

Place, biometrics and power: The university campus as a gated community

By

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A mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of the Arts in Research Psychology

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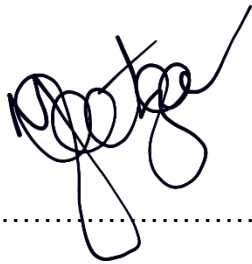
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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Trudie Coetzee, declare that this mini dissertation, titled *Place, biometrics and power: The university campus as a gated community*, is my own original work except where I used or quoted another source, which has been acknowledged and referenced. This mini-dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Masters of Arts in Research Psychology at the University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.



.....
Trudie Coetzee

02/11/2020

DEDICATION

To my dad, for helping me with everything, always.

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ABSTRACT

Many higher education institutions in South Africa have responded to the Fallist movement of 2015-2016 with increased securitization measures. The #FeesMustFall movement was characterized by students' disdain with the colonial structures that pervade higher education institutions. The movement called for free, decolonised education in South Africa. This study aimed to evaluate how increased securitization measures such as biometric access control changes students' experience of place at a South African campus within the context of a campus environment, which now functions as a gated community. The study employed Foucault's framework of modern power in an attempt to examine how students experience place at the university and how discourses create and sustain spatial (in)equalities at higher education institutions in South Africa. This theory examined how power acts as a productive force, by producing the discourses that are internalized by students and as a regulating force that students of the institution are subject to. In this way, the discourses can create and maintain various spaces and have varying effects on students' experience of their campus environment. In order to examine students' subject positionings within this space, the research study followed a narrative approach and included a twofold analysis, which consisted of a theoretically driven thematic narrative analysis and a performative narrative analysis. The results of the analyses showed that students' experience place as a constant state of (be)longing to a space that both enhances and threatens their sense of belonging there, especially relating to the recent implementation of biometric access control measures, which enhances their sense of safety and dehumanizes them at the same time. In addition, this occurs in light of the dominant discourses of safety, privilege and capitalism, which sustains spatial inequalities in a campus environment and remain reflective of spatial injustice. The synthesis of the results indicated that university spaces are reflective of many obstacles that hinder the extent to which students can feel at home on campus and that these very obstacles contribute to creating an exclusionary space. In light of this, the research exposed the means with which alternative discourses can enhance students' sense of belonging in their campus environment.

Keywords: campus environment, Foucault, power, place, space, discourse, biometric access control, gated community, decolonisation

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Being on campus is almost like being in an exclusive club, hosted on a private estate. You feel as if you are part of an elite, when you set foot on the premises, even though this is just as much an economic as a meritocratic elite. You are separated from those things that are outside, and your very body functions as the only indicator of your place on the grounds, and in the club. You are given an identity, which generates a level of separateness from those around you, and in some cases, an undeserved arrogance. However, you sacrifice privacy for your place in the club, as you are under surveillance whilst on the grounds. There is a strict behavioural code and certain performative actions may allow for extradition, which itself signifies home and disgrace.

-Participant Samuel, 2020

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

1.1. Introduction and Rationale

The #FeesMustFall movement of 2015-2016 highlights many issues in higher education institutions in South Africa, including the problems with “modernity” as a colonial entity and the idea of an open and democratic public university. This study focuses on the fact that higher education institutions in South Africa responded to the Fallist movement of 2015-2016 with increased securitization measures whereby some universities are becoming increasingly reflective of gated communities (Gillespie, 2017). This chapter will firstly describe the rationale and context for the study and will conclude with the aims, research questions and objectives.

The Fallist movement of 2015-2016 motivated the university to enhance security measures, such as biometric access control and CCTV cameras across campuses in South Africa (Gillespie, 2017). In this way, some campus environments are becoming reflective of gated communities.

This study will attempt to link students’ experience of place and space with Foucault’s writings on power to uncover what lies beneath the surface of students’ experience of their campus environment. It is important to expose these workings of power in order to explore alternative re-imaginings of the university as a means of decolonising it (Mbembe, 2016). It can be argued that decolonising access, demythologising whiteness (Mbembe, 2016), and rooting the university in the common (Puse, 2017) is at the heart of the decolonial project and that students’ experiences of their place on campus can assist in successfully (re)imagining what the future of higher education may hold (Mbembe, 2016; Gillespie, 2017).

