Afrikaans for students already enrolled in Afrikaans or Afrikaans students complete their courses in minimum completion time (pg 5). Some students supported a proposal that English should be the only language for teaching & learning; with proper language support system provided (pg 5).</p> <p>Student & other workstream supported the idea that the university develops sign language for communication (pg 7). Suggestion to include all South African language relating to ceremonial purposes (pg 7).</p> <p>Actions: held meetings, debates, submissions were made(pg 3), student leaders voted by a show of hand for the language they want (pg 11), emails were sent (pg 4) The consensus was reached to move to English as the only language of tuition at some stage (pg 10)</p> <p><u>Under curriculum:</u> student leaders were involved in identifying 4 drivers of the curriculum and compiled self-reflection questions for faculties to consider in integrating their curricula (pg 13-14) Student leaders raised the issue of transformation of the module code which appears to be Afrikaans based and should be changed in line with an English only language policy (pg 15)</p>

4.4 Document selection

After identifying the available documents, I had to choose the ones that I thought would help me to answer my research question. I selected documents found at the University of Pretoria website and documents posted on social media, specifically documents that captured the role of the student leadership in an institutional transformation of language policy, curriculum, fees, and institutional and residence culture in order to help me to answer my main research question. When I was reading and selecting a document I was asking myself questions mentioned by Fitzgerald (2002), "What type of document is it that I was reading? Does the document have any unique characteristics? When was the document written? Who was the author and what was his or her position? Who is the audience in the document? What is the purpose of the document? Why was the document written? What evidence is there within the document that indicates why it was written?" (Fitzgerald, 2002, p. 304).

I drew and included all those questions on my analysis table, in order to fill all the important information that I found on the document on the analysis table so that I could use it in future when analysing the data. These questions were important in that they helped me to select the relevant documents or the documents that helped me to answer my research question. For example, if the document was the memorandum of demands concerning the language of instruction from student leaders to the university management, the document might include concerns and interests about the student demands to the university management in relation to the language of instruction at UP. Another document could be the minutes of Transformation from the Lekgotla's meeting between student leaders and university management. From this document, I already knew that student leader played a role in holding a meeting with the university management. Other very useful information that this document contained would be the discussion between leaders and management about the matters related to transformation at the university, in relation to the demands made by students such as the language of instruction, curriculum, institutional, residence culture, and even tuition fees. This included any other document that was covering transformation at university or showed the role student leaders played in bringing about transformation.

After I accessed, scanned and selected the relevant documents for the purposes of analysing the documents so that I could answer my research question, I numbered the document according to how many documents I had for that theme, to be able to recognise the document for further purpose. The identification numbers of the documents are indicated in my analysis table and were used when saving the document base by theme and number. For all the selected documents that were written in Afrikaans, I used Google to translate them to English, so that I understood what was written in the document, and I saved both the translated and the original document. I then changed all the documents that were written in PDF to word documents by copying and pasting the information to the word document, so that I was able to highlight the important information. I kept the page numbers of the document as they were applied in the original document, for example, if certain information was on page 2 of the original document, that information was still on page 2 in the word documents, for the purpose of correct referencing. I then saved both the PDF and Word documents that I were working on, to be able to trace the important information. In other instances, I printed the documents, and worked on them on as a hard copy, to highlight the important information. The documents were kept in a file on safe place after evaluation and analysis for further reference.

4.5 Document evaluation

This section explains the judgement that I used in the selected documents in order for me to be able to complete the table of analysis and be able to do content analysis.

I identified the research problem or issue, the original purpose of the document and the reasons it was produced (Bowen, 2009; Fitzgerald, 2002). For example, a document about language policy feedback, the draft vision for student life in 2025, the Transformation Lekgotla etc. Also recorded was what students said in the documents in relation to their demands and what action they took to resolve those demands. I did not treat the documents as a precise, accurate, or complete recording of the events that had occurred, instead, I selected and evaluated the documents based on the targeted audience, events and activity (Bowen, 2009; Fitzgerald, 2002). For example, I took it into consideration that the documents were written for other purposes, such as raising or addressing student concerns either by the university management or student leaders. In this study, my targeted audience were student leaders, university management and members of the government, especially in documents such as the

minutes of the meeting where they mentioned that the attendees were student leaders and other management. Then I would know that the document would mention something that the student leaders said concerning students' interest. Another example would be a document such as a memorandum of demands. It might not be stated in the document that student leaders submitted a memorandum of demands, but it is known that student leaders negotiated with the management; through their negotiation they submitted the memorandum of demands on behalf of students.

I determined whether the document that I was analysing was solicited, edited or anonymous (Bowen, 2009). For example, a memorandum of demands tells us that student leaders wrote the memorandum to the university management demanding something. If the document had missing information, I applied my knowledge of what I knew about the information in the document. I assessed whether the document was selective, meaning it covered certain aspect of my study or comprehensive, in as far as it covered the topic completely (Bowen, 2009). This helped me to notice what was happening in the documents and make a follow up on the information in the documents that I was analysing. For example, if student leaders had meetings with the university management on different dates, where they discussed students' demands, I had to track what happened in the first meeting up until the last meeting to determine what was discussed and what the conclusion of the agreement was. I did not paste words and passage from available documents; instead I established the meaning of the document and its contribution to my study and I kept track of what was happening in the documents (Bowen, 2009).

For the next step of my evaluation, I devised a list of possible aims and research questions, to give me direction on what was looking for in the documents and to remind me of what I wanted to achieve at the end of my study, which was to answer my main research question (Fitzgerald, 2002). I determined the relevance of the documents to the research problem and the purpose of my study and found out whether the content of the documents fitted with the theoretical framework that I applied in my study (Bowen, 2009; Fitzgerald, 2002; Perryman, 2002). This meant that I also focused on documents that discussed transformation at the university and the role student leaders played in bringing about transformation.

After evaluation of the selected documents, I started to do content analysis of the documents, in relation to my research question (Fitzgerald, 2002). At the same time, as a researcher, I was striving for objectivity and sensitivity and maintained a balance between both (Bowen, 2009).

4.6 Content analysis of documents

In this section, I first explain the term document analysis and give a full description of the procedure that I followed when doing the document analysis of transformation documents from social media together with the institutional policy and transformation documents.

Document analysis is a form of qualitative analysis that requires a researcher to use a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating, locating, interpreting and drawing conclusions from either printed or electronic documents about the evidence presented, in such a way that empirical knowledge is produced and understanding is developed (Bowen, 2009; Fitzgerald, 2002).

The first step I did was to review prior writings as part of my study and integrate relevant information in my reports or documents (Bowen, 2009). This was followed by an analytical procedure in which I examined the language used in the institutional transformation and policy documents of UP in detail. For example, I looked for repeated phrases and themes, in both the transformation documents from social media as well as the institutional policy and transformation documents (Perryman, 2002).

As I was reading the documents, I looked for interests or concerns from students that were mentioned in those documents and issues where students needed the student leaders to assist them in getting these issues escalated to university management or members of the government for resolution. These included issues related to the language of instruction, curriculum, and the tuition fees increment and institutional and residence culture transformation. I also kept in mind what the student leaders' actions were in helping students so that they would bring changes to the issues causing these concerns, as that was what at the core of the study.

In the next step, I coded the content into themes and sub-themes (Bowen, 2009). For example, my main themes were student areas of demands or concerns such as the

tuition fee increment, the language policy, the curriculum and institutional and residence culture transformation.

Sub-themes arose in terms of what students demanded in relation to each of these themes, such as:

1. Under the tuition fee increment, free education was mentioned.
2. In respect of the language policy, Afrikaans should be removed as a language of instruction; English should be made the only language of teaching and learning. Consideration of other South African languages was required to support specific students;
3. Under the transformation of the curriculum, an indigenous curriculum should be added to the system. The curriculum should also teach about contributions South Africans made.
4. Lastly, to address the transformation of the institutional and residence culture, all the names of the buildings and symbols that were used in the past that symbolised apartheid should be removed at the university and be replaced with new names with positive meanings. South African cultures should also be accommodated equally in the university and in residences. The population demographics of South Africa should be reflected in the university and in residence

These were some sub-themes that were mentioned in the documents; there were many more. This step also entailed reading, finding, skimming, selecting, interpreting and synthesising data contained in documents, and looking for recurring words (Bowen, 2009; Perryman, 2002). In this process, I read through the documents and found important themes and sub-themes and selected them; after that, I explained their meaning or made sense of their meaning in relation to my study. At the same time, I was answering my research question. I also looked for repeated or recurring phrases, for example, the demands to remove Afrikaans as a language of tuition and make English the only language of tuition was mentioned several times in the documents by different stakeholders. The recurring phrases helped me to discover what the exact student emphasis was. For example, what did student wants in connection with the language of instruction, the tuition fees increment and the curriculum and institutional and residence culture transformation. What were the

changes that students wanted to see happening in these concerns, and what did student leaders do to assist in bringing about changes in those concern.

In this section, I gave a description of time I took when scanning, selecting, evaluating and analysing the documents.

For scanning and downloading the documents, I took almost two weeks, because there were many on the website and on social media. For selecting, evaluating and analysing the documents, I took four to five months, hence I needed to be sure of my analysis.

5 CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.1 Findings

In the following section, I draw on the conceptual framework to identify and analyse emerging themes in response to my research questions. My analysis, therefore, focuses on the role(s) of student leaders in the transformation of tuition fee increments, the language of instruction, curriculum and institutional and residence culture at UP. As discussed in Chapter 3, I focus on two aspects of Shields' theory in analysing student leaders' role(s) in tuition fee increments, namely: a) affecting deep and equitable changes and b) acknowledging power.

5.2 Tuition fees increment and transformation

The manner in which student leaders played a role to bring about changes to the issue of tuition fee increments at UP is explained by focusing on two aspects of transformative leadership theory. The issue of universities proposing to increase tuition fees in 2015 affected many students across the country; student leaders together with other students took actions in relation to this matter.

In 2015 when the management of Witwatersrand University (Wits) announced to students that tuition fees will increase at university, student leaders from different universities played roles, *"initiating and mobilised other students to protest against the tuition fee increment"* (Homann, Govender, & Legari, 2016). Student leaders of different organisations namely, the ANC Youth League, the EFF Student Command, PASMA, SASCO and UDESMO, UPRising and the AfriForum Youth League acknowledged the political powers that they had as students, and initiated and mobilised other students to join the protest against a tuition fee increment. The student leaders together were able to convince other students to see the need to protest against fee hikes. Students gathering together to protest against the issue of tuition fee hikes at universities was a sign that students demanded change in relation to the matter of tuition fee increment at universities. The student leaders needed the support from other students because the issue of a tuition fee increment was affecting not only student leaders. It is important that change does happen in relation to the issue of the tuition fee increment at universities, in order to show that transformation at universities is really taking place, and students cannot be in a situation where they are protesting for the same issues each and every year.

Thousands of students from different universities in South Africa, with different socioeconomic backgrounds, race and genders went on the street to express their disapproval in relation to the issue of tuition fee increment. During the protest, students sang songs and displayed different posters. Messages were displayed on the posters: *"we demand free education; #FeesMustFall"* (Homann et al., 2016; "Signed Agreement", 2015, p. 3). Student leaders played an essential role and acknowledged their political powers to demand free education. The Twitter handle that was created by student leaders was also used in off-line protest to indicate what exactly must happen to tuition fees at UP. This is important in that the 2015/2016 protest was also done via social media to show improvement, unlike in the past where students were protesting only on the street, and other students who were unable to attend the protest were also able to share their views via social media. The posters indicated clearly why students were on the street and what it was that they needed namely, they did not want to pay for tuition fees at universities. In relation to deep and equitable change, student leaders played an important role and demanded that education become free for all students at university. Protesting students moved from one place to another, from universities to where the high-ranking members of parliament were situated, trying to send the message to the relevant people.

University management did not support the idea of students being on the streets, protesting instead of being in class, so they tried to stop students by involving the police and security guards around campus. We know this as it is stated in the document *'Memorandum of Demands'* that was directed to the Acting Dean of the Faculty of Health Sciences, that students demanded: *"for the immediate demilitarisation of campus by the discontinuation of the use of private security"* ("Memorandum of Demands", 2016). Student leaders acknowledged their political powers and played a role in drafting a memorandum of demands, indicating to the management that the management should remove the police and security guards around campus. The police and security tried to stop the protesting students from causing chaos at university. On the other side, the student leaders together with students, saw that the police were trying to stop them from achieving what they wanted to achieve.

The protest that was organised by the student leaders led to a clash between protesting students, the police and the private security around campus. The document

'#Free Our Cadres' disclose that: *"from 19 September 2016 we have witnessed violence from the University of Pretoria and the state in the form attacks by private security and police brutality on the protesting students"* (PASMA-UP, 2016). As the protesting students tried to force themselves inside the campus, the police and security guard barricaded and secured the university entrances. Student leaders played a significant role and acknowledged their political powers by leading protesters to require change by force as they started to become violent and throwing stones at the police and security guards. The police also responded by firing rubber bullets which led to more violence. We know this as it is mentioned in the document *#FeesMustFall: Another day of violence as the state kicks issues forward* and: *"demonstrating students say violence only began after the security measures were introduced, and some students might now target university infrastructure"* (Nicolson, 2016). In some incidences, protesting students tried to destroy university buildings and caused disruption in lectures that were in progress at that time. From one of the documents: *"classes were being cancelled and examinations had to be postponed after non-participating students were taken out of classroom by violence and camped out of campus"* (*"Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda"*, 2016, p. 13). Due to the protest action that was organised by student leaders, the university management had to delay university activities. The acknowledgement of political powers by student leaders was again seen when they played a role in leading the protest action that caused disruption to all the activities around campus. According to the actions of protesters, it would be unfair to other students to be outside protesting, while other students are continuing to receive education as if nothing is happening, therefore the protesters tried all means to get the full attention of the university management.

Some students and student leaders were arrested because of damaging the university property. We know this because one of the student leaders of the EFF Student Command demanded in the meeting of *'Transformation lekgotla for 2016'* that *"all students who had been suspended and those who had been arrested should be allowed to return to campus by March 2016"* (Homann et al., 2016, p.3). Issues of those students who were suspended and arrested were escalated to the university management by student leaders for management to consider allowing them back on campus. This means that the university management could have started by negotiating with the student leaders about the damage to the University property by the

misbehaviour of the protesting students or they could have given protesting student warnings for their bad behaviour, instead of starting by suspending and arresting them.

Student leaders were under pressure to deliver on what they had been elected for, among other things, to stand up for students. For example, Bonginkosi Khanyile, a #FeesMustFall activist leader, was targeted by security forces and was among the group of students that were arrested. We know this as it is mentioned in the document *'#Release Bonginkosi Khanyile Campaign.'* The students demanded that: *"all the arrested students be released"* (*"#Release Bonginkosi Khanyile Campaign"*, 2016). The police had their own strategy too, on how to stop the protest action, according to the information above, they had to focus too much on arresting the leaders, as they are the ones who are stimulating the protest. The arrested students were jailed and they could not afford the bail fee, this caused more frustration to the other students who were outside as they started focusing on protesting for both free decolonised quality education and that the arrested students would be bailed or released. Student leaders continued and acknowledged their political powers and played the role of mobilising and leading other students to protest against the arrest of the students and for free education. In the document *'#Free Our Cadres'* it is revealed that: *"On Tuesday 25 October 2016, one of our own the former SRC President Mosibudi Rasethaba will be appearing in the Pretoria Magistrate Court. ...Let us stand together in solidarity with fellow students who have been victimised by the University of Pretoria for this just and noble Cause."* (PASMA-UP, 2016). The protesting students who were not arrested did not stop supporting their fellow comrades who were arrested and suspended. This is important in my study as those student leaders and other students were arrested and suspended as they fought to bring change in relation to the issue of tuition fee increments at their universities.

Different organisations started asking for donations so that the arrested students could be bailed. Some students were released without bail as their cases were not severe and some received bail, however, they still had to go to court in relation to issues of damaging university property. We know this because one of the members of the SRC mentioned in the document *'Transformation Lekgotla for 2016'* that *"no support would have been forthcoming had it not been for the SRC, who also paid the bail for the arrested students"* (Homann et al., 2016, p. 12). Student leaders acknowledge their political powers and tried by all means to ensure that their fellow students were

released from jail. This means that some of the arrested students were released from jail and were able to return to campus because of the role student leaders played by asking for donations to bail them. This is significant to my study as student leaders also contributed to the releasing of the arrested students.