From the literature that has been consulted, it is evident that research on gated communities has focused chiefly on residential gated communities (Low, 2006, 2011) and research on biometric access has largely centred around biometric access at borders (Alderson, 2009; Van Der Ploeg, 1999), schools (Gray, 2017; Lebovic, 2015) and airports (Amoore & Hall, 2017). In addition to this, research on university spaces has focused on the importance of open space campus environments (Lau, Gou & Liu, 2014), isolation & belonging (Cox, 2011; Vice, 2015), and the influence of campus architecture (Cox, 2011; De Villiers, 2019). To my knowledge, no study has examined the role of power, place, and space with regards to biometric access, gated

communities, and the university space. An understanding of how power, place, and space functions within the (de)colonial institution can contribute to better understandings of how to decolonise the university as a whole. This is especially relevant to the South African context, where universities remain reflective of the impact of colonialism and apartheid.

1.1.1. The Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall Student Movement

According to popular media, the #RhodesMustFall movement began with Chumani Maxwele, a student and activist from the University of Cape Town, who used faeces to defecate the bronze statue of imperialist Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town campus in South Africa. This initiated the #RhodesMustFall movement and on the 9th of April 2015, exactly a month later, South African students made history when a statue of British colonialist Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town was removed as a sign of their disdain with the colonial structures that still pervade higher education institutions today (Booyesen, 2016; Godsell & Chikane, 2016). According to Mbembe (2015), the debate regarding the removal of the statue revolved around demythologising whiteness, which is to say that it involves the recall and decommissioning of the historical entrapment associated with whiteness and its associated landmarks.

The movement sparked political debates across the country and led to the eventual #FeesMustFall movement that occurred in response to the government's announcement of a 10.6% increase in higher education fees (Booyesen, 2016). Students' revolt was aimed at institutionalized racism, the Eurocentric curriculum (Booyesen, 2016; Heleta 2016), and modernity (Langa, 2017). What lied beneath the surface of the movement was a need for decolonising universities in South Africa by means of demythologizing whiteness (Mbembe, 2015), rooting the university in the common (Puse, 2017) and decolonising access both demographically and to the extent that students feel "at home" on campus (Mbembe, 2016).

At this point, it is important to make mention of the fact that some theorists argue that the #FeesMustFall movement started long before 2015. However, many of the earlier movements and protests were not covered in mainstream media, which raises questions regarding "who is [worthy of] media coverage" (Langa, 2017, p. 6). According to Langa (2017), the coverage of protests in South Africa is dependent on

the parties involved and whether or not the protest is considered violent, which warrants police presence and action at protest sites in the name of public safety. It can be said that the start of the official movement in 2015 is a culmination of students' built up antagonism towards the rising cost of Higher Education in South Africa. This can be linked to the politics of knowledge production and how certain modes of knowledge are silenced and favoured above other modes of knowledge (Visker, 1995). This relates to how both the university management and the media chose to describe and portray the movement, especially because the protests of 2015-2016 was not entirely new, but rather more widely covered and portrayed in mainstream media. There is also the suggestion that the violence that was portrayed in the media coverage of the protests produced a certain discourse surrounding the protest which warranted the action that was taken against protestors. In this regard, discourses become closely linked to the modes of power that (re)produce them all the while creating certain modes of knowledge, while silencing others.

With this in mind, it is disturbing to see how history repeats itself in the present time. In America, the killing of George Floyd at the hand of Minneapolis police officers has sparked major debates across the globe and has brought discussions around the Black Lives Matter movement to the forefront. Against this backdrop, many countries are once again re-evaluating their political positions as well as the colonial influences that permeate various institutions and practices (Bundy, 2020). Oxford University students have reopened the debate regarding the #RhodesMustFall movement with their call to remove the statue of Cecil John Rhodes outside Oriel College once again, after their original calls for the removal of the statue was dismissed in 2016 (Bundy, 2020; Cheeseman, 2020). The Black Lives Matter movement can be seen as the driving force behind these claims because, according to Bundy (2020), the "national BLM movement [in the UK] did not so much enter the debate about how the British see and present their past as torpedo it, opening a gaping hole in the assumptions and terms on which the debate was conducted". For these reasons, it is imperative to acknowledge the fact that the #FeesMustFall movement can be seen as both a global and universal movement. The student revolt of 2016 will stand the test of time, cross borders, and be repeated until the problems are addressed on a much larger scale.

1.1.2. Euromodernity

Nyamnjoh (2015) describes the higher education students' protests as a consequence of so-called "born-frees" frustration with modernity. This is echoed by Gordon (2017) who describes the problem with the term "modern" in terms of its etymology and association. The word "modern" originates from the Latin word "modo", which refers to a sense of belonging to the future. This means that being described as modern always takes place in the context of the future and that being "un-modern" insinuates that particular groups of people belong to the past (Gordon, 2017). In addition, the term "modern" has become conflated with the term "European", suggesting that everyone who resembles Europeans, can be considered modern and thus as belonging to the future. As an alternative, the term "Euromodern" should be used to describe this type of modernity which can, in effect, pave the way for alternative conceptualizations of modernity (Gordon, 2017). This means that more people can belong to the future, which "would involve taking responsibility for the future, and retroactively, the past" (Gordon, 2017). Similarly, Mbembe (2016) maintains that decolonizing higher education in South-Africa is "about rejecting the assumption that the modern West is the central root of Africa's consciousness and cultural heritage [and] rejecting the notion that Africa is merely an extension of the West [and that] it is not about closing the door to European or other traditions [but about] defining clearly what the centre is" (Mbembe, 2016, p. 35).

1.1.3. The Securitisation of the University

The functioning of universities across South Africa changed drastically after the Fallist movement. Gillespie (2017) maintains that the primary response to the Fallist movement was that of a "securitisation" project, which undermines the idea of an open and autonomous university environment and "open[s] our institutions to the force of state power and [collapses] university autonomy" (Gillespie, 2017). This should be regarded against the backdrop of the "swart gevaar" discourse, whereby black people's behaviour become increasingly equated with danger (Maringira & Gukurume, 2017). The #FeesMustFall movement was associated with violence, which was strengthened by the media's portrayal of the movement (Langa, 2017). Therefore, the movement (re)produced the discourse of "swart gevaar" and can be the reason for the university's response, which is characterized by securitization measures that mimic military tactics.

The enhanced security measures can be seen as the first step in privatizing the university which promotes the “corporatisation of the university” (Gillespie, 2017) and maintains that “academic output...*is now* an output that is compared with consumer demand, an output that can affect the profits of a University, an output that is quantifiable and receives a score, comparable to and in competition with other universities in the world” (Heany, 2015, p. 306). Academic subjects and knowledge become governed as sites of human capital which renders the original purpose of the university and the production of academic knowledge meaningless (Heany, 2015) and “relies upon a ubiquitously registered discourse about the optimal performing neoliberal subject – performing, that is, in a market economy and ultimately in the service of capital” (Morissey, 2015, p. 621).

1.1.4. The Idea of the Public University

An alternative imagining of the university; however, can be seen in attempts to root the university in the common i.e. serving the good of the people, which does not negate capitalism entirely but seeks to reproduce new ways of open management and radical social organization (Puse, 2017; Gillespie, 2017). This echoes Mbembe’s (2016) statement that the decolonial project holds the imagination of new and alternative futures at its core. The university rooted in the common can therefore be regarded as “the institutionalization of what becomes – not to stop the free-flowing of doing and production of the common, but to prevent its capture, to continue its reproduction [and] to circulate and accelerate the cracks in the capital” (Puse, 2017, p. 18).

1.2. Conceptual Framing: Foucault’s Theory of Modern Power

The conceptual framing of this study will be that of Foucault’s theory of modern power (Foucault, 1979, 1984, 1997). This theory assumes that power acts as a productive and regulating force, which renders subjects both submissive and productive by producing discourses. Disciplinary power is a “new” form of power, and it differs from earlier sovereign expressions of power, in that it works by implicitly regulating and controlling subjects through the mechanisms that facilitate and maintain its expression. For this reason, it is important to note that the study will continuously be situated in both the regulating and productive nature of this form of power and, therefore, the research question will be twofold so as to ensure that both of these aspects are constantly addressed throughout the research project.