However, some student leaders were expelled from universities for five years, this means that their careers ended. Related to this matter, as recent as 2018 Mcebo Dlamini walked from Johannesburg to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, South Africa. He wanted to ask the president to pardon the students who were arrested in order for the criminal cases against the students who were arrested to be removed. In this way, students who were arrested would not have a criminal record that would affect them in future when they were looking for a job. We know this, as it is mentioned in the document *'Mcebo Dlamini takes a long walk to Union Buildings': "Fees Must Fall campaign leader and former Wits University Student Representative Council (SRC) president, Mcebo Dlamini, on Friday took a long walk from Wits to the Union Building in a bid to get President Cyril Ramaphosa to intervene in the court cases levelled against students who were arrested during fee hike strikes"* (Shange, 2018). This is significant, in that after student leaders negotiated with the university management about returning all the suspended students and paid bail for the arrested students, the management also took a decision that the suspended students should return to campus.

At the time when students were protesting, universities across South Africa were shut down and lectures were suspended. The students and student leaders together showed a unified front concerning the issue of the tuition fee increment. We know this as the document *'transformation lekgotla'* lists the students who turned out for a meeting *"attendance of student leaders in the two transformation lekgotla meetings"* (Homann et al., 2016; "Transformation Lekgotla", 2016). Student leaders of different organisations demonstrated unity during the protests and during the meeting with the university management and government officials in relation to the tuition fee increment at university. The leaders needed to know the decision that the university management and members of the government would take in relation to their demands about free education at universities. These were signs that the students supported the demands for free education at their universities, and required deep and equitable change in relation to issues of tuition fee increment. This implies that the issue of tuition fee

increments was no longer an isolated case but a problem to a wider group of students. This is vital in that both students and student leaders from different members of the organisation all see the need for a change in relation to the issue of tuition fee increment at universities.

In the same year in 2015, student leaders acknowledged the political powers that they had: *“open a campaign of tuition fee increment name #FeesMustFall”* (Homann et al., 2016; “Language Symposium”, 2016). Student leaders played an important role of highlighting issues related to tuition fee increments in the form of the campaign. The campaign was used by student leaders and other students for many purposes. Student leaders used the campaign to mobilise other students off- and online to join the protest against the tuition fee increment. It was again used as an expression that students demanded free education at universities. We know this as it is stated in the document ‘Signed Agreement’ that *“student leaders submitted a list of demands, among the list they mentioned that, we demand free education”* (“Signed Agreement”, 2015, p. 3). According to student demands, students stated clearly in the list that they do not want to pay for education at universities. Student leaders played an important role in using a campaign to require a deep and equitable change in relation to the issue of tuition fee increment at universities. Lastly, it was used as a link to Twitter by student leaders and other students to update each other on what was happening during that time in relation to tuition fee increment. With social media, students were able to reach other students easily, and they were also able to paste any other information related to the protest for tuition fee increments, such as photos, videos and much more. Social media became an advantage to the students, as they were the ones who were controlling its message anytime, anywhere with no management to interfere with the plans of students. The protest that happened in 2015 utilised many technologies, as student leaders were also using social media to facilitate their actions. Student leaders played a role in using social media as a way of communication to leverage the social media platform.

Student leaders stood up for all students on campus, especially those from a disadvantaged family background that did not have money to pay for their tuition fees. Student leaders also played important roles and involved high ranking management in relation to the issue of tuition fee increment, they:

“organised and attended a meeting, submitted a memorandum of demands and negotiated on behalf of students with Vice Chancellors of different universities together with members of the Parliament, including the former President Jacob Zuma” (“Signed Agreement”, 2015, p. 3).

Student leaders saw that protesting would not solve to their problems, so they had to take other actions in relation to matters of free education. Student leaders reached out to the university management and members of the government, organised, and attended a meeting with them. Student leaders played an important role in negotiating in the meeting to require deep and equitable change in relation to issue of tuition fee increment at universities. They demanded that the former president Jacob Zuma respond to the demands of making education free for all students at universities. We know this by the response that was given to student demands by the former Vice-Chancellor and Principal of UP, (Prof. C M de la Rey). The response is shown in the document ‘*Signed Agreement 2015*’. It is also shown by the signatures in this document that:

“Prof CM de la Rey and President of SRC, student leaders of #UPrising, EFF SC (UP Branch) and PYA (UP) have made and entered an agreement that the university management will implement the agreements made in responses to student demands and also that students will continue with their academic programme on 27 October 2015 without any further delay or disruption” (“Signed Agreement”, 2015, p. 1).

This is important, in that after student leaders played roles by attending and negotiating in a meeting with the Vice Chancellors and members of the parliament and submitted a memorandum of demand, a decision was taken in relation to the tuition fee increment and an agreement was reached and signed between student leaders and the management. The Vice Chancellors and members of the parliament, especially former president Jacob Zuma, were able to negotiate with student leaders and resolve the student demands.

In the meeting with vice-chancellors of Universities and members of the government, student leaders submitted a memorandum of demand that they had drafted. The memorandum of demands drafted by student leaders specified several demands. Student leaders stated that:

“we demand free education, no registration fee and interest rates on outstanding fees, we demand a removal of application fees as well as residence levy fee and that students financial status shall have no bearing on their ability to retain their residence placement” (“Signed Agreement”, 2015, p. 4).

Student leaders played a vital role in using a memorandum of demands to require deep and equitable change in relation to their demands related to free education. Student leaders demanded that no one in South Africa had to pay to receive an education. According to the demands of students as stated above, when one was applying to a particular university, he or she should not have to think of application fees or a registration fee, even for the residence levy fee for that matter. This means that the only concern one should have should be to meet the necessary requirement. If the person knew that he or she had passed very well and applied in time, they should automatically know that they would be accepted at university. If the person was already a student at the university and passed very well, they should not have any doubt that they would retain their residence; this should be an obvious case whether the person had or did not have the money to pay for the residence levy fee.

This meant that education should be a right for everyone; no one should be denied education due to the fact that they could not afford to pay. The demand for free or reduced student tuition fees is an important theme in other research on the transformation of universities (Altbach & Klemencic, 2014; Bellei et al., 2014; Shin et al., 2014). Student leaders are the ones who played the role of taking the issue of free or reduced tuition fees further so that changes might occur. This is important in that, considering that South Africa is still a developing country many people are unemployed, it will be difficult for many students to pay their tuition fees.

Other demands that student leaders mentioned in the documents, ‘*Signed Agreement for 2015*’ and ‘*A Draft Vision for Student Life by 2025*’ were related to financial aid and the future of the university by 2025. Students stated that they demanded “*a university that is affordable where funding is well managed*” (“A Draft Vision for Student Life”, 2025, p.1). The document was drafted to push the university and the government to consider the student vision of free education. The document emphasised by 2025, the government should have found a solution for free education at South African universities. Currently, some students do not want to pay for education, it is obvious

that by 2025 students will expect that education would be free by that time, especially those students will not be in a position to pay for any expenses or increased tuition fees in future. If another similar incident occurred in future were universities would want to increase student tuition fees that might lead to the same type of protests that happened in 2015 and this time around it might be even worse, as students will claim that in the past they did raise their voices about the issue of increasing tuition fees.

If the government wants to avoid the chaos that students caused in 2015 because of universities proposing an increase to tuition fees, then the government should prioritise and put education as one of their first priorities. The government might not yet be in the position to provide free education for all students but should ensure that they put or add extra money into education to support students who are coming from disadvantaged family backgrounds while to those students who were able to pay for their tuition fees should pay. This means that poor students should not feel left out when it comes to education and tuition fees. Money is lost through corruption; the government should start to spend money wisely.

Student leaders also played an important role by convincing the government to improve financial aid for students. Student leaders demanded that: *“every person who was deemed fit for financial aid, as per the NSFAS criteria should receive such financial aid from the university”* (“Signed Agreement”, 2015, p. 4). This includes students who do not have parents to pay for their tuition fees, or where their parents are not working or they earn very little and they are unable to pay student tuition fees and any other reason that may identify the student as being unable to pay. Because of these reasons, such affected students are likely to be the ones who are using NSFAS, it is because they cannot afford to pay for their accommodation, food at residence, books and many other things related to their studies. This means that the government should make enough funds available to support those students at universities. The government should ensure that every student is allocated a sufficient amount according to his or her studies at the institution because some students experienced a shortfall even after NSFAS has paid. If the financial requirements at the university of students coming from poor family backgrounds and are not being considered, it means that these students will be unable to continue with their studies. Therefore, this is another way of denying students education and is discriminating students based on their financial status.

We should care that some students are poor because according to the Constitution and the United Nations, poverty must not be an obstacle to deprive a person of access to quality education and basic human needs. This implies that the Constitution of South Africa supports that everyone should receive an education, whether they do or do not have money to pay for their tuition fees. The government must see to it that what is being said in the constitution is put into practice. The fact that students care about the fate of poor students indicates a strong commitment to social justice at the level of the individual life and the institutional context.

In the memorandum, student leaders also stated that they demanded that:

“the university does not exclude disadvantaged students who are at residences, and students must not be excluded from residences due to financial disadvantage” (“Signed Agreement”, 2015).

Student leaders played an important role in requiring deep and equitable change to issues of student fees in residences. According to the above statement university should not ignore or close opportunities for students who are poor, when it come to issues of residence placement. The university must also consider that students are not all coming from the same family background. Student leaders played an important role and tried to remind the management that not all students who were registered at the university could afford to pay either for tuition fees or for residence. Residence also forms part of students needs in relation to student life, more especially for those students who cannot afford to pay for private accommodation. It is obvious that the students who cannot afford residence are most of the time the students who are coming from disadvantaged family backgrounds. If any students are being excluded from the residence because they cannot afford to pay, this implies that those students are being discriminated against by the affordability of residence. The long-term response might be that the university could build more residences to accommodate all students or find alternative ways to ensure more equitable access to accommodation for poor students.

The demands made by student leaders in 2015 were met, even though only for the short term. This came about and changes were announced after they played important roles by

1. initiating and mobilising other students to protest for free education;

2. forming a campaign in relation to free education;
3. organising and attending meetings, negotiating and convincing the university management and the government officials of their viewpoints; and
4. submitting a memorandum of demands in connection to free education.

Former President Jacob Zuma took a decision and announced *“that there will be 0% increment for student tuition fees, this also included registration in 2016”* (“Signed Agreement”, 2015, p. 3). Student leaders of different organisations namely, the ANC Youth League, the EFF Student Command, PASMA, SASCO, UDESMO, UPRising and the AfriForum Youth League played important roles and managed to convince former President Jacob Zuma and university management during the negotiation process to consider making changes concerning the issue of the tuition fee increment at universities. There was a 0% increment in all areas related to student tuition fees at universities; this was applicable to all students. This means that students at different universities in South Africa paid the same price for their tuition fees and for registration fee in 2015 for 2016.

There were many things that were related to or included in the 0% increment. The university management also negotiated with student leaders in responding to their demands, including the demand for free education. Responding to the demand for free education:

“Vice-Chancellor and management met with SRC and announced that UP is not in the position to give any undertakings on behalf of government on the provision of free education” (“Signed Agreement”, 2015, p. 3).

University management explained to students that it was the responsibility of the government to provide free education to students. In 2018, following on to former president Jacob Zuma’s announcement of the 0% student tuition fees at universities, the former minister of finance Malusi Gigaba announced that *“as for the next coming three years, the government has to cut government expenditure to fund free education”* (Gigaba, 2018). The government has been accused of spending lots of funds in unlawful expenditure and corruption, the same money could have been used for education. The government took a decision to revisit its budget to determine if there were additional funds that could be allocated to education. This means that the government will provide more money to assist students with their tuition fees at

universities for the next coming three years. The government might be seen to be running away from taking full responsibility and providing free education to all the deserving students at universities; instead they are announcing things incrementally year after a year. It is not clear whether this is a sustainable model and what the implications would be across different universities.

Another achievement of the student leaders was that they played an important role in convincing the university management to make the necessary changes in relation to the issue of fees at the university and in residences for 2016. The university management also announced that the: *"0% increase on fees will be extended to meal fees applied to students who are staying at residence"* ("Signed Agreement", 2015, p. 4). Students who are staying in residences will still pay the same amount in 2016 that they were paying in 2015 for meals. The increment that was supposed to occur in respect of student tuition fees and meal fees for 2016 and the next coming three years will be paid by the government on behalf of students. This is vital in that it indicates the positive response that the university management and the government took to respond to student demands in relation to the issue of free education at university for 2016 and next coming three years after 2018. The government will still in the future have to make and announce plans in relation to student tuition fees after three years.

Student leaders played an important role in putting pressure on the university management to consider students who had outstanding fees but were staying in residences as well. In relation to the issue of finance of students who are staying at the residence, the university management responded as follows:

"all students who owe residence fee, must make financial agreements to deal with their debt to be exempted from reservation levies¹. Each case is dealt with on an individual student by student basis" ("Signed Agreement", 2015, p. 4).

The university will have to consider ways to resolve the issues of students who owe money to the residence, based on individual problems. This means that it will depend on how much the student is owing for residence, student have to make a deal with the university management and find a way to pay back the money either monthly or quarterly. These could be by assisted by the university providing jobs opportunities for

¹ Reservation levies is the fee that one pays to secure an accommodation in residence.

students, to work during their free time. In doing this, students will not feel the pressure of paying back the money from their own pockets, some do not have that money.

The university management also announced that:

“the university will keep its registration fees in all categories for 2016 unchanged at the levels charged in 2015. Students who are working class will be exempted from registration fees as an upfront payment” (“Signed Agreement”, 2015, p. 5).

Because of the role played by student leaders in negotiating with the university management, student tuition fees and registration did not increase for 2016, and this was also applicable to working students. Students who are or were working received a bonus of free registration if they made an upfront payment (“Signed Agreement”, 2015). The change that is happening at the University of Pretoria in relation to student registration or fees does not exclude postgraduate students. According to the above statement, both undergraduate and post-graduate students also benefited when it comes to registration at university in 2016.

Other demands were related to interest rates fees². The university management responded as follows: *“the interest rates on any outstanding fees owed by a student, these will form part of the bigger debate [it has to be discuss]”* (“Signed Agreement”, 2015, p. 5). Student leaders played a role and tried convincing the university management during their negotiations to make changes in the matter of the interest rates on student tuition fees, but they still have to make decision in relation to this matter (“Signed Agreement”, 2015). University management cannot just make decisions about students’ outstanding tuition fees without first calculating how much each student owes and how much they will lose if they have to cancel all outstanding student fees, this is the huge step the university has to think about carefully before making a decision on it.

However, when it comes to the demands made by student leaders in relation to financial aid³ the management responded as follows:

² Interest rates refers to the amount that is added from the original amount owe by student.

³ Financial aid is any funding or scholarship, or loan paid to assist student to meet his or her university or college expenses.

“there is not enough funding from NSFAS to fund all students who meet the criteria. The Vice-Chancellor will engage NSFAS and the DHET on funding issues and increasing the allocation to the University of Pretoria.” (“Signed Agreement”, 2015, p. 4).

During the negotiation process, student leaders played an important role in demanding changes in the structuring of financial aid. The issue of financial aid still has to be negotiated by the Vice-Chancellor, NSFAS and DHET (“Signed Agreement”, 2015). More funds and bursaries are needed to support student tuition fees at universities.

Student leaders played roles in initiating and mobilising other students to join in a protest against the tuition fee increment at universities and led the protest for free education to the university management and also to the members of the government, to seek change. They formed a campaign in relation to free education. The student leaders have also organised, attended and negotiated in meetings on behalf of students with the Vice-Chancellors of different universities and former president Jacob Zuma about the demands for free education. During the negotiation with the university management and members of the government, student leaders submitted a memorandum of demands that they had drafted. The memorandum contained all the demands made by students concerning the issues of tuition fees at universities. Student leaders also negotiated with the university management and members of the government on the issues of a) the improvement of financial aid for students at university; b) matters of students with outstanding fees and students that are staying in residences and c) issues of the increment student fees and of registration at university.

After the activities resulting from the roles student leaders played, the government announced the 0% tuition fee increase for 2016 at all South African universities and that this would apply to all areas of student tuition fees. Again, in 2018, the former minister of finance Malusi Gigaba announced that the government has to cut government expenditure to fund free education for the next three years.

The university management also announced changes that were related to the 0% increment. This included the meal fees applied to all students who were staying in residences and for registration fees that were kept the same in 2016 as in 2015.

In conclusion, transformation, policy documents at UP and documents that I found on social media revealed that student leaders played various roles in bringing about transformation in the issue of tuition fee increments at university.