1.3. Aims and Research Questions

This study aims to investigate students' experiences of place (which is not reducible to a geographical location) with regards to biometric access control and within the context of the larger displays and workings of power that are at play here. In addition, the study will look at the dominant discourses that maintain and create spatial (in)equalities at higher education institutions in South Africa. This will assist the reader in making sense of the workings of place, space, and power in this context.

The research questions can, therefore, be phrased as follows:

Research Question 1: What are the effects of biometric access control on students' experiences of place within the context of a larger gated educational space?

Research Question 2: How do dominant discourses¹ maintain and create spatial (in)equalities at higher education institutions in South Africa?

In this study “biometric access control” refers to the use of a body part, such as a fingerprint, for identification purposes (Van Der Ploeg, 1999). The specific definitions of place and space are defined in Chapter 2. The objectives of this study are to analyse the experience of place with regards to the biometric access control and the gated nature of the educational space. The study will also attempt to look at the extent to which the discourses that maintain and create these spaces can contribute to students' ability to regulate their extent of “belonging” at the university. Therefore, the present-day campus environment in South Africa will be discussed within a residing framework of power in an attempt to better understand how universities can facilitate students' sense of belonging and how to decolonise access in innovative ways, especially as a means of demythologizing whiteness, developing alternative conceptualizations of modernity and ultimately contributing to spatial justice.

1.4. Conclusion

South African universities' response to the student revolt of 2015-2016 promotes securitisation and, therefore, undermines the functioning of the university as “serving the good of the people”. This promotes the facets of Euromodernity that uphold colonial thinking and may hinder attempts at “democratising access” and

¹ These discourses are linked to the discourses that were (re)produced by the protests and include the discourses on Safety, Privilege, and Capitalism

demythologising whiteness”. For these reasons, it is important to study students’ experiences of their campus environment, with specific reference to recently installed biometric access control measures and the dominant discourses that create and maintain spatial (in)equalities, in order to assert what the re(imagining) of a decolonial campus space might look like.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

The theoretical framework for this study relates to Foucault's writings on power and will specifically focus on his theories regarding discourse, docile bodies, and the crisis heterotopia. The specific Foucauldian position that is supported here will emphasise the extent to which the university's use of dominant discourses reflects spatial injustice (Soja, 2010), the gated community as a crisis heterotopia (Hook, 2011) and lastly, to what extent reform can be achieved within this space (De Oliveira Andreotti, Stein, Ahenakew, & Hunt, 2015). This chapter will begin with an exposition of Foucault's writings on disciplinary power and move to a discussion on what is meant by the Foucauldian notion of a heterotopia before positioning these aspects within a larger theoretical framework of space in order to provide the lens from which the university space under discussion should be studied.

2.2. Foucault's Theory of Modern Power

The theory of power that will frame this study is based on Foucault's theory of modern power. This theory will be discussed with regards to its ties to place and space respectively, in keeping with the definitions of place and space as presented in this study. "Place" is defined as "the immediate ambience of [the] lived body and its history" (Casy, 1997, p. 404), which suggest that it does not only refer to a geographical location but rather posits the way in which people position themselves in terms of spaces and in terms of discourse, power, history and their lived experience. In this study, "space" adheres to Foucault's (1984) definition of space as "[taking] the form of relations among sites" (p. 2), which suggests that no space exists in isolation from its surrounding environments or the elements contained within. It is important to note that Foucault (1984, p. 2) uses the term sites as "defined by relations of proximity between points or elements...[described] as series, trees or grids". Therefore, a site cannot be equated with the term "place", which provides the necessity for a distinction between place and space in this regard.

It is also important to note that for Foucault, discourses are historically produced in specific contexts and that they produce and maintain certain modes of power. Both of these definitions are to be understood from the framework of Foucault's idea of

disciplinary power. According to Hook (2013, p. 213), disciplinary power is to be understood as:

A modern form of power which, for Foucault, is productive rather than repressive, in the sense of 'bringing things into being', producing knowledge...and subjective effects...[and] is related to a set of techniques, procedures and assessments that measure, monitor and treat subjects so as to normalise deviant ones further.

This signifies the ways in which Foucault understands the idea of disciplinary power as both a regulating and a productive force that has the ability to create and maintain discourse and bring subjects into being. However, disciplinary power has to be understood in the ways that it differs from previous sovereign expressions of power.

2.2.1. The Panopticon

Disciplinary power came to its full expression with the birth of the prison. According to Foucault (1979), previous punitive measures involved deliberate and physical punishment such as torture and were sovereign expressions of power. Transgressors were punished in a public display of physical punishment, often to the horror or delight of spectators. Soon after, the prison became the main punitive measure reflective of disciplinary power. Disciplinary power functions at an invisible level and is not accessible by the public. It also holds behavioural modification of both body and soul at its core, through "attempts to correct, rehabilitate, mould or develop the body/mind of the subject through...means [that] increase both the docility and the aptitude of the body/mind in question" (Hook, 2013, p. 217). Prisoners are subjected to constant surveillance, through which they must always act in accordance with the rules (Foucault, 1979). This provides them with the ability to regulate themselves all the while being subject to the regulation itself, making them both self-regulating and submissive. For Pansardi (2012), this constitutes the distinction between "power to" and "power over", whereby "power to" refers to an individual's ability to act and "power over" refers to another individual or institution's ability to exert power over individuals, wherewith to regulate them. "Power to" refers to subjects' ability to internalize the discourses that enable them all the while remaining submissive to the regulating force of "power over".

Foucault (1979) also argues that regulatory mechanisms or normalizing techniques such as the inspections and supervisions that transpire in prisons produce

bodies that are reflective of maximum productiveness and maximum submissiveness or the “political dream of docile bodies” (Elden, 2001, p. 139). Disciplinary power can, therefore, be contrasted with sovereign power on the grounds of its secrecy, autonomy, (in)visibility (which relates to the invisible surveillance that makes the prisoner more aware of their visibility) and the surveillance, technologies, and disciplinary mechanisms that allow for internal control (Hook, 2013).

Perhaps the more important departure from sovereign power can be seen in the way that disciplinary power relates to the body, and by extension the soul. Elden (2001) maintains that the “birth of the prison” can easily be regarded as “the birth of the soul” to the extent that the soul “became far more instrumental in disciplinary power than it had been in the previous order of power” (Hook, 2013, p. 220). Therefore, Foucault (1979) describes his genealogical account of modern power as a history of the modern soul. The sovereign power’s effect on the body was destructive, whereas disciplinary power acts on the body in ways that correct, supervise, and mould the body. This is what Foucault (1979) referred to as “moral orthopaedics”. Orthopaedics involves the correcting of the body through a set of repetitive practices, whereas moral orthopaedics “corrects” the soul through a set of practices or technologies enacted by the disciplinary agent. Each “correction” increases the docility and obedience of the prisoner and the dominance of the disciplinary agent. The soul can be seen as “the prison of the body” (Foucault, 1979, p. 30) in that it is regarded as the internal experience of power subject to varying and intersecting power relations and a reflection of the remnants of such a type of power (Hook, 2013):

The soul exists, it has a reality, it is produced permanently around, on, within the body by a functioning of power that is exercised on those punished, on those one supervises, trains corrects...this is the historical reality of the soul...not born in sin and subject to punishment but...born rather out of methods of punishment, supervision, constraint...[the soul is] the element in which is articulated the effects of a certain type of power (Foucault, 1979, p. 32)

It is in this manner, that the disciplined subject becomes transformed into an obedient object. Discipline brings subjects into being by regarding them as objects and using them as “the instruments for its exercise” (Foucault, 1979, p. 175). In the modern world, disciplinary power refers to how power produces the discourses that normalize

bodies and make them submissive and productive through both its regulatory and productive nature.

In support of this, Foucault (1979) describes the panopticon, which was an idea first proposed by Jeremy Bentham. The panopticon is a prison that is designed with a large watchtower in the middle, from which the disciplinary agents can observe the entire prison, ensuring that inmates always act as if they are being watched.

At the centre, a tower...pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other. All that is needed, then, is to place a supervisor in a central tower [who] can observe from the tower, standing out precisely against the light, the small captive shadows in the cells of the periphery (Foucault, 1979, p. 200).