5.3 UP Language Policy

In this section, I will give a short summary of the language policy at the University of Pretoria (UP) that will be applied from 1 January 2019, since the language policy has changed. As I will show later in my analysis chapter, the student leaders had a significant influence on the change around the language policy.

According to the new language policy, the University of Pretoria has:

“adopted English as a language of teaching and learning (in lectures, tutorials and assessments) except in cases where the object of study is a language other than English, and in programmes with profession-specific language outcomes subject to approval by Senate” (“UP Language Policy”, 2018, p. 2).

The major policy shift is that Afrikaans will be removed as a second language of instruction, except in some professional degrees such as Education. This is because in a professional degree such as Education, it can happen that Afrikaans is the main language of instruction in some schools, therefore learners has to be taught in Afrikaans. This also applies to the situation were Afrikaans becomes a subject that has to be offered in schools, hence one cannot teach Afrikaans in another language. This is an important change in the language policy that has implications not only for teaching and learning, but also for the transformation of the institutional culture.

The revised UP language policy states that:

“the university must provide spaces and resources for drawing on students’ strongest language (particular Sepedi and Afrikaans, but where possible also other South African languages)” (“UP Language Policy”, 2018, p. 2).

The part of the policy speaks about the difficult issue of mother-tongue instruction in education. The policy further states that they *“must adequately resource the development of Sepedi to a higher level of scientific discourse and must support the maintenance of Afrikaans as a language of scholar”* (“UP Language Policy”, 2018, p. 2). This is a difficult and highly emotive issue, which I analyse in more detail later in the chapter.

In terms of general university administration, the policy states that:

“English as a language of official communication and administration, on all campuses and in residences with services being provided in other South African languages where requested and feasible” (“UP Language Policy”, 2018, p. 2).

English as the proposed language of administration, addresses the instances of exclusion and alienation that non-Afrikaans speakers experienced when Afrikaans was used. The policy further states that *“it must use at least Afrikaans, English and Sepedi for ceremonial purposes”* (“UP Language Policy”, 2018, p. 2). The fact that the policy is inclusive of Sepedi is an important part of institutional transformation in South Africa higher education.

In addition to issues of race and culture, the language policy also speaks to other forms of exclusion, such as disability. The policy states that *“they must provide learning support for language and visually impaired students and staff”* (“UP Language Policy”, 2018, p. 2). The part of the policy speaks about the recognition or appreciation for language and giving extra assistance to visually impaired students and staff. This means that students and staff who are visually impaired must be given extra resources for participation.

5.4 Language of instruction and transformation

My analysis of the documents shows that the issue of the language of instruction and transformation is a contested and complex issue, with competing demands made by student leaders and other stakeholders and institutional constraints playing a role in the decisions around transformation.

Different roles were played by student leaders of different organisations in order to lead student concerns to the relevant management in relation to the issue of the language of instruction and transformation at university. Student leaders of the organisations namely, the ANC Youth League, the EFF Student Command, PASMA, SASCO, UDESMO, and UPRising *“confronted other students, lecturers and Professors physically in class about the issue of language of instruction”* at the university (“Language Policy Feedback”, 2016, p. 1). Student leaders acknowledged the political powers that they had as students and initiated, mobilised and led other students to cause chaos at the university in relation to the issue of the language of instruction. Leaders of the organisations mentioned above together with other students

interrupted lectures in progress about the issue of Afrikaans being the language of instruction at the university. Various activities that usually take place at the university were stopped from taking place, such as lectures that were suspended. Students complained that it could not be that some students had the privilege to study in their mother tongue language, while other students did not receive such a privilege. Therefore, the demand to move to one language of instruction was necessary. The confrontation led to a protest.

Protesting student leaders of the organisations indicated above played an important role and led the protest against the Afrikaans language of instruction and learning at the university. During the protest, we know that they formed a coalition, because it is stated in the document *'Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda of 2016'* that *"we are the coalition (ANC Youth League, EFF Student Command, PASMA, SASCO, UDESMO and UPRrising) formed to advance the Afrikaans Must Fall Campaign"* (*"Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda"*, 2016, p. 2). Student leaders acknowledged their political power and stood together to facilitate and ensure that the protest against the practice of the Afrikaans language at the university was successful. Members of different organisations formed an alliance together to indicate that the issue of Afrikaans language at the university is not an individual problem, hence that is why the majority of the organisations at the university were also part of the alliance. Student leaders also indicated in the memoranda that *"the Afrikaans Must Fall coalition commits to the notion of non-violence as a tool of contestation for the transformation we seek to achieve in the university"* (*"Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda"*, 2016, p. 2). Student leaders played an important role in using a coalition to seek deep and equitable change in relation to the practice of the Afrikaans language at the university. Leaders of the organisations mentioned above emphasised that the coalition was formed strictly to seek change in relation to the Afrikaans language at the university. According to the information mentioned above it was proper for the university management to know that the majority of students at the university were against the practice of Afrikaans language at the university. The change of practise or the use of Afrikaans language is a significant movement to transformation of language at the university. However, violence may have occurred during the protest at the universities. At the University of Johannesburg (UJ) a hundred million rand computer laboratory was burned down

(Lintvelt, 2016). The above information is revealed in the document *'UJ Sanlam Auditorium was a place where the heart felt at home, writes architects' daughter*.

During the protests, the university called on a private security force to help the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the security guards to control and stop the protesting students. Protesting students also threw rubbish bins in the streets, causing a mess, and some barricaded the roads and threw stones at the passing cars. It was mentioned in the document that:

"at every instance where we have been faced by repressive force, by university security, bouncers and the South African Police Service, our intention has always been to have peaceful engagement with the general student body, encouraging the spirit of intelligence within the university and its transformation pursuits" ("Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda", 2016, p. 2).

Protesting students stated that all they ever wanted was to have a non-violent protest that would only result or bring about transformation at the university in relation to the issue of the Afrikaans language. Nevertheless, they mentioned that there was a contradiction in relation to their statement and actions. After the police were called, protesting students clashed with other Afrikaans students, the police and security guards. The police and security guards tried to stop the violence between students. It is written in the graphics and document *'Race violence on Tuks campus'* that

"Security officers try to stop the violence between the Afrikaans speaking students and the Black students at University of Pretoria during the black students' protest to drop Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at the university" (Mokoena, 2016).

Student leaders acknowledged their political powers and used violence to try to bring a solution to the issue of the Afrikaans language. According to the above incidents, one could tell that both the student leaders and students demanded the removal of the Afrikaans language at the university by force. This is significant in that the student leaders of different organisations mentioned above stood together and showed their disapproval of the practice or the use of the Afrikaans language at the university.

Student leaders had to be strategic during their protest to be able to gain more supporters, hence the issue of the Afrikaans language was not affecting all students at the university. In relation to this student leaders responded:

“open a campaign namely #AfrikaansMustFall to mobilise other students to join the protest against Afrikaans as a language of instruction” (“Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda”, 2016, p. 2).

Student leaders acknowledge their political powers and played an important role of using a campaign to mobilise other students on- and offline to join the protest for the removal Afrikaans as a language of instruction at the university. Student leaders did not just use the campaign to assemble other students. The campaign was also used as an expression of anger by the protesting students towards the practice of the Afrikaans language at the university, and lastly, it was used as a link to a Twitter account used by members of different organisations to update each other on any issues related to the protest against the Afrikaans language. Through social media protesting students from different universities were able to communicate with each other fast and easy.

The tendency of student leaders to initiate, mobilise and lead students to protest against the Afrikaans language to facilitate its removal as a language of instruction has been happening ever since 1976. The demand to remove the Afrikaans language emerged as an important theme in other research on transformation in South African higher education institutions (Luescher et al., 2017). Student leaders of the organisations against the practice of the Afrikaans language at university also continued with other actions, because they saw that to protest only was not enough to reach their goals.

In the same year, in 2015, student leaders of the organisations against the practice of the Afrikaans language at university communicated via social media that they needed to state student demands in a formal way and involve the university management, hence they saw that protesting was not enough to solve their problems, so they:

“drafted and submitted a memorandum of demands to the university management, in relation to banning of Afrikaans as a language of instruction at university” (“Language Policy Feedback”, 2016; “Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda”, 2016, p. 3; “Yes Language Policy Feedback”, 2016).

Student leaders of the different organisations together reached out to the university management and highlighted the issue of the language of instruction in the form of a memorandum of demands to the management. The memorandum was drafted by

student leaders according to the grievance and the needs of students. It is the student leaders' role to ensure that student requests or complaints are noticed by the management. The student leaders played a vital role of calling out for the complete removal of the Afrikaans language at the university; their role was expressed in questioning the practice of the Afrikaans language. The demand for banning Afrikaans was mentioned repeatedly in the documents '*Yes Language Policy Feedback for 2016*' and another '*Language Policy Feedback for 2016*', and in the '*Transformation Lekgotla for 2016*' by different stakeholders.

The issue whether Afrikaans had to be abolished or adopted at the university became a complex debate, in real life and also as shown in the documents '*Transformation Lekgotla, 2016*', '*Language Policy Feedback, 2016*' and '*Yes Language Policy Feedback, 2016*'. Members of the Afrikaans Must Fall Coalition stated "*were against the practise of Afrikaans language at university*" ("*Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda*", 2016, p. 3). Members of the organisations mentioned above tried all means to express their feelings and to fight against the practise of the Afrikaans language at the university. According to the information above the coalition against Afrikaans must fall demanded that the university management must phase out Afrikaans language at the university.

The practise of the Afrikaans language at the university created segregation and disagreement among members of different organisations. Student leaders of these organisations mentioned above were fighting for equity and justice to be brought to the university. The organisation opposing the removal of the Afrikaans language at the university also played their role and tried to convince university management not to remove Afrikaans as a language of instruction at the university. Student leaders of the AfriForum Youth League, show their support of fighting that Afrikaans had to be kept as a language of instruction at the university. The leaders of AfriForum Youth League involved the university management during their actions, they:

"drafted and submitted a memorandum of demand to Vice-Chancellor of University of Pretoria, Prof Cheril de la Rey. The memorandum stresses the importance of keeping Afrikaans as a language of instruction at university. In the memorandum, student leaders mentioned that, "it is not wise to abolish a language policy in a short-term

situation” and that Afrikaans students had the right to receive tertiary education in Afrikaans. They stated that “the University confirmed that Afrikaans as a language of instruction would not be abolished” at the university (“Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda”, 2016, p. 13).

Members of the organisation supporting the Afrikaans language also reached out to the university management, and played roles of drafting and submitting a memorandum of demands to the university management. Leaders of the AfriForum Youth League specified in the memorandum why the Afrikaans language had to be kept as a language of instruction at the university. They specified that the Afrikaner students also had the freedom to receive education in the language of their choice. Nevertheless their statement contradicts, as not all students at the university receive education in the language of their choice; that is why the Afrikaans language became an issue at the university. Again, the university could not just decide all of a sudden that the language policy had to change; hence they once promised that Afrikaans would not be removed as a language of instruction at the university. According to the leaders of the AfriForum Youth League, whatever changes the university management may decide concerning the language policy, Afrikaans may not be removed as a language of instruction. The management must take it into consideration that UP is an Afrikaans university. This meant that the management should also consider students who were already in the system and were registered to study in the Afrikaans language.

The way things happened, it was as if it was a competition to win in the submissions to management between the organisations. The leaders of the organisation who were against the practice of the Afrikaans language at the university also had to escalate their concern further to the university management. Now it was part of their plan to talk directly to the management. On the 5th of March and 28th May 2016, student leaders from different organisations (the Afrikaans Must Fall Coalition) and including those who were members of SRC *“attended the meeting with the university management to discuss the issue of Afrikaans language at UP”* (Homann et al., 2016). Student leaders managed to get the attention of the management; they played important roles in organising and attending meetings with the university management. Regardless of the chaos that students created around campus around the issue of language, in the end, they had to do things in a proper way. Attending a meeting together showed unity and

support among student leaders, in order to highlight the student demands of removing Afrikaans as a language of instruction at the university to the management. The evidence that student leaders of different organisations attended meetings with the university management is seen with the attendance lists of the two documents of *'Transformation Lekgotla, 2016'*.

During one of the Transformation Lekgotla's meetings, a suggestion was made that voting by a show of hand should occur by the members who were present in the meeting in relation to the issue of language. Student leaders and other members who attended the meeting voted;

"20 individuals voted in favour of a continuation of lectures in Afrikaans as a transitional measure for 2017 for students already in the system. Thirteen votes were cast in favour of an Afrikaans teach-out until the end of the minimum completion period for the students already in the pipeline.⁴ Eleven individuals voted in favour of lectures being presented in English, with support also being provided in Afrikaans. A total of 17 individuals voted in favour of English as the only medium of instruction from 2017, with only English support for all students" (Homann et al., 2016, p. 11).

This means that student leaders and other university members also expressed their views in the meeting in the form of voting by a show of hand in relation to the issue of language at UP. We know this as it is stated in the document *'Transformation Lekgotla for 2016'*. Members of the University of Pretoria had different opinions when it comes to the issue of language at the university. Some individuals cared that the university has to consider students who are already registered at the university, while others wanted the university to change everything related to language to accommodate everyone equal. This is important in that student leaders played an important role in casting their votes in relation to language at the university.

In the meeting, student leaders also emphasised that: *"the university management should consider making English the only language of instruction and communication at UP"* (*"Transformation Lekgotla"*, 2016, p. 6). This was said as part of the broader negotiation around the language policy. "English only", as it is a universal language, therefore, it should be the only language that is practised at the university. To balance

⁴ Pipeline means students who were already registered in Afrikaans at the university.

equity and to bring peace among students the university management made English the only language at the university, hence it would be impossible to cater to all student needs when it comes to language. The student leaders played a role and talked on behalf of the students with the management about the student demands in relation to the language of instruction at UP.

In the meeting, student leaders negotiated with the university management how they wanted English to be implemented at the university. This demand was also mentioned in the memorandum drafted by student leaders. The student leaders demanded that:

“everything to be in English, this includes all test/exams, assignments and communications (emails, letterhead, faxes, prospectus & study guide) that is done at the university” (“Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda”, 2016, p. 3).

Part of the student demands was that all messages or any other information that had to be conveyed to students or anyone who was a member of the university should be received in the same language, which was English. The demands were made in order to accommodate everyone around campus whether they were students or an employee, at an equal level, and to avoid misinterpretation of concepts or information. Student leaders played an important role in using a memorandum of demands to require deep and equitable change in relation to the way communication is done at the university. Student leaders also played an important role by stating or indicating to the university management where and how the English language was supposed to be used at the university. This demand would also depend on the decision that would be taken by the management in relation to the language policy at the university.

The university was presented with many options by different people when it came to the issue of the language of instruction. Another suggestion that was made by student leaders in the meeting, some students and some lecturers, is reflected in the document titled ‘YES Language Policy Feedback’ namely, that: *“the university adopt English as the only language of tuition while being supplemented by Afrikaans and Sepedi”* (“Yes Language Policy Feedback”, 2016). According to this quote, the university could make English the language of instruction and add Afrikaans and Sepedi for supporting students. This is important in relation to the recognition of other languages to support students; however, it still excluded other South African languages, which also needed

to be considered in order to balance equity and fairness in relation to language at the university.

It is not clearly stated in the documents what sort of support was intended, although some suggestions in the documents mentioned “*support to students in tutorials, practical and discussion*” (“Language Policy Feedback”, 2016; “Transformation Lekgotla”, 2016, p. 9). If any assistance is given to students, it should be in the form of tutorials, practical sessions and discussions. However, this may require training for those people who will be responsible for providing support to students. The urgent demand to implement English as the only language of instruction runs across the elements of deep and equitable change. Remarkable change at the university can only be achieved if English became the only language of instruction. For this reason, this was a key demand where student leaders played a significant role in bringing it to the agenda.

The documents reveal many contradictions that happened in the meetings and when student leaders, students, lecturers and parents gave their views concerning Afrikaans and Sepedi being added to the system for supporting students:

“If Afrikaans and Sepedi is added for support, therefore all the 11 languages should also be considered. Providing additional support to students in the form of Afrikaans and Sepedi only. Support should be given to students in Afrikaans, Sepedi, Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Setswana and Sesotho” (“Language Policy feedback”, 2016; “Yes Language Policy feedback”, 2016, p. 1).