Hook (2013) states that this a metaphor for the way prisoners “[take] the role of controlling observer upon themselves” through which power relations are sustained and multiplied from the position of the subject. This also alludes to the ambiguity in Foucault’s (1979) use of the term “subject” as a product of disciplinary power because subjects are subjected to control and also “tied to their own identity through self-knowledge or conscience” (Hook, 2013, p. 223). It is also important to note that, in the panopticon, prisoners can only be viewed from the central tower and that they cannot see each other. They never know when they are being observed from the tower, so they always have to act as if though they are being watched. This leads the prisoners to become self-regulating, through their actions and self-surveillance.

The theory of disciplinary power; therefore, describes how docile bodies are brought about by a series of discourses, technologies, and varying intersecting relations of power that act upon, and within, the subject. In this study, the use of such mechanisms, and the corresponding implication of productive-submissive bodies, will be described in terms of the implementation of biometric access control measures at universities. This will specifically relate to the role of “place” and “space” and how discourses maintain spaces of securitization and exclusion within the context of a higher education institution in South Africa.

2.2.2. Foucault's Heterotopia

Foucault (1984, 1997) identifies two types of spaces: one such space is a heterotopia and the other is called utopia. Utopias are places with no substance as they exist outside of reality. For Foucault, utopias are not subject to the same social orderings and power relations as heterotopias and therefore, do not exist in our reality. Utopias are imagined spaces. Heterotopias, however, exist embedded within reality, according to the time and the elements that comprise them. These are regarded as sites of difference or alternate social ordering.

According to Foucault (1984, 1997), heterotopias represent, contest, and invert all other sites and, therefore, are to be considered as significantly different from these sites. They stand in contrast to all that surrounds them and all that they contain. The notion of the heterotopia pertains to the gated educational space as discussed in this study because of how gated communities resemble crisis heterotopias (Hook, 2011).

The term “gated communities” refers to residential areas that are developed to restrict access to all residences and public amenities within the enclosed space. These communities are enclosed, controlled, patrolled, and might include one or two secure points of entry where identity cards or remote access limits access to the space (Low, 2006). Hook (2011) presents a heterotopology of the gated community whereby he defines the gated community as “a place where intensive regulations of space and parallel productions of discourse intersect in forceful ways, combining to create warrants of exclusion and privilege” (Hook, 2011, p. 190). The same argument can be made for the campus gated community according to the six principles of heterotopias (Foucault, 1984):

- 1.) There are two types of heterotopias namely the crisis heterotopia and heterotopias of deviation, this also constitutes the first characteristic of heterotopia: that they belong to either of these two categories and that they can be found in every society. The crisis heterotopia refers to “privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly” (Foucault, 1984, p. 4). The heterotopia of deviation refers to spaces that contain individuals whose behaviour is in contrast to the norms of society, for

example, prisons or psychiatric hospitals. The gated community has been equated with the “crisis heterotopia” (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2001; Hook, 2011) where the “crisis” individuals experience is their perceived sense of crime (Hook, 2011), due to the belief in an increasing crime rate and portrayals of crime by the media (Durlington, 2009).

- 2.) The second principle characterizing heterotopic spaces is the fact that they can develop and change in function over time. Foucault uses the example of cemeteries, which usually stood in the middle of the city beside the church, but later moved to the outskirts of the town when people started to think that the dead “might bring illnesses to the living” (Foucault, 1984, p. 6) In the same way, the discourses that produce and maintain the gated educational space has led to a change in the function of the university, which has evolved from “the pursuit of academic freedom in the name of the common good” (Praeg, 2018, p. 20) to a privatized space that responds to consumer demand (Heany, 2015).
- 3.) Thirdly, they may include many sites which are in themselves incompatible e.g. a zoo that contains many animals that would not otherwise be found together (Foucault, 1984). Similarly, the university contains many different spaces and people that would not have been otherwise grouped together.
- 4.) Heterotopias are related to slices in time, and they interrupt our normal experience of time, for example, libraries, which may accumulate time, and festivals, which are transient in nature (Foucault, 1984). Hook & Vrdoljak (2001) and Hook (2001) state that people in gated communities experience time differently than those who do not live there by virtue of the fact that they “clock in” and “clock out” of their residential area. The same can also be said for the students of the university, where biometric access control measures record when students enter and exit the space.
- 5.) The heterotopic space is subject to measures of restricting access via opening and closing, this is what isolates the heterotopia whilst also linking it to the external world, both isolating it and making it penetrable (Foucault, 1984). In the same way, the university as a gated community is surrounded by fences and contains certain pre-determined entry and exit points, which is what isolates it from the outside world all the while making it the only way to enter the space, thereby also making it penetrable.