Student leaders, students, lecturers and parents played their roles in expressing or indicating the importance of other South African languages at the university. The issue was that if Afrikaans and Sepedi were added in the system, this resulted in the demand that other African languages should be considered too, and it was mentioned repeatedly in the documents ‘*Language Policy Feedback for 2016*’ and ‘*Yes To Language Policy Feedback for 2016*’ by different people. The resources that would be needed to facilitate the process of languages and materials should be made available to support the students and lecturers. The government should also assist with providing more funds to the universities to make the process possible. However, if the process of considering other languages were to take place, this would take time.

The issue of the possibility of 11 languages being added to the system for supporting students led to the topic of international students at the University of Pretoria. Some student leaders stated that:

“if university considers other 11 languages for supporting students, this would be an exclusion to students who are from other countries and do not understand these languages” (“Language Policy Feedback”, 2016; “Yes Language Policy Feedback”, 2016).

Student leaders and other members who were part of the university played important roles in reminding the management about other South African languages and reminded them not to exclude students who were coming from other countries. Relating to the issue of balancing equity, English being the only language of instruction at UP and excluding all the other languages would be the best option for all students. If the university decided to add all 11 South African languages in the system, then this was still a form of discrimination of some students, because not all students who were from other countries understood these languages. Should these 11 languages all be part of the system, this might create an argument between students from South Africa and other countries as time went by, and it might lead to the withdrawal of international students at UP, as they might feel unwelcome. This might affect the performance and the intake of students at the university, especially regarding students from other countries.

The different roles played by the student leaders and other role players who formed part of the university, has resulted in the university management taking a decision to review the language policy in order to address the student demands concerning the transformation of the language of instruction.

During the negotiations with the university management, student leaders of different organisations namely; the ANC Youth League, DASO, the EFF Student command, SASCO, UDESMO, #UPRising, and the SRC, with the exception of the AfriForum Youth League, managed to influence the management in the meeting to reach: *“consensus about the need to move to one language of tuition that is recognised in Africa and the world, and that is moving to English as the language of tuition”* (Homann et al., 2016, p. 10). An agreement was reached in the meeting in relation to moving to one language of instruction. This means some of the student demands were met in

relation to language at the university. *“English will be the only language of instruction at UP, except in cases where the object of study is a language other than English”* (“UP Language Policy”, 2018, p. 2). This means that except in a situation where a certain subject has to be taught a specific language, English would be used the language of instruction — for example, teaching Afrikaans in Afrikaans or Sepedi in Sepedi or any other language for that matter. As a result of the requirement for transformation and the important roles that student leaders played at their university, significant change occurred.

It is not the first time that English was announced as a language of instruction at UP. At the time when the UP was established in 1908, it was called the Transvaal University College (TUC), Dutch and English were the official languages at that time (“UP Transformation Charter”, 2018). English was the language of instruction, but things changed with time and in 1917 Afrikaans became the second language of instruction (“UP Transformation Charter”, 2018). In 1994, with the beginning of democracy, English was made the second language of instruction at UP. This status remained until 2017 when the UP Council approved that English would become the language of instruction from 2019 onwards (“UP Transformation Charter”, 2018). The issue of UP changing its language policy started long ago, but the situation was different in 1908 and in 2015, because a) in 2015 the students were the ones who initiated the change and again b) for a long time the university was only accommodating white students, but currently, the university is diverse.

Transformation and policy documents reveal that after the student leaders of the organisations namely; the ANC Youth League, the EFF Student Command, PASMA, SASCO, UDESMO, and UPRising played important roles in initiating, mobilising and leading other students to protest against the Afrikaans language, voting against Afrikaans, forming a coalition and a campaign, organised and attended a meeting and submitted a memorandum of demands to the university management concerning the issue of language of instruction at UP university management took a decision to review the language policy and make the necessary changes.

The roles played by the student leaders of the AfriForum Youth League, by drafting and submitting a memorandum and demanding that the university management should consider not removing Afrikaans as a language of instruction at the university,

was not supported by the management. Afrikaans was removed as a second language of instruction at UP except in certain defined cases. For example in areas where Afrikaans was still available in some professional degree programmes such as Education ("UP Language Policy", 2018, p. 2). Afrikaans has been removed as a second language of instruction at the university because it created segregation among students and it only favoured certain students. It has been removed in order to balance issues of equity at the university. The leaders of the AfriForum Youth League tried unsuccessfully with the means at their disposal to keep Afrikaans as a language of teaching and learning at the university.

In conclusion, student leaders played important roles in bringing about transformation regarding the issue of language at UP, in that English is now the only language of instruction and Afrikaans has been removed as a second language of instruction, however the reality of UP being an Afrikaans university makes it difficult to remove Afrikaans completely at the university.

5.5 Institutional culture and transformation

My analysis of documents from social media together with institutional transformation and policy documents show that student leaders played different roles in bringing about transformation to the issues of institutional culture at UP.

Student leaders of the organisations against the practice of the Afrikaans language at the university drafted a memorandum of demands jointly against the institutional culture at the university. We know this as it is stated in the document named 'University of Pretoria 2015-2016 Student Protest Timeline' in the UPRising "*memorandum calling for the Ban of Afrikaans and Cultures associated with Afrikaans*" ("University of Pretoria 2015-2016 Student Protest Timeline", 2015). The leaders of UPRising acknowledged the political power that they had and called for a ban of Afrikaans culture at the university in the form of a memorandum of demands. They played an important role in drafting a memorandum of demands regarding the institutional culture at the university. The memorandum stressed students' concerns in relation to the university and in relation to the residence. Specifically, the memorandum raised students' issues in relation to the practice of Afrikaans cultures at the university.

The memorandum was submitted to the university management at the meeting organised by the student leaders. Leaders of the Afrikaans Must Fall Coalition

“organised and attended different meetings with the university management, where they raised and submitted a memorandum of demands in relation to issues of institutional culture and transformation” (Homann et al., 2016; “Transformation Lekgotla”, 2016). Leaders played an important role in using the memorandum of demands to call for change in relation to institutional culture at the university. The memorandum was another tool used by student leaders to communicate with the management about any issues that bothered students. Issues of transforming institutional culture were formally negotiated in the meetings by student leaders with the university management for them to address those demands or concerns. The student leaders told the management what students needed in relation to institutional culture transformation at UP. The university management listened to the student leaders as they represented the interest of students on their behalf in relation to changes required in the institutional culture at the university. The student leaders showed a unified front when attending meetings together in relation to issues of institutional culture transformation at UP. The evidence that student leaders attended meetings together is seen from the attendance lists of different members of the organisations present in the meetings reflected in the two documents named *‘Transformation Lekgotla for 2016’*.

In one of the meetings that student leaders organised and held with the university management, on the 28th May 2016, student leaders suggested many things in relation to transformation of the institutional culture at UP. Student leaders demanded that the university management should consider *“renaming all the university building that symbolise apartheid and name the buildings after South African heroes”* (“Transformation Lekgotla”, 2016, p. 6).

Student leaders played an important role in requiring change in relation to university buildings names that still promote Apartheid. According to students, the above quote means that the names of the university buildings should be changed and reflect transformation, especially buildings with the names that were used in the past and promoted apartheid. In relation to the above statement, it means that students demanded that university buildings should be given names with a positive meaning and impact for the university and for the students. This meant renaming the university buildings with names that showed no segregation or oppression to other students. This was a significant movement to transformation because we would be moving away from

the names of the university buildings that were used in the past to celebrate the apartheid era.

In relation to the renaming of the university buildings, student leaders added and specified that *“student structures should be renamed to ensure inclusiveness”* (“Transformation Leklotla”, 2016, p. 6). Student leaders played an important role in highlighting to the university management what characteristics or features these building names should have when they were renamed. They also added why it was important that they were renamed in that manner.

Student leaders, specifically the SRC, assisted in drafting and submitting a *“list of policy and procedure documents for management to interrogate options”* (Homann et al., 2016, p. 18). In maintaining order and discipline, the SRC was selected to provide a plan to the university management on how they suggest the process of renaming buildings should work at UP. In drafting the plan, the SRC was assisted by the students because the SRC represented the interest of students. This was also another way of finding out or knowing what the students demanded in relation to the culture at the university. The plan drafted by the SRC was not the final decision. The management would make the decision informed by the plan. It was important that the management consider what students wanted because it was their university and they had a right to provide their inputs.

In the first meeting that student leaders had with the university management on the 5th of March, before the meeting of the 28th May 2016, the student leaders demanded:

“the university management should consider renaming some of the buildings with Afrikaans names and retain others names and that the policy governing the naming of buildings should be revised” (“Transformation Lekgotla”, 2016, p. 6).

This meant that only the names of the university buildings that promoted freedom would be kept or used at UP. If we are saying that South Africa is in the process of transformation from apartheid, we cannot keep on holding on to things that promoted segregation even at universities. One of the students’ demands according to the above quote was that the policy that governed the renaming of the university building should be updated and state clearly that students should be part of the process of renaming buildings and state all the old and new names and the process of implementing these names. This meant that the policy should also state any other information related to

the names of university buildings. This includes all the old and new names of buildings, which should also be available on the UP website. It is important for the next generation to see how the university is being transformed.

Student leaders highlighted to the management the issue of Afrikaans names at the university, demanding *“a complete abolition of all Afrikaans names in the University including lectures halls, residential names, Day houses”* (“Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda”, 2016, p. 4). Student leaders played an important role in indicating where the change in buildings names supposed to occur. The students were concerned that the minority language dominated in all the residence name of the University whilst the majority were not recognised in any form or were represented less. Some lecture halls had names of well-known colonisers who never respected anything that was related to transformation. According to student leaders, such names should be removed around the university campus because they promoted apartheid, and should be replaced with any African heroes’ names. The demand for the renaming of the university buildings emerged as an important theme in other research on institutional culture and transformation, in order to transform universities (Luescher et al., 2017).

In extension to the issue of building names, student leaders mentioned other demands in the meeting and stated the memorandum of demands that:

“they demanded Client Service Centre (CSC) be named as Student Service Centre (SSC) as it is a centre for exactly that and not clients. They also required that STUKU⁵ as the main perpetrators of the Afrikaans culture in the University should be abolished. They demanded a complete ban of the name TUKS “(Transvaal Universiteits Kollege) which signified the oppressive Apartheid regime, which saw the land of BaTswana being renamed to Transvaal, a state that oppressed Black people in South Africa” (“Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda”, 2016, p. 4).

The University’s branded material clothing, utilised in sports, still had the word TUKS embedded in the material. To the students, names such as CSC, TUKS and STUKU, which were used on the campus or still visible at the university, implied that the University had largely not yet changed. Therefore, all Afrikaans name should be

⁵ STUKU mean the Students Culture Committee

replaced with English names around campus. This meant that these new names should also appear on the university website and in the policy on names that governed the naming of university buildings. The issue of CSC, TUKS and STUKU was mentioned in the Transformation Lekgotla documents and in the literature reviewed as issues in the renaming of the university buildings.

Other demands mentioned by student leaders in the memorandum of demands were that:

“admission quotas in the university and also in the university residence should reflect the demographics of South Africa, that is ‘there should be more black people to white people in residences and the university, as it is in South Africa’ (“Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda”, 2016, p. 4).

Since the demographics of South Africa reflect a majority of Black people, more than White people, students demanded that this had to be visible in the university and also in residences. There should be more Black people admitted at the university and accommodated in residences compared to White people. Student leaders played a role in reminding the university management that the demographics of SA should also be remembered in the case of the admission of students. The leaders also played a role in demanding change in relation to matters of the demographic quotas at UP and in residences. This would show that transformation was promoted by considering other races.

Even though black students should be accommodated in residence in higher numbers than white students should, it was important that the university used criteria to accommodate all students at an equal level. Lastly, student leaders demanded that *“placement at residences should include criteria such as distance, merit, value-adding contribution and racial or demographic quotas”* (“Transformation Lekgotla”, 2016, p. 9). Student leaders played an important role of demanding change to issues of admission and placement of students in a university residence. This meant that students should be placed in residence based on the conditions that favoured all students at the university. Factors such as long-distance travel by students to get to university and those students who did not have cars should also be considered when placing students in residences. It should be born in mind that one cannot fully rely on the public transport. The situation currently where more white students were placed in

residences than black should be changed, according to the students. If students of different races knew that placements in residences were considered based on fair criteria, this would make the students feel considered in the residences and would boost student confidence.

The students' demands in relation to the SSC and new buildings were met. However, their demands concerning TUKS, Afrikaans building names, the policy governing building names and the admission quotas at UP were not stated in the institutional documents and it is not clear from the documents whether transformation did or did not occur in these areas. Student leaders played a significant role in organising and attending meetings and convincing the university management during the negotiation process to consider changing the name of the building Client Service Centre to Student Service Centre, and new buildings are now named after South African heroes. These changes are not mentioned in the documents; however, they are visible around the University of Pretoria buildings. Student leaders played a vital role and put forth to university management the issue of balancing the admission and residence placement criteria of students with the demographics of South Africa for consideration at the university. The SRC played a role in drafting a policy and procedure document for management to interrogate options, in relation to the process of re-naming the university buildings. The student leaders raised the issue of promoting or using South African heroes' names at the university to rename the university buildings to the management.

In relation to the change of building names, UP was once called Transvaal University College (TUC) in 1908 when it was established ("UP Transformation Charter", 2018). Thirteen years later, an Act of Parliament established the TUC as the University of Pretoria ("UP Transformation Charter", 2018). However, even after parliament changed the university name, there were also other symbols that promoted segregation and oppression at the university. This is why transformation is taking place at UP. The University of Pretoria is still developing to become an institution that accommodates students and staff from different races and cater to or recognise other South African cultures at an equal level. This process is changing slowly with time and with the developments at the university, as set out in the *'University of Pretoria Transformation Charter 2018'*.

In addition if one were to compare UP now to before it changed its name from TUC, the university then had 32 white students only. This shows that a lot has changed even though it may have taken time ("UP Transformation Charter", 2018). The University of Pretoria currently *"has more than fifty thousand students majority of whom are black and female"* ("UP Transformation Charter", 2018, p. 2). This means that UP has created a place for black students at the university. According to the above quote, UP is trying within their means to bridge the gap of the race issue at the university. This means that there is no longer such a thing as white people will be admitted in a large quantity based on the fact that UP is an Afrikaans university. It looks like the demographics of South Africa is being considered when it comes to admission of students at UP. This is an important movement towards transformation in respect of balancing race; however it might be a bit complicated to balance gender too because the university only admits students who have applied and registered at the university. The issue of the university not being able to balance gender might be that more females than males are applying and registering at the university. The matter of reflecting the demographics of South Africa also forms part of the students' demands.

According to the information reflected in the UP Transformation Charter, this means that *"the numbers of black students in 1994 constituted only 11% of the total contact student body, and these figures increased in 2016 up to 54% of contact students"* ("UP Transformation Charter", 2018, p. 2). The above quote indicates a huge improvement in terms of black students who were admitted or are being admitted at the University of Pretoria. It is not only the number of students that have increased at the university, but *"the representation of permanent employed black people among staff rose from 33% in 2006 to 53% by 2016"* ("UP Transformation Charter", 2018, p. 2). According to the above figures, more blacks than white students and staff were or are admitted and accommodated at UP by 2016. This means that the University of Pretoria has been trying very hard to accommodate both black students and staff.

The University of Pretoria has also set some goals that they want to achieve in order to make the university as an institution better than it was before. This means making the university an institution that is inclusive for all students of different races. Some of these goals are: *"to ensure access to a diverse student body, is reflective to demographic mix and social complexity of South Africa"* ("UP Transformation Charter", 2018, p. 2). The University of Pretoria is even committing to try and resolve

the issue of having more white students admitted at the university. The university is trying slowly to erase the mentality that UP is only for white students, they do this by opening doors for other races.

The management at UP is not only focusing on solving problems that are related to students, but their goals go beyond that. In their goals, they also included that they wanted *“to ensure realisation of employment equity as set in the University Employment Equity Plan”* (“UP Transformation Charter”, 2018, p. 2). The university also binds itself that when employing people they will take into consideration the policies that deal with the employment of people because the policies encourage fair representation of associates of minority groups, women or other people who suffer from discrimination. The university wants to be fair in relation to the issue of race even when employing people. This means other races will also be given an equal space at the university. This goes from starting as a general worker to being a university president or Vice Chancellor.

The management at UP also focuses their goals on empowering black women. It is stated in the *‘UP Transformation Charter for 2018’* that the university wants *“to enhance research capacity of production of black and women academics”* (“UP Transformation Charter”, 2018, p. 2). Very few black women in white universities have been side-lined more than their counterparts, white women, therefore more space is being provided for black female academics at UP. Some universities have opened their door for women to hold management positions, such as the principal and Vice Chancellors of UCT and former principal and VC at UP, although more still needs to be done to close the gap that has been left by the apartheid regime and segregation or discrimination. There is no place for complacency regarding the recognition of black women by the university and as a whole.

Lastly, the management emphasises that their goal is: *“to engender institutional cultures and practices that is welcoming to all students and staff from socio-economic, cultural backgrounds”* (“UP Transformation Charter”, 2018, p. 2). There was a time where some cultures were ignored or not practised at universities, this certainly happened during the times of apartheid. The end of the period of apartheid has caused South African universities to reconsider the way they used to do function. It has caused them to develop initiatives to accommodate all people equally at the university. The

University of Pretoria is trying to move away from expressing traditional white cultures as this creates segregation between students. The practice of celebrating only white cultures at this time makes the university untransformed; hence, such practices need to be taken into consideration. The University of Pretoria is trying to pay attention to other cultures. The only way to do this is to create space for learning and practising these cultures at the university. Since South Africa consists of diverse cultures that have not been recognised at UP before, because of moving forward in relation to transformation, it is now important that those cultures be recognised equally, to boost students' confidence and for promoting those cultures.

The transformation documents do not say anything to clarify whether the transformation has happened or is happening in relation to the following demands: the removal of the name TUKS and Afrikaans building names, the revision of the policy governing building names and the revision of admission quotas at UP. The silence could possibly mean that these changes are under discussion or implementation. Since the above issues form part of student demands, it is important that consideration be taken of these issues, because this will also prove to students that the university is not ignoring some demands and is willing to bring about transformation, although these deep-seated institutional changes will take time and sustained commitment.

In conclusion, student leaders played numerous roles in bringing about transformation at UP in relation to the issues of the SSC and naming of new buildings, however, it is not stated in the documents whether the name TUKS, Afrikaans building names, the revision of the policy governing building names and admission quotas at UP were transformed.

5.6 Residence culture transformation

Concerning issues of residence culture and transformation, student leaders played essential roles in order to bring about transformation at the university.

Student leaders played important roles in "drafting and submitting a memorandum of demands that they presented to the university management during the meetings they organised and attended" ("Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda", 2016). Student leaders played an important role in using a memorandum of demands to require deep and equitable changes to issues related to residences at the university. Issues of transforming residences were discussed in the same meetings were issues

of the language of instruction, institutional culture and curriculum transformation were discussed. The same memorandum that contained matters of institutional culture also contained matters of the transformation of residences at UP. The student leaders found out from the students what is it that concerned students in relation to the residences at UP, they did this by means of organising meetings with students. In those meetings, issues related to residences that worried students were discussed with student leaders. Student leaders together with students also discussed ways of informing the university management about these issues. After the discussions, student leaders drafted a memorandum of demands according to student interests or concerns in relation to all the changes that students demanded to see at their residences. The memorandum was submitted to the management during the meeting. University management listened and received the memorandum from student leaders on behalf of students, and had to make changes or additions based on what students needed in relation to the residences at UP. This is another way of facilitating communication between students, student leaders and the university management, in order to create peace and discipline. In this way, student leaders also showed recognition of students and respect to the university management.

In the meetings student leaders attended with the university management on the 5th of March and 28th May 2016, as is also written in the memorandum of demands, the student leaders demanded that:

“There should be no residence that has a dominating race to others as we currently see in the university, for example ‘Tuks Naledi can’t be seen as the Black residence whilst as Sonop a white residence’, we demand a complete abolition of residential and Day House cultures as we believe that they are the biggest perpetrators of the Afrikaans culture that oppressed Black South Africans previously and continue to oppress Black people in the University of Pretoria. This includes but is not limited to: ‘singing to statues in residences’, ‘addressing the House committees with Afrikaans names such as Juffrou and Meneer’, ‘the house songs that continued to praise Afrikaans’, ‘the practice of Serrie⁶ in residences, that is an untransformed event and

⁶ Serrie is a culture that is practised in residences by first years, it involves singing and dancing. Another name for it is ‘lenkmelodienk.’

should be removed, and many others things” (“Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda”, 2016, p. 4).

Student leaders played a crucial role in disclosing to the university management what kinds of practices were happening in their residences that they do not feel comfortable in performing, on the basis that these practices still promoted segregation among students. According to students’ demands, they would be pleased if the management would put or accommodate more black students in residences, to balance equity and promote the issue of the demographics of South Africa. This means that residences should not look as if they are black or white residences, because this creates segregation and discouragement among students. If a majority of black or white students were accommodated in certain residences, this made some students feel inferior and others feel superior, and students started to compare the differences that existed in these residences. Students even compared which culture was practised most in residences, when they saw that some culture was recognised more than the others were, this resulted in a feeling of a lack of belonging in students.

Therefore, the practice of Day House Cultures, such as singing to statues, should be cancelled; hence, this could imply many things, such as the need to promote other cultures. This was another way of forcing people to do something, without even trying to understand whether they wanted to or not. According to the students, having to call other students by names that their parents were forced to use during the apartheid years when addressing white people, still promoted apartheid.

Let us not forget the practice of Serrie, as it has been mentioned by students and form part of the Day House Cultures. When you are a first-year student and you get a place in a residence, one of the things that you have to do in that residence is to practice Serrie. The house committee of residence tells first-year students that it is compulsory to do serrie, as they claim that it is part of the culture in residence. White culture in the form of initiation has been practised for years and excludes other races, which is not inclusive. This should not be practised in the new inclusive 21st century. Therefore, either serrie has to be transformed to include other cultures or should be removed. Policies that govern the practising of serrie, whether in residences or at the university, should be revised and include other cultures. Such non-inclusive practices need to be eliminated in residences. Residences should also be changed to involve other

cultures; this is only fair to all the students. For example, include the practising of all South African cultures in residences. South African cultures should also be practised equally in residences and at university just like any other culture for that matter. Because white students are accommodated more than black students are in residences, it means there are still issues of imbalance in respect of race that favour only white culture. This means that the promotion of white culture instead of black culture is still visible in residences at UP. Student leaders demanded that even in residences, the practice of Afrikaans culture should be abolished. This is seen as important for transformation in residences.

The demands associated with accommodating black students in residences and the changing of residence name were met. Nevertheless, the demands related to demographic informed quotas in residences, the abolishment of Day House cultures in residences, the singing to statues and songs that praised Afrikaans, addressing house committee members as 'Juffrou' and 'Meneer' and the practising of Serrie are not reflected in the institutional documents, so it is not clear whether transformation occurred in these cases. This could possibly mean that the management is still discussing how to resolve these issues or maybe changes are happening in residences.

Student leaders played important roles in organising, attending meetings and presenting a memorandum of demands to the university management and managed to convince the management to improve the culture in residences in that black students are now accommodated in residences, however it is not clear whether there is a balance between the numbers of black and white students in residences. Old and new residences are now named after South African heroes although this change is not mentioned in the transformation documents. However, the results are visible around UP residences.

In conclusion, several roles played by student leaders in relation to matters of residence culture transformation has led the management at UP to take a decision to accommodate black students in residences and old and new residences are undergoing name changes and reflecting transformation. Nevertheless, issues of demographic quotas in residences, the abolishment of the Day House culture in residences, the singing to statues and songs that praise Afrikaans, addressing house

committee as 'Juffrou' and 'Meneer' and the practising of Serrie and whether transformation did or did not take place regarding these cultural practices are not addressed in the transformation and policy documents.

5.7 Curriculum transformation

My analysis of documents shows that student leaders, faculties and departments all played roles in bringing about transformation regarding the issue of the curriculum at UP. A faculty consists of departments while departments are a subdivisions of faculties.

Student leaders seemed to have based their demands concerning curriculum transformation on decolonisation and democratisation of the curriculum. To student leaders, decolonisation of the curriculum means escalating issues related to indigenous knowledge, addressing module codes that are abbreviated in Afrikaans and improving pedagogy to the university management for them to solve these issues. Student leaders found different ways to inform the management at UP about the issue of curriculum transformation.

In 2016, student leaders of the same organisations that were involved in the #FeesMustFall protest took to the streets to demonstrate about their concerns relating to changing the curriculum at their universities "*student leaders initiated and organised a protest for curriculum reform at their university*" (Mathers, 2016). Leaders of the organisations mentioned above acknowledged their political power and mobilised other students to join the protest for curriculum reform. We know this as it is revealed in the document named '*South African student politics 40 years after Soweto*' that was taken from social media.

Following the protest that was organised by student leaders, leaders of different organisations approached the university management to inform them about curriculum transformation at UP. Leaders of these organisations jointly: "*organised, attended and negotiated in the meetings with the university management about issues of curriculum transformation at the university*" (Homann et al., 2016; "Transformation Lekgotla", 2016). Student leaders held a meeting with the university management and convinced the management to meet with them to discuss students' demands concerning curriculum transformation at UP. Student leaders played important roles and informed the management about the issues of the curriculum that worried students and they

requested changes regarding these issues. This is important in that in order to move forward in relation to transformation at the university, such issues needed to be resolved.

In the meeting, in the form of a request, student leaders mentioned a number of issues that they would like the management to tackle in relation to curriculum transformation at the university. The student leaders mentioned that *“university management should consider decolonising and democratising the curriculum”* (“Curriculum Transformation Framework Final Draft”, 2016, p. 1; Curriculum Transformation Document, 2017). The student leaders played a significant role in labelling or classifying all matters related to curriculum transformation under decolonisation. According to the demands of the students, the university management should change the curriculum and make it more inclusive for all students. This meant that the curriculum should reflect South African contexts. Students wanted any parts of the curriculum that promoted segregation among students to be eliminated at the university. As an example, practising Afrikaans should be removed as part of the curriculum at the university because it created divisions among students. This was among the important demands that needed to be resolved as part of moving forward in relation to the curriculum transformation at UP.

Student leaders specified to the university management what they demanded or meant in relation to the decolonisation of the curriculum at UP. One of the things that they mentioned was that the curriculum should be decolonised and *“teach students about indigenous knowledge and about history of Africans and invaluable contribution that Africans made”* (“Clusters Curriculum Transformation Action”, 2016; “Transformation Lekgotla”, 2016, p. 6; “Transformation Lekgotla Programme and Memoranda”, 2016, p. 3). The student leaders played a significant role in highlighting issues of indigenous knowledge and Africans who contributed to South Africa to the university management. According to the above statement, the students demanded that the curriculum should be changed to correspond with transformation. This meant that people who contributed to the transformation in South Africa should be known and their stories should be told. Part of fully understanding transformation is about knowing who did what and how they brought about change. This also relates to what this study is all about.

In relation to change in the curriculum, student leaders also mentioned in the meeting issues of South African modules that the management should also consider adding in the system. As stated, they wanted

“core South African modules to be part of the curriculum of all students in all faculties” (“Curriculum Transformation Framework Final Draft”, 2016, p. 4; “Transformation Lekgotla”, 2016, p. 9).

In relation to the topic of modules, the student leaders played a role in emphasising to the management that it was about not only teaching students who did what and the significance of what they did, but it is about having the module in the curriculum. This meant that modules that educated students about South Africa’s past should be added to the system and be part of all the student modules in the universities and in colleges. If possible, this could also be added at the primary or high school level, like the proposed implementation of history as a compulsory subject at schools. This might need more time and resources to implement the process; hence, it is suggested to change the system at universities. However, it is important that students know where South African came from, what changes have happened and where to go from here. It is also important to know about transformation in order to recognise changes that are happening in our lives.

These issues lead from one issue to another. The issue of core South African module led to the topic of module codes. In relation to this student leaders demanded that the management consider: *“transforming of module codes, which appear all to be based on Afrikaans module name and should change in line with an English-only language policy”* (Homann et al., 2016, p. 15). Leaders of the organisations explained to the management that some things might look like they were minor or unimportant to transform; however in relation to transformation this was an important symbolic change. The role of student leaders was also noticed when they were able to identify that even module codes that were still in Afrikaans should be changed. According to the students, change from Afrikaans to English should happen in all areas and should be visible at the University. This meant that even the pages on the website of the university that indicated all the names of module codes that were offered at the University should be revised and only new English module codes should remain or

should be added. This would also help the next generation who will build on the existing transformation agenda.

In addition to the issue of modules, student leaders again demanded that the management should also consider including in the system: "Science Comprehension module and Communication module and this module should be Afro-centric but extend and be able to reach the world about the nation and the work being done" ("Clusters Curriculum Transformation Actions", 2016, p. 1).

Students demanded that all modules must be broader and inclusive from an African perspective, where scientific reports and studies must be applied to the broader value of South Africa and the world at large. In reference to the above quote, students do not want South African to be taught everything from a Western perspective while the westerners never recognised our own writing, which created a stereotype mindset. Africa has a rich history in science and language that is not recognised much in the world of academics. This demand might be challenging to achieve; hence it would require a lot of time and resources to change from a Western perspective to an African science comprehension and communication module. This means there should also be lecturers who have knowledge about African science comprehension and communication modules, if there were not, training of lecturers should take place. The issues of indigenous knowledge and modules occur should be addressed at all the universities and all the colleges. In relation to the issue of resources, South Africa is currently still a developing country and has financial constraints, the government is even unable to create job opportunities for South Africans. Therefore, this might be a challenge to putting this into practice, as it will be costly.

According to the negotiations in the meeting between the student leaders and university management, the students at UP also stressed about issues concerning classrooms, academics and students. University management was persuaded that they must consider the

"opinion of students and academics when transforming the curriculum, especially concerning what is happening inside the classroom. This has to do with renewal and removal of pedagogy and classroom practices that hinder in the way of diversification" ("Curriculum Transformation Framework Final Draft", 2016, p. 4).

Student leaders played an important part in demanding that the opinion of students should be considered when it comes to what was happening inside the classroom. Because teaching and learning involved both academics and students, students should not be ignored during curriculum transformation. Students demanded that they should have a say how they want to be taught and lecturers should state how they wanted to teach students. This should be applied to anything that had to do with what was happening inside the classroom. However, changing teaching methods may not be an easy and straightforward issue because as part of the curriculum students are being trained or prepared to qualify for professional practice, hence if the curriculum changed, this might affect the requirements or the preparation for professional work. Therefore, such changes should not affect the current focus.

The student leaders emphasised the issue of student and lecturer again, stating that “the opinion of students and academics should also be considered in decisions such as curriculum delivery method, language medium, context, teaching, assessment, student support, technology use and co-curriculum” (“Clusters Curriculum Transformation Actions”, 2016, p. 1).

The student leaders played an important role in emphasising to the management specifically where students and academics must be involved in relation to the curriculum inside the classroom. When the management drafted the curriculum, students as receivers of knowledge and academics as curriculum deliverers had to be involved, in order to promote inclusivity, this is what students required. This means that students should decide how they want to be taught, which language they prefer to be taught in, how they would like to be assessed, how and when they wanted to be supported, especially where they were struggling, and how technology should be used in relation to their curriculum. This will be a complex process that must be carefully negotiated between the different role players, as it may be too demanding for the lecturers. However, in doing this, lecturers will have a better more understanding of how to assist students and they will understand the needs of students better.

Lastly, student leaders mentioned that change was required in relation to ‘*materials and assessments that privilege some identities or experiences over others*’ (“Curriculum Transformation Framework Final Draft”, 2016, p. 4). The student leaders played an essential role in reminding the management that change should also occur

in materials and assessments that involved student work in relation to the curriculum at university. This means that transformation should be reflected in books and in assessments that are given to students. This is important in measuring students' understanding in relation to transformation in general. The demand for the decolonisation of the curriculum also emerged as an important theme in other research on transformation in South African higher education institutions (Langa et al., 2017; Le Grange, 2016).

Faculties and department also contribute to the curriculum transformation at UP.

"Faculty of Humanities will be running session on critical diversity literacy for academics and students to enable them to begin questioning the silent assumptions that they make of each other in the classroom and beyond, as a starting point for transformation" ("Letter from the Deans Office Curriculum Transformation Humanities", 2016, p. 3).

According to the statement above, the Faculty of Humanities played or should play a role in involving students and academics in curriculum transformation. They will do this by addressing issues that have been raised by the students in which the students felt as if they were ignored or taken for granted. Some of the issues were involved with what was happening inside the classroom and involved both lecturers and students.

For faculties to be able to address issues that bother students, they first have to undertake "evaluating the current curriculum offered in a faculty in relation to, but not limited to, the four drivers of the curriculum" ("Curriculum Transformation Framework Final Draft", 2016, p. 6; "Letter from the Deans Office Curriculum Transformation Humanities", 2016). Faculties played an important role in assessing the curriculum, ensuring that planning and implementation of the curriculum were done accordingly. Afterwards the university management made a decision about the curriculum at the university, according to the students' demands. The faculties will decide about what was supposed to happen in the faculty in relation to the curriculum delivery. The faculties have to ensure that students and lecturers follow and implement the curriculum according to the policy that governs the curriculum in that faculty.

Faculties should evaluate the curriculum according to the four drivers of the curriculum, which are explained by the curriculum work stream in transforming the curriculum at the university. These four drivers can be explained as:

1. "responsiveness to social context: both local and global, providing for suppressed knowledge, marginalised narratives and various categories of difference. The curriculum should form thoughtful citizens who can contribute to the world around them in a positive manner" (Homann et al., 2016, p. 13).

This means that as education is globalised all forms of knowledge must be shared and must be recognised with a virtue of global standards and respect. African perspectives when it comes to science, values, and beliefs or understanding of their world views must be documented and be spread around the world of academics, not only learners or students should not receive information from western culture only. The curriculum should be drafted and presented to students in a way that will allow students to be able to make a useful contribution in this world.

The second driver of the curriculum is:

2. "epistemological diversity: curriculum transformation is an ongoing process, which requires constantly encouraging diversification of sources of knowledge and challenging ideas coming from the global North, bringing to the centre local, African and global South knowledge. A critical reckoning of the history of the various discipline is needed. It would also be important to interrogate the requirements of professional bodies" (Homann et al., 2016, p. 13).

This meant that more black academics must be capacitated and the historically white institutions must open their doors for black professionals so that they may provide their form of knowledge in the form of debate and engagements. We must have South Africa's own understanding and curriculum that are more about us than the western cultures. Philosophy and ontology must be in an African perspective, which can be able to lay ground on every culture in South Africa.

The third driver of the curriculum that was explained by the work stream is:

3. "renewal of pedagogy and classroom practices: It is not just about transformation of syllabus, but also about what happens in the classroom, including transitions from high school to University and ultimately to the world of work. The composition of the student and staff body should be interrogated. The active inclusion of students in the learning space should be pursued" (Homann et al., 2016, p.13-14).

How the knowledge is transformed is very important to students. This includes the way questions are asked and how they are interpreted is vital. The gap between high schools and the university is huge; the curriculum and teaching strategy are totally different, which contributes to the high number of students dropping out at university, especially amongst black students. Therefore, faculties have to ensure that there are improvements in the methods and practice of teaching by lecturers. Faculties should monitor what is happening inside the classroom, which involves both students and lecturers.

The fourth driver of the curriculum is:

4. "institutional culture: openness and critical reflection, particularly in terms of the hidden curriculum, the need to seek out different scholars, and looking at stereotypes and hierarchies" (Homann et al., 2016, p. 14).

This means that institutions must be based on openness and be willing to transform the world around them and be able to provide opportunities to the previously marginalise people and be willing to assist them in any way.

After faculties have evaluated the curriculum, faculties will work together with the department identifying steps, plan accompanied by timeline, they will take to address the imperatives of curriculum transformation, according to the four drivers of the curriculum" ("Curriculum Transformation Framework Final Draft", 2016, p. 6).

Student leaders and other members of the workstream played a vital role in drafting the four drivers of the curriculum at UP. In addition, faculties and departments played an important role in facilitating the process of curriculum transformation at university according to the above-mentioned four drivers of the curriculum, so as to bring about deep and equitable changes at the university. Together they decide on the specific time frame and procedure that lecturers and students have to follow in the classroom in relation to curriculum transformation; this should be done according to the policy.

The outcomes relating to the demands related to the issues of Indigenous knowledge were met. However, demands related to teaching, context, assessment, technology use, co-curriculum, the structure of modules and module codes, and teaching about the history of Africa and the invaluable contribution Africa made are not stated in the institutional transformation documents. Therefore, it cannot be determined whether

any of the requested transformation occurred. This could possibly mean that the university management is still discussing those issues or they are under implementation.

The student leaders played important roles and mobilised other students to protest for curriculum reform at their university. The student leaders also drafted and submitted a memorandum of demands during the meeting they organised and attended with the university management, in the meeting they convinced the management to consider to *“integrate both Indigenous and Eurocentric knowledge in the curriculum”* (“Clusters Curriculum Transformation Actions”, 2016, p. 2). This means that university management is planning to add indigenous knowledge in the current curriculum at UP. The student leaders also played a vital role in helping to draft the four drivers of the curriculum at UP.

Concerning matters of curriculum delivery, in relation to the language of instruction, student leaders managed to convince the university management to review the language policy and the necessary changes have been done to meet the students’ demands.

In conclusion, various roles played by the student leaders at UP has led the university management to consider integrating both Indigenous and Eurocentric knowledge in the system to transform the curriculum and review the language policy. However, the outcomes in relation to teaching, context, assessment, technology use, co-curriculum, structure of modules and modules codes, and teaching about the history of Africans and the invaluable contribution Africans made are not reflected in the transformation and policy documents. It is, however, clear that to students decolonisation of the curriculum means addressing several issues at the university.

6 CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

In this chapter, I reach a conclusion on how I was able to answer my research questions in relation to the role(s) the student leaders played in bringing about transformation at UP. This follows the demands that were made by the student leaders for a free education, changes to the language of instruction, curriculum and institutional and residence culture transformation at UP. This is followed by a discussion on how I respond to my research question. Then I discuss the limitations and challenges in relation to my study. Lastly, I provide policy recommendations based on what I found in my data analysis.

Documents from social media together with institutional transformation and policy documents that are available in the University of Pretoria online public domain helped me to answer my research questions regarding the role(s) student leaders played in bringing about transformation to the proposed tuition fee increment, the language of instruction, curriculum and institutional and residence culture. The documents reveal a number of things that are irrelevant and some that are relevant to my study. In relation to my study, the documents reveal:

1. the steps or actions undertaken by student leaders and other students in bringing change to issues of tuition fee increment, language of instruction, curriculum and institutional and residence culture;
2. the disruption that happened between protesting students, the police and the security guards and also disagreements between student leaders of different organisations, especially in relation to the removal of Afrikaans as a language of instruction at UP; and
3. the transformation that resulted because of the roles the student leaders played.

When responding to my research question, I was guided by the research sub-questions and the theory of transformative leadership that I used in my study. I converted the two elements or concepts of transformative leadership theory into a conceptual framework that I used to analyse the documents from social media together with the policy and institutional documents, in response to my research questions. In the concepts '*affecting deep and equitable change*' I was looking for the changes that

student leaders demanded to see at their university in relation to the demands made by students. In the second concept '*acknowledge power*', I was looking at how student leaders used their political power through mass protest actions and demonstrations to force the university management and the government to enter into discussions about their demands. The two concepts were applied in all four the areas of student demands, in order to bridge the gap of social injustice and promote social justice at UP.

Student leaders seemed to play the same roles of bringing about changes concerning the demands they made concerning free education, the language of instruction, the curriculum and institutional and residence culture transformation. The student leaders acknowledged the political power that they had as students and were able to mobilise other students to join the protests. The roles of student leaders were seen when they initiated, mobilised and led other students to protest for the free education, changes to the language of instruction and curriculum and institutional and residence culture transformation at UP. Campaigns such as #FeesMustFall and #AfrikaansMustFall were formed during those protests, as an expression of resentment from students and were used as a link to Twitter by student leaders to mobilise other students to join the protest and update each other on issues related to protest during that time.

The student leaders also reached out to members of government and the university management to organise, attend meetings and negotiate with them on behalf of students about free education or the changes students wanted at their university in relation to the tuition fee increment. In addition, the student leaders emphasised the issue of improvement of financial aid for deserving students to the university management and members of the government. Members of the government were only involved by the student leaders in issues of financial aid, free education or reduction of tuition fees while the university management were involved in all the issues related to the student demands either within the university or in residences. During the negotiations, they convinced the relevant management to listen to them and submitted memorandums of demands to the relevant management in order for them to answer to the student demands.

Issues of free education, the language of instruction, the curriculum and institutional and residence culture transformation were discussed at the meetings student leaders

had with the university management on the 5th March and again on the 28 May 2016. The issues of free education were again discussed at the meeting the student leaders of different organisations namely, the ANC Youth League, the EFF Student Command, PASMA, SASCO, UDESMO, UPRising and the AfriForum Youth League had with the Vice-Chancellors of different universities and members of the parliament including former President Jacob Zuma.

The actions or the roles the student leaders took in bringing about transformation at universities fit relative to the current body of knowledge in that it shows that student leaders did or do contribute to transformation at universities.

Most of student demands were met, however some outcomes are not stated in the documents as to whether they were met or not. In relation to the tuition fee increment, the student leaders played important roles in that the government was convinced to make and announce a decision that there would be a 0% increase in all areas of student tuition fees at universities for 2016. In the following two years, in 2017 and 2018, the government again announced that it would reduce its expenditures to fund free education for all poor students at the university.

In 2015, the university management met with student leaders to announce a number of changes that were related to the 0% tuition fee increment at universities for 2016. The university management announced that: a) the 0% increase in fees would be extended to the meal fees applicable to all students who were staying in residences and b) registration fees will be kept unchanged at the 2015 levels in all categories for 2016, and all the working students who made upfront payment would be exempted from registration fees. In relation to financial aid, the Vice-Chancellor would engage with NSFAS and the DHET on funding issues and increase the allocation to the University of Pretoria.

In relation to language of instruction, because of the roles played by student leaders of the organisations namely, the ANC Youth League, the EFF Student Command, PASMA, SASCO, UDESMO and UPRising they managed to convince the university management to take a decision to review the language policy that would be put into practice as of 1 January 2019. The decision was taken that:

1. English would be announced officially as the language of instruction at UP, except in cases where the object of study was a language other than English.

2. Afrikaans was removed as the second language of instruction at UP, except in some professional degrees such as Education.
3. Spaces and resources will be found to draw on students' strongest language, particularly Sepedi and Afrikaans but where possible also other South African languages.
4. The policy will be updated to adequately resource the development of Sepedi to a higher level of scientific discourse and support the maintenance of Afrikaans as a language of scholar. English would be used as the language of official communication and administration on all the campuses and in residences with services being provided in other South African languages where requested and feasible;
5. At least Afrikaans, English and Sepedi would be used for ceremonial purposes.
6. Lastly, support will be provided for learning support for language and visually impaired students and staff.

In addition to the issue of the language of instruction, student leaders of the AfriForum Youth league played their roles and tried to convince the university management not to remove Afrikaans as a language of instruction at the university. However, as a result of transformation, Afrikaans was removed as a second language of instruction at the university, although the institutional constraints made it impossible for the Afrikaans language to be removed completely at the university.

Regarding the institutional culture and transformation, with the important roles student leaders played in bring about transformation at UP, the university management took a decision to rename the building called Client Service Centre to Student Service Centre and new buildings are now named after South African heroes. It is also mentioned in the *'Transformation Charter of the University of Pretoria 2018'* that the University of Pretoria was once called Transvaal University College when it was established. The University of Pretoria currently has more than fifty thousand students, of which the majority are female and are black students. The university has also set some goals that they wanted to achieve. These goals are stated in the *'Transformation Charter of the University of Pretoria 2018'*. They want to ensure access to a diverse student body, to reflect the demographic mix and social complexity of South Africa. They want to ensure the realisation of employment equity as set out in the University Employment Equity Plan. An additional goal is to enhance the research capacity to support the

production of black and women academics and lastly, the university also promised to introduce institutional cultures and practices that were welcoming to all students and staff from all socio-economic, cultural backgrounds.

As the result of the roles student leaders played in relation to change residence culture, the university management was convinced to accommodate black students in different residences, meaning there is no residence that is regarded as a white or black residence.

The roles student leaders played at the university in bringing about changes to the issues of curriculum transformation have convinced university management to consider integrating both Indigenous and Eurocentric knowledge in the curriculum. University management is also operating on the principle of eliminating racial segregation at the university. Concerning matters of curriculum delivery, in relation to the language of instruction, the university management responded by reviewing the language policy and making the necessary changes needed to be done to meet the students' demands.

The decision that was taken by the government that there would be 0% increase in all areas of tuition fee in 2016 at all South African universities, and the decisions the university management took of reviewing language policy, changing of the university buildings name and accommodation of black students at the university and in residences and the decision to consider integrating both Indigenous and Eurocentric knowledge in the curriculum fit to the existing knowledge in that currently universities are busy with issues of transforming universities, therefore, transformation had to take place in order to show that change does occur or is taking place.

6.2 Research limitations and challenges

Usually, documents may contain insufficient details for research, they may not be fully accurate or reliable as most of the time documents are produced for some purpose other than research, and they are created independent of a research agenda (Bowen, 2009). I may not have access to all perspectives and voices using historical documents for the research. Documents do not refer to previous studies; therefore they may not provide sufficient details to answer my research question. Documents may sometimes be difficult to access and retrieve or not be retrievable, they may be restricted or even be unavailable or be stored in geographically remote locations (Bowen, 2009;

Fitzgerald, 2002). Sometimes the documents available or selected are likely to be aligned with corporate policies and procedure and with the agenda of the university principals; therefore they may reflect the emphasis of the university unit that handles record-keeping (Bowen, 2009).

6.3 Directions for future studies and recommendations

Concerning the issues of reduced fees, further studies can be conducted on what impact funding free education for poor students for three years had on the South African economy and on the universities. Another topic for study is to research the possibility and impact of completely free education at the universities in the coming years; I recommend that universities or government also assist by providing more scholarships or bursaries to assist students with financial problems, especially those who cannot afford to pay for their tuition fees.

Relating to matters of languages, further studies can be conducted on how having English as the only language of instruction and removing Afrikaans as a second language of instruction at university affected students who were already in the system or affect the university as a whole. Studies can also be done on how the university is dealing with the issue of finding space for other South African languages.

In the context of the transformation of institutional and residence cultures, further studies can be conducted on how much progress has been made by the university management to transform the institutional and residence culture at UP. Concerning the transformation of institutional culture the question can be asked whether the university managed to remove the name TUKS, and the Afrikaans building names. Did they address the predominance of Afrikaans in posts and the revision of the policy governing building names? In relation to residences, did the management handled the transform demographic quotas in the residences and UP, abolish of the Day House cultures in residence, the singing to statues and the songs that praise Afrikaans, addressing house committee as 'Juffrou' and 'Meneer' and the practice of Serrie? Again, follow up research can be done whether the university managed to ensure access to a diverse student body to reflect the demographic mix and social complexity of South Africa. Did they ensure the realisation of employment equity as set in the UEEP, ensure enhanced research capacity to produce more black and women academics and lastly introduce institutional cultures and practices that are welcoming

to all students and staff from all socio-economic, cultural background? The success of involving students, as facilitated by the student leaders, for instance, the recommendations concerning identifying names that could or should be removed and the possible names that could be used to replace those names could be researched. Future involvement of students can also be done through a survey of all registered students.

Further studies can be conducted on how much progress has been made by the university management in the transformation of the curriculum at UP, on transforming teaching, context, assessment, technology use, co-curriculum, the structure of modules and module codes abbreviated in Afrikaans, and teaching about history of Africans and the invaluable contribution African have made. Since the outcomes of these issues have not been reflected in the documents, they are still to be determined. If the curriculum is indeed changing, the university should also have new materials available in the library in order to support the new content.

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8 APPENDICES

8.1 Appendix A: Table of transformation document analysis

DOC #	DOCUMENT DETAILS	CONTENT THEMES AND PG #	SUB-THEMES	ANALYSIS INTERPRETATION
1(LANGU)	<p>Original Name: Transformation Lekgotla 28 May 2016 Record of Proceedings</p> <p>Author: Ms Desirée Homann, Ms Maliga Govender and Mr Kgomotso Lega</p> <p>Date: 28/05/16</p> <p>Place: Surbird Room, Roodevallei Hotel</p>	<p>-sign LANGU</p>	<p>English -tuition</p> <p>Afrikaans -Remove -tutorials</p> <p>Sepedi -Tutorials</p> <p>AFriforms (keep & continue Afrikaans) - Test/examination & -tutorials</p> <p>Sign language - communication</p> <p>Sepedi (decision) -dominant home language (policy statement) - provide development Sepedi academic language &</p> <p>-maintenance of Afrikaans academic language, -while English, Sepedi and Afrikaans will be used for ceremonial purposes</p>	<p>-Student leaders of different organisations (ANC Youth League, Afriforum Youth, DASO, EFF Student command, SASCO, UDESMO, #UPrising and SRC) participated and supported the meetings for language policy discussion. - confronted other students, lecturers and Professors physically in class about the issue of language of instruction”</p> <p>-Student leaders and other members of the work stream suggested that the university authorities should consider reviewing the language policy and make <u>English the only language of tuition</u>, and consider removing Afrikaans as a language of tuition, others leaders suggested that Afrikaans and Sepedi should be kept for tutorials only. - However members of AfriForum Youth League did not support the idea, they suggested that Afrikaans should be kept for test/exam and tutorials. -Student leaders also suggested that the university should consider introducing sign language for communication.</p> <p>-The Ministerial Committee took a decision that the University of Pretoria has to develop Sepedi, as being the dominant home language of people in the greater Tshwane area, as an academic language. (PG4)</p> <p>- Student leaders of Afriforum recommended that Afrikaans should continue to be offered (PG4). The proposal was considered by the work stream but not supported by other student leaders</p> <p>- The policy statement provides for the development of Sepedi as an academic language and the maintenance of Afrikaans as an academic language, while</p>

			<p><i>English</i> -Will be the only language for tuition & proper support from 2017 - Afrikaans support tutorials, study materials, tests and examinations - Afrikaans to complete their courses in Afrikaans in minimum completion time</p>	<p><i>English, Sepedi and Afrikaans should be used for ceremonial purposes.(PG4)</i></p> <p>-Some student leaders in the work stream supported the idea that English should be the only language of tuition from 2017 for existing students, with support by way of tutorials, study materials, tests and examinations being provided in Afrikaans for students already enrolled in programmes in 2016. (pg 5)</p> <p>-While others student leaders supported the idea that students who were currently enrolled in modules presented in Afrikaans to complete their courses in Afrikaans in minimum completion time. (pg5)</p> <p>-Majority of student leaders supported the proposal that English should be the only language for teaching and learning, with proper support systems provided</p> <p>-Student leaders also suggested that there should be one year grace period for new students before moving directly to English only</p> <p>-Student representatives proposed that there should be formal voting in concerning the issue of language policy</p> <p>-At first student leaders voted that there should be a direct move to English as the only language of instructions, with no support mechanism provided in Afrikaans. This relate to what is being said in the literature, that student leaders organised a protest for the removal of Afrikaans as a language of tuition, and English should only be the language of tuition (Healy-Clancy, 2017; Naicker, 2016).</p> <p>-Majority of student leaders and members of the work stream seemed to agree that there is a need to move to one language of tuition that is recognised in Africa and the world, and that there should be a move to English as the language of tuition at some stage.</p> <p>-Some students voted in favour of a continuation of lecturers in Afrikaans as a transitional</p>
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				<p>measure for 2017 for students already in the system</p> <p>-Some voted that Afrikaans should be taught-out until the end of the minimum completion period for the students already in the system</p> <p>- Some voted in favour of lectures being presented in English, with support also being provided in Afrikaans</p>
1(FEES)		FEES	Free education	<p>Organised protest against the tuition fee increment</p> <p>We demand free education; #FeesMustFall campaign all suspended & arrested students should be allowed to return to campus by March 2016</p> <p>SRC, who also paid the bail for the arrested students</p>
1(CURR TRANS)		(PG 13) CURRIC U	<p>-renew pedagogy</p> <p>-classroom practice</p> <p>-change module codes in Afrikaans name to English</p>	<p>-Student leaders were involved in the meeting, they suggested that the university should consider renewing of pedagogy and classroom practice, this includes syllabus</p> <p>-Student leaders were involved in drafting 4 drivers of the curriculum & interrogating questions that faculties should consider in their curriculum</p> <p>-Faculties develop substantive plan concerning transformation of the curriculum</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested the transformation of module codes, which appear all to be based on the Afrikaans module name and should change in line with an English-only language policy.</p>
1(INSTIT U & RES CULTUR E)		INSTIU	(PG15) -rename buildings name them after South African heroes	<p>-Student leaders suggested in the memorandum of demands that buildings should be renamed. This relates to what is being said in the literature concerning the renaming of university buildings, and name them after our heroes (Ndelu, 2017; Kujeke, 2017; Malabela, 2017).</p> <p>-In response to the renaming of the university buildings,</p>

				student leaders draft and submit a list of the policy and procedure documents for the university management to interrogate the options
2(LANGU) 2(FEES)	Original Name: A draft vision for student life in 2025 Authors: Students Place: UP	English -Fees	-main LANGU - affordable	-Students stated in their draft vision for 2025 that university should change and be a place in English is the main language -Student suggested that they want affordable university where funding is well managed
3(CURR TRANSF)	Original name: Letter from Deans Office curriculum transformation humanities Author: Prof V Reddy Date: 18-April-2016 Place: UP.			-The Faculty of Humanities has also started with the discussion on curriculum transformation as informed by the current context -Student leaders have also organised protest to bring forward the issue of curriculum transformation, concerning what needs to be taught -The Faculty of Humanities has also scheduled a seminar in relation to the discussion about curriculum transformation plan
3 (LANGU) 4(LANGU)	Original name: Language symposium arranged by the SRC notes Date: 20-April-2016 Place: UP (IT building room 2-27)	English Afrikaans Sepedi	-tuition -support - #AfrikaansMustFall -develop -develop	-Faculty has been working on the language policy namely on equity and diversity [PG 1] -In Faculty it was proposed that English should be the language of tuition supported by Afrikaans and Sepedi[PG 1] - Student leaders also organised other students to protest about the issue of the language policy This relates to what is being said in the literature concerning, student leaders organising a protest concerning the language policy (Luescher et al., 2017) - Student leaders open a campaign that is fighting that Afrikaans should be taken away -Other student leaders in the language symposium also insisted that Afrikaans should not be taken away, rather also develop Sepedi into the language of instruction

4(FEES)		-Tuition	-Free education	<p>- current language policy (English and Afrikaans as languages of tuition, with Sepedi as a third language of communication).</p> <p>-Student leaders open a campaign that is fighting that there should be free education</p>
5(LANGU)	<p>Original name: Other Responses to the Language Policy Amendments : 109</p> <p>Authors: Student leaders, students, lecturers, parents</p> <p>Date: March 2016</p> <p>Place: UP</p>	<p>-isiZulu</p> <p>-Sepedi</p> <p>-Nguni LANGU</p>	<p>-concept translation -tutorials</p> <p>-concept translation -tutorials</p> <p>-tutorials</p>	<p>-Student leaders had organised protest leading the protestors to confront lectures in progress, about the issue of language</p> <p>-Parents suggest that students should also be given a chance to choose which language they want to be taught in</p> <p>- Student leaders suggested in the language policy amendments that all students are given the freedom to choose which language they want to be taught with, through voting, or through a survey, or questionnaire then the majority of votes win, this should be done through click up</p> <p>-Other student leaders suggest that Afrikaans should remain</p> <p>-Student leaders suggest that small courses be taught in English and large courses be taught where there are more than one class per subject to have English and Afrikaans and students will select their language of tuition</p> <p>-Other students in other countries feel that if South African students feel left out, their language policy should be included in the policy</p> <p>-The university and vice chancellors proposed English as the primary language of instruction, with Afrikaans and Sepedi being proposed for use in providing additional support to students</p> <p>-Other lecturers believe in mother tongue education, they have embarked, in conjunction with the Department of African languages to translate key concepts of the prescribed textbook in isiZulu and Sepedi, and proposed that enrolled students should vote</p>

				<p>-Student leaders are suggesting that there should be a referendum, that Afrikaans and Sepedi should be used or not to provide additional support to students in lectures, tutorials, practical and discussions</p> <p>-Student leaders are proposing that there should also be isiZulu or any other Nguni language in tutorials added, it doesn't help to add Sepedi only as some students do not understand Sepedi</p> <p>-Student leaders are suggesting that each department should have its language policy</p> <p>-Student leaders suggest that there should be a referendum including students, staff and alumni</p> <p>-Student leaders suggest that the evaluation sheet that is given at the end of the module should also state which language students do prefer to be taught in</p> <p>-Student leaders suggest that if Sepedi is to be added into the university then isiZulu should also be added too</p> <p>-Lecturers propose that Afrikaans should be removed from question papers</p> <p>-Student leaders suggest that there should be translation service or radio translators</p>
6(LANGU)	<p>Original name: Pledge to mutual peaceful engagement on the Language Policy and the boarder Transformation Project</p> <p>Authors: Vice-Chancellor, Principal of UP, SRC, & Students</p> <p>Date: 5/March/2016</p> <p>Place: UP</p>			<p>-Student leaders together with Vice-Chancellor, Principal of UP and SRC have signed a pledge that ensures that through the Language Policy engagement there will be mutual peace</p>
7(LUNGU)	<p>Original name: Transformation Lekgotla 5 March</p>	<p>-English</p> <p>-signs</p>	<p>-instruction</p> <p>- communication</p>	<p>-Student leaders were involved in the discussion with the university management on the</p>

<p>7(CURR TRANSF)</p> <p>7(INSTITU & RES CULTURE)</p>	<p>2016 Record of Proceedings</p> <p>Authors: Executive Management of the University (Note 1)</p> <p>Date: 5/March/2016</p> <p>Place: Sunbird Room, Roodevallei Hotel</p>	<p>-Sepedi</p> <p>Afrikaans</p> <p>-African LANGU</p> <p>-CURR</p> <p>Building</p>	<p>-corrected</p> <p>-Centre for Advancement</p> <p>-removed tuition</p> <p>- tutorials</p> <p>-academic LAGUA (inclu Afrikaans) tutorials</p> <p>-decolonised</p> <p>- Afrocentric</p> <p>-Eurocentric</p>	<p>issue of transformation of language policy</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested in the plenary that language policy should be transformed</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that English should be the only language of instruction and communication at UP, with different languages being used to provide tutorials</p> <p>-Student leaders stated that signs should be corrected around campus</p> <p>-Student leaders stated that the requirement of proficiency in Afrikaans in certain posts should be lifted across the board</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that in support of multilingualism a Centre for the Advancement of Sepedi should be established at UP</p> <p>-Student leaders suggest that there should be academic staff who are able to teach in more than one language and they should be rewarded</p> <p>-Student leaders suggest that there should be a referendum involving students and staff to express their views on the issue of language</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that Afrikaans should be removed and be kept for tutorials together with other African languages</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that curriculum should be Afrocentric and Eurocentric should be replaced</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that African identity should be promoted</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that core South African history module should be developed as part of the curriculum of students in all faculties.</p> <p>-Executive team stated that faculties are working on curriculum transformation, as it is the priority for 2016</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that all buildings and student structures should be renamed, after heroes. This is the same as what was being said in the</p>
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		residences	<p>-Afrikaans name -heroes</p> <p>-dominant</p>	<p>literature in relation to renaming of the university buildings after heroes (Ndelu, 2017; Kujeke, 2017; Malabela, 2017).</p> <p>- Student leaders suggested that there should be a change in the UP policy that govern the naming of buildings</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that the university management should consider removing Afrikaans names in buildings.</p> <p>- Student leaders suggested that there should be one culture dominant in the residences</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that culture should be made more inclusive and promote integration</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that placement at residences should include criteria such as distance, merit, value-adding contribution and no racial/demographic quotas</p>
8 (FEES)	<p>Original name: Signed agreement Memorandum of agreement</p> <p>Authors: Vice-Chancellor, Principal of UP, President of SRC, Student leaders</p> <p>Date: 26/October/2015</p> <p>Place: UP</p>	-Fees	<p>-free education</p> <p>-0% increase student fees & registration for 2016</p> <p>- 0% increase in residence accommodation & meal</p>	<p>-Student leaders attended a meeting with vice-chancellors and leaders of student councils convened by President Zuma at the Union Buildings, were they were going to represent students in relation to the issue free education.</p> <p>-After student leaders had organised a couple of protests and went into a negotiation with university management and government concerning the issue of fee increment, it was stated that :</p> <p>-President Zuma announced that there would be a zero percent (0%) increase in student fees and registration for 2016 pg3</p> <p>-It was stated in the agreement signed by these stakeholders that students did not just get a 0% fee increase for tuition fees, this included 0% increase in residence accommodation, initial payment and meal fees pg3</p> <p>-student leaders also demanded that all students who were deemed fit for financial aid, as per the</p>

8(LANGU)		-English	-tuition	<p>NSFAS criteria should receive such financial aid from the university pg4</p> <p>In response to that all students who qualified for NSFAS and who were not assisted was assisted, with the additional funds the university made available pg4</p> <p>-Student leaders demanded that the university should not exclude disadvantaged students who are at residences, and students were not excluded from residences due to financial disadvantage pg4</p> <p>-Student leaders demanded a decrease of food prices, the university decreased the food price that are not market related pg4</p> <p>-Student leaders on behalf of students demanded that any and all financial decision impacting on students must be proposed to students no later than September each year, the university agreed to the demand pg4</p> <p>-Student leaders have demanded that English should be the only language of tuition. In response to the demand the vice-chancellor has agreed to the request for English to be the only language for tuition, by consulting with the Senate, and the Council, and stakeholders, including the DHET, it is also mentioned in the agreement that there will be a written report before the end of the year</p>
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9(LANGU)	<p>Original name: Transformation Lekgotla programme and memoranda Authors: DASO UP, AfriForum Youth League, EEFSC, #UPrising, SASCO, PASMA, UDESMO Date: 5/March/2016</p>	<p>Afrikaans -English 11LANGU -Sepedi</p>	<p>-ban - instruction - Communicati on -Letterhead -emails -faxes -prospectus -study guides -tuition -tutorials -tutorials -academic LANGUA</p>	<p>-Student leaders started a campaign called Afrikaans must fall, with the aim of banning Afrikaans as a language of tuition at UP and all the cultures associated with Afrikaans pg3 - Student leaders had a meeting with Vice Chancellor were they were discussing and submitting the memorandum of demands to the Vice Chancellor of the university and submitted a letter of demands to the university rectors -Student leaders demanded that all form of communication, signs letterheads, emails, faxes, prospectuses and study guides be written in English at UP pg3. English should be the only language of tuition and the only language used in tutorials by 2nd year pg6 -Demand language policy should be revised -Student leaders demand that the university abolish the English and Afrikaans bilingual requirement in all its employment posts -Student leaders suggest that UP should offer mother tongue tutorials in all 11 official languages when sufficient demand in 1st year module and mother tongue tutorials should be phased out by 2nd year, but academic support should still be provided in all 11 official languages -Other student leaders demand that Afrikaans should stay as a language of tuition -Other student leaders demand that UP should plan and budget to develop Sepedi as a tertiary academic language -UP management had responded, agreeing to review the language policy -Other student leaders demanded that the UP Council should ensure to keep Afrikaans as a language of instruction at university, and revise the decision to review thelanguage policy</p>
9(CURR)		Curriculu m	-RES	
9(INSTIT U & RES			-decolonised	

CULTURE)		-INSTITU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -abolish house culture -singing to statues -names Juffriu & Meneer - 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Student leaders demanded that all curriculums should be decolonised within all Faculties at the University of Pretoria. -Student leaders demanded that the admission quotas at the university and the university residences should reflect the demographics of SA, meaning that there should be more black than white people in residences -Student leaders demanded that there should be no residence that has a dominating race -Student leaders demanded that there should be a complete abolition of residential and Day House culture, such as singing to statues in residences, addressing the House committees with Afrikaans names such as Juffrou and Meneer and also the house song that continue to praise Afrikaans -Student leaders demanded a complete abolishment of all Afrikaans names, in lectures, walls, residence names, Day houses etc . Buildings should be named after our African Heroes. This is the same as what is been said in the literature (Ndelu, 2017; Kujeke, 2017; Malabela, 2017). -Student leaders demanded that Client Service Centre be named into Student Service Centre
9(FEES)		-FEES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Scrapped/abolish 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Student leaders demanded a complete abolishment of the name TUKS and the service provider called STUKU as it perpetuated Afrikaans culture -Student leaders across the country organised protests that led to the disruption of the university business in progress and started a campaign called #feesmustfall with the purpose of abolishing tuition fees at universities.

10(LANG U)	<p>Original name: YES Language Policy feedback amendment 547 Date: March/2016 Place: UP</p>	<p>-English</p> <p>Afrikaans</p> <p>-all LANGU</p> <p>Sepedi</p>	<p>-only language of instruction</p> <p>- communication</p> <p>-support</p> <p>-primary LANGU</p> <p>-main LANGU</p> <p>-exams/tests</p> <p>-assignment</p> <p>-discussions</p> <p>-major LANGU</p> <p>-remove as language of instruction</p> <p>-use for communication</p> <p>-tutorials</p> <p>-practical's</p> <p>-discussion</p> <p>- communication</p> <p>-abolish</p> <p>-not instruction</p> <p>-no learning</p> <p>-omit</p> <p>-consultation</p> <p>-support /no support</p> <p>-tuition</p> <p>-exclusion</p> <p>-support</p> <p>-tutor</p> <p>-added/not all 11 languages supplement English</p> <p>-electronic translator</p> <p>-practical</p> <p>-discussion</p> <p>-tutorials</p> <p>-support/no support</p>	<p>- Student leaders proposed changing the language policy, making English the university's official language medium</p> <p>-Student leaders have organised a protest around campus, and raised/suggested that they wanted the university management to review the issue of language policy. This meant they were suggesting that English should be the only language of instruction, on the basis of fairness and on the basis that English is a universal language. This is the same as what was being said in the literature in relation to the protests against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction (Luescher et al., 2017)</p> <p>-Student leaders stated that English should be the language of instruction based on many reasons such as one of the requirements at university is that students are expected to have learnt and passed English as a language at school not Afrikaans. By doing this the university promoted equity, inclusiveness and fairness to students in relation to the issue of language</p> <p>-Student leaders stated during the protest action that they were not supporting the idea of Afrikaans as a language of instruction, instead they are saying that Afrikaans should be used only for communication just like Sepedi</p> <p>-Lecturers suggested that English should be the language of instruction, communication and support at university, in doing so, this will show respect of fairness and equality to all the 11 official languages</p> <p>-Student leaders assisted all students in carrying out the votes on the issue of language policy, in which students indicated that they wanted English as a language of instruction, and support should be in English and provided for students who are struggling with English</p>
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			<p>-use for communication -consultation</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that both Afrikaans and Sepedi students should be supported at universities pg ,3,4,7,9,10,11,42, -Student leaders suggested that all 11 languages should be added in order to supplement English as a primary language pg3,4 - Student leaders, and former students demanded that Afrikaans should be removed as a language of tuition, students who were currently doing Afrikaans as a language of instruction should be allowed to finish it then be given the option to change pg1,8,2,6,8,9,10 -Some students suggested that having multiple languages of instruction would create confusion and division, and lead to the exclusion of all other languages pg2,8,32,43 -Some students feel that it's a good move to make the institution multi lingual, hence it will encourage more students to enrol pg7,9,10,11,23,29,31 - Parents also suggested that English should be the language of instruction at university pg 36 -Students demanded that some programs and study choices should be taught in one's mother tongue pg 1, -Some students stated that they were against the idea of having both Afrikaans and Sepedi as languages for additional support, rather add all the 11 language for support, and this might not be possible, as time and resources are things to consider, so it is best to have English as a primary language pg6,25, -Other student leaders insisted that there should be Afrikaans classes where the language is important for professional reasons -Some students suggest that it will be fair to use English only as a medium of instruction, and in a long term also promote languages such as</p>
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				<p><i>Sepedi, Afrikaans, Zulu, Tsonga and Xivenda as the minimum</i></p> <p><i>-Some student agreed with the proposed language policy, however they felt that Afrikaans, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Swati Tsonga and Venda should be used for support</i></p> <p><i>-Some students who were Afrikaans speaking students suggested that English should be the language of instruction, as the world of work uses English as a language of instruction, and therefore the university prepares everyone for the world of work. ---Some students supported the idea of the language policy, however stating that names and tradition should be kept to be treasured</i></p> <p><i>-Students suggested that the use of Afrikaans and seSotho should be available/allowed/catered for/encouraged in proportion to the number of students who may require these language for tutorials, maybe also (one-on-one) student-lecture sessions when better understanding of the subject matter is required</i></p> <p><i>-Student leaders suggested that they wished the state would promote multilingualism, in order to facilitate student success and the building of social cohesion</i></p> <p><i>-Some students proposed that the university should consider the option of having electronic translation devices to translate from English to the top 5 preferred languages, this could be done online, be in every official language and be uploaded to click up</i></p> <p><i>-Some students suggested that English should be the standard language for all students, since it is the standard language of communication across the world</i></p>
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				<p>-Student leaders suggested that they had insisted that the official language of communication at residences must also change to English</p> <p>-Students suggested that it's not a good idea to accommodate other languages since the University of Pretoria also have other people who are from other parts of Africa and who would feel left out if all South African language are accommodated</p>
11(LANG U	<p>Original name: UP Language Policy 2018</p> <p>Date: 2018</p> <p>Place: UP</p>	<p>-English</p> <p>Afrikaans</p> <p>Sepedi</p> <p>Nguni LANGU</p>	<p>-teaching & -learning</p> <p>- communication</p> <p>- administration</p> <p>-key concepts</p> <p>-scholarship</p> <p>-ceremony</p> <p>-ceremony</p> <p>-key concepts</p>	<p>- Review language policy</p> <p>- In response to the language issue, it is stated in the language policy document that English is adopted at the university as a language of teaching and learning (in lectures, tutorials and assessments) pg2</p> <p>-The university must find the spaces and resources for drawing on students' strongest languages (Sepedi and Afrikaans, but where possible also other South African languages) to assist students in understanding key concepts in their modules pg.2</p> <p>-English is the language of official communication and administration, on all campuses and in residences with services being provided in other South African languages where requested and feasible pg2</p> <p>-The university must adequately resource the development of Sepedi to a higher level of scientific discourse and must support the maintenance of Afrikaans as a language of scholarship pg2</p> <p>- The university must encourage and enable students and staff formally and informally to learn other South African languages pg2</p> <p>- The university must provide staff members with the necessary support and training to enable them to communicate in at least English pg2</p>

				<p>- The university must use at least Afrikaans, English and Sepedi for ceremonial purposes pg2</p> <p>- The university must provide learning support for language and visually impaired students and staff pg2</p> <p>-Faculties must submit language plans to the Executive and to Senate to detail how the faculty aims to manage its affairs regarding the language of tuition and assessment with reference to the programmes and modules in the faculty pg2</p>
13(CURR)	<p>Original name: Curriculum transformation document Reimagining curriculum for a just university in a vibrant democracy (Work Stream on curriculum transformation at UP) Date: February 2017 Place: UP</p>	-CURR	<p>-decolonising -democratise</p>	<p>-Student leaders took actions and organised rallies to confront the university management to submit the memorandum of demands concerning the decolonising and democratising of the curriculum.</p> <p>-Student leaders suggested that the university should accelerate the transformation of the curriculum by hiring, supporting and promoting black South Africans, women, disabled people and gender non-conforming academics, seek scholars who advance subaltern, subjugated and indigenous knowledges</p> <p>-Student leaders demanded that the university should consider making names, insignia, statue, buildings in the university space resonate with a diverse student, staff and community population.</p>
14(CURR)	<p>Original name: Cluster of Action from Curriculum Transformation Conference Authors: Senate Committee for teaching & learning Date: 28 January 2016 Place: UP.</p>	-CURR	<p>-integrate indigenous & Eurocentric knowledge in system</p> <p>-appropriate pedagogy</p> <p>-develop Science Comprehension module & Communication module be Afrocentric</p>	<p>-Student leaders formed part of the debate around the issues of curriculum transformation regarding -what they wanted with regard to curriculum delivery method, language medium, context, teaching, assessment, student support, technology use and co-curriculum?</p> <p>-Student leaders persuaded management to also consider indigenous knowledge systems during the curriculum transformation</p> <p>-In response to indigenous and Eurocentric knowledge, the</p>

			<p>-Decolonise use African scholars to teach</p>	<p>university wanted to integrate the Afro-centric context as well. Student leaders encouraged management to consider the most appropriate pedagogy for transformation of the curricula -Student leaders demanded that management consider developing a Science Comprehension module and Communication module and this module should be Afro-centric -Student leaders demanded management should decolonise the curriculum by using African scholars/philosopher to teach</p>
15CURR	<p>Original name: Curriculum transformation framework final draft (Work stream CURR transformation at UP) Date: 25/5/2016 Place: UP.</p>	-CURR	<p>-decolonising & Democratising curriculum - interrogation of composition of students and staff - rethinking about structure of discipline and modules - epistemological diversity - renewal pedagogy & classroom practices - hiring, black South Africans, women, disabled and gender non-conforming academics</p>	<p>-Student leaders, during their meeting with the university management, demanded that the university should consider decolonising and democratising the curriculum and making it more inclusive pg1. -Student leaders demanded that there should be an "interrogation of composition of students and staff, especially in disciplines historically dominated by one sex, gender, gender identity and or race" pg.4 -Student leaders demanded that management should consider "rethinking about the structure of discipline and modules"pg4 -Students demanded epistemological diversity - student leaders demanded that there should be "renewal or removal of pedagogy and classroom practices that hinder in the way of diversification" pg4 -UP has transformed in that, it now operated on the principle of racial segregation p.3 -Student leaders demanded that materials and assessments should not privilege some identities or experiences over others pg4 -Student leader demanded that management should "accelerate curriculum</p>

			<p><i>transformation of academics staff through hiring, support and promotion of black South Africans, women, disabled and gender non-conforming academics, particularly seeking out scholars who advance subaltern, subjugated and indigenous knowledges within their fields especially in cases where currently employed academics do not have sufficient training in those areas” pg. 5</i></p> <p><i>- Student leaders demanded that “the university’s identity should be reviewed and redefined, including its dominant subjectivities, its historically entrenched narratives and ways of doing, the deeply held stereotypes concerning which knowledges and voices count, and the hierarchical valuations of bodies, ideas and memories cloaked in culture, standards or tradition pg5</i></p> <p><i>-Student leaders also demanded that “change in practices and policies of the university, for example, institutional planning and operation procedures, graduation, language, staff appointment and promotion criteria and performance management” pg5</i></p> <p><i>-Student leaders demanded that the university dismantle institutional hierarchies and review organisational processes and practices to enable collegiality, dialogue and democracy at all levels of the university pg5</i></p> <p><i>-Student leaders demanded that the university problematize the centrality of corporatist and managerial list imperatives insofar as these silence academics outside of official structures pg5</i></p> <p><i>-Student leaders demanded that the university should “interrogate and reimagine spaces and symbols to situate the university within its historical culture and global landscapes, this include</i></p>
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				<p>names, insignia, statues, buildings and portraits in the university space should resonate with the diversified student, staff and community population” pg6</p> <p>-Faculties should evaluate the current curriculum offered in a faculty in relation to, but not limited to, the four drivers of the curriculum pg6</p> <p>-Faculties and departments should identify steps, which include plan accompanied by the time line, they will take to address the imperatives of curriculum transformation, according to the four drivers of the curriculum pg6</p>
12)LANG UA	<p>Original name: Transformation Charter of the University of Pretoria Authors: n.a. Date: 1-August 2018</p>	LANGUA	<p>-Dutch & English official language</p> <p>-English second language of instruction</p> <p>Afrikaans a language of instruction</p> <p>-Transvaal University College</p>	<p>-In 1908 Dutch & English were official language of instruction at UP pg.2</p> <p>-In 1994 English was made the second language of instruction pg.2 and in 2017 the Council approved that English would become the language of instruction from 2019 onwards pg.2</p> <p>-In 1917 Afrikaans became the language of instruction pg.2</p> <p>-In 1908 UP was once called Transvaal University college, thirteen years later an Act of Parliament establish TUC as University of Pretoria</p>
12)INSTI TU CULTUR E		-INSTITU CULTUR E	<p>-32 white students only</p> <p>-And fifty thousand students</p> <p>-33% to 53% permanent employed black employees</p>	<p>-The time when UP was called TUC it had 32 white students only. Currently UP has more than fifty thousand students, the majority of whom are black and female pg.2</p> <p>-Change in the number of students that are accommodated at UP</p> <p>-An increase in the number of black permanent employees from 33% to 53%</p>
	<p>Original name: Memorandum of demands</p> <p>Date: 11 October 2016.</p>			<p>’for the immediate demilitarisation of campus by the discontinuation of the use of private security”</p>
CURRU	<p>Original name: Curriculum transformation</p>			<p>1. Responsiveness to social context: both local and global, providing for suppressed</p>

			<p><i>knowledges, marginalised narratives and various categories of difference. “The curriculum should form thoughtful citizens who can contribute to the world around them in a positive manner” (Homann et al., 2016, p. 13).</i></p> <p><i>2. “...epistemological diversity: curriculum transformation is an ongoing process, which requires constantly encouraging a diversification of sources of knowledge and challenging ideas coming from the global North, bringing to the centre local, African and global South knowledges. A critical reckoning of the history of various disciplines is needed. It would also be important to interrogate the requirements of professional bodies” (Homann et al., 2016, p. 13).</i></p> <p><i>3. “...renewal of pedagogy and classroom practices: It is not just about transformation of syllabus, but also about what happens in the classroom, including transitions from high school to University and ultimately to the world of work. The composition of the student and staff body should be interrogated. The active inclusion of students in the learning space should be pursued” (Homann et al., 2016, p.13-14).</i></p> <p><i>4”... institutional culture: openness and critical reflection, particularly in terms of the hidden curriculum, the need to seek out different scholars, and looking at stereotypes and hierarchies” (Homann et al., 2016, p. 14).</i></p>
5)FEES	<p>Original name: #FeesMustFall: another day of violence as the state issues forward Authors: Nicolson Date: 12-October 2016</p>	FEES	<p>-Demonstrating students say violence only began after the security measures were introduced, and some students might now target university infrastructure</p>

13)LANG UA	Original name: Race violence on Tuks campus Author: Mokoena Date: 22-February			-Security officers try to stop the violence between the Afrikaans speaking students and the Black students at the University of Pretoria during the black students' protest to drop Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at the university"
6)FEES	Original name: Mcebo Dlamini takes long walk to Union Buildings Author: Shange Date: 17- August 2018	FEES	-arrest	The Fees Must Fall campaign leader and former Wits University Student Representative Council (SRC) president, Mcebo Dlamini, on Friday took a long walk from Wits to the Union Building in a bid to get President Cyril Ramaphosa to intervene in the court cases levelled against students who were arrested during fee hike strikes
7)FEES	Original name: Budget speech 2018 Authors: Malusi Gigaba Date: 2018	FEES	-Fund free education for 3 years	As for the next coming three years, the government has to cut government expenditure to fund free education
14)LANG UA	Original name: Language policy feedback Authors Unknown Date: 2018	LANGUA	-Ban Afrikaans as language of tuition - support students in form of tutorials, practical & discussion -consider 11 languages -support in Afrikaans, Sepedi, Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Setswana and Sesotho"	-confronted other students, lecturers and Professors physically in class about the issue of language of instruction - drafted and submitted a memorandum of demands to the university management, in relation to banning of Afrikaans as a language of instruction at university -support to students in tutorials, practical and discussion - If Afrikaans and Sepedi is added for support, then all the 11 languages should also be considered instead of providing additional support to students in the form of Afrikaans and Sepedi only - Support should be given to students in Afrikaans, Sepedi, Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Setswana and Sesotho -If the university consider all 11 the official languages for supporting students, this would be an exclusion to students who are from other countries and do not understand these languages

15)LANG UA	Original name: UJ Sanlam Auditorium was a place where the heart felt at home, writes architects daughter Authors: Narika Lintvelt Date: 25-May-2016	LANGUA	-Protest	- At the University of Johannesburg (UJ) a hundred million rand computer laboratory was burned down
CURRIC	Original name: South African student politics 40 years after Soweto. Authors: Mathers Date: 16 June	CURRI	-Protest	-Student leaders initiated and organised a protest for curriculum reform at their university
3)FEES	Original name: Let's stand together in Solidarity with our comrades who have been arrested. Authors: PASMA-UP Date: 24-October2016	FEES	-protest -arrest	From 19 September 2016 we have witnessed violence from the University of Pretoria and the state in the form attacks by private security and police brutality on the protesting students -On Tuesday 25 October 2016, one of our own, the former SRC President Mosibudi Rasethaba will be appearing in the Pretoria Magistrate Court. ...Let us stand together in solidarity with fellow students who have been victimised by the University of Pretoria for this just and noble Cause
INSTITU & CULTU	Original name: University of Pretoria 2015-2016 Student Protest Timeline Date: October 2017	INSTITU & CULTU	-Protest	Memorandum calls for the banning of Afrikaans and all Cultures associated with Afrikaans