6.) The heterotopia creates an “illusion” or “compensation”, to the real world and to the environment that surrounds it (Foucault, 1984). The “illusion” refers to the heterotopia that may reflect our innermost desire and “compensation” refers to those heterotopias that expose the disorganization of the outside world. The “illusion” that people in gated communities experience is that of being removed from the outside world and of being safe against the threats that exist there. This can be seen as an illusion because it has been stated that gated communities do not necessarily reflect a decreased crime rate (Breetzke, Landman, & Cohn, 2014).

It is important to note that the discourses that create heterotopias, also sustain them. Hook & Vrdoljak (2001) examine this in their heterotopology of a gated community in Northern Johannesburg called “Dainfern”. They state that this gated community operates under the discourse of safety, exclusion, and privilege, therefore the gated community also stands in relation to alternate spaces in the sense that it “disqualifies exterior [spaces]” (Hook, 2011, p. 199). In this way, the gated community is often marketed as an escape from the so-called crime-ridden areas that surround it. In keeping with this, many Dainfern residents claim that they experience danger outside the walls of their gated communities and that Dainfern provides them with a safe refuge. This is supported by many residents’ perceived sense of the increasing crime rate in South-Africa.

The gated space of the university operates under the discourse of safety, which forms part of a larger discourse in the country of South Africa, whereby many spaces are becoming privatized in the name of “safety”. These privatized spaces often operate with a strict set of rules and regulations in order to maintain a sense of control over the people contained within. The discourse of securitization in the name of “safety” relates directly to South African’s perception of an increasing crime rate and the portrayal of instances of violence by the media, which leads people to seek out spaces with securitization such as gated communities (Durlington, 2009). This is an example of how discourse can circulate to maintain, facilitate and mediate spatial (in)equalities and of how closely space, and especially place (which includes the body) can mimic the discourses that intersect to produce and maintain power. The “gaze” of the panopticon can be likened to certain discourses in the university space, whereby these discourses form the “spaces” and “places” on campus and lead students to become

self-governing bodies of the institution, reflective of maximum utility and maximum submissiveness.

However, this discourse of safety has extended to include notions of exclusion and privilege, which is evident in Dainfern's description of their estate as promoting a "superior lifestyle" and their parks as being "a far cry from what passes as parks in the city". This is supported by a clear separation from the public realm as many gated communities take care of public services internally (Hook, 2011) and even privatize amenities via incorporation between public and private governments, incentive zoning, or tax annexation (Low, 2006). Hook & Vrdoljak (2001) even go as far as to state that these gated communities overstate the threat of crime in the external environment in order to maintain the necessity for promoting their estate. In this way, the discourse on safety functions as the gaze with which the residents become self-regulating citizens of the heterotopia and assume a lifestyle of privilege in the name of safety. Their self-regulation can also be attributed to the strict regulation that occurs at an estate such as Dainfern, which is supported by one resident's claim that people might be asked to leave the estate if they do not abide by the rules. In addition, there is the documentation of time, by means of repetition and recording as well as surveillance, or what Hook (2011) refers to as monochreity. The careful monitoring of space and time leads to a space that becomes imbued with a specific discourse of power related to security and safety, whereby the residents are engaged in their own sense of self-surveillance. Therefore, Hook & Vrdoljak (2001, p. 212) state that: "the key discursive tactic...[constructs] the outside world as perilous, damaged, irretrievably lost to social disorder and [does] so in a way that which provides a series of warrants for exclusion, separation and segregation". This explains how the discourse of safety goes hand in hand with the discourses on exclusion and privilege which create and maintain the need for gated spaces in South Africa.

In keeping with this, Hook (2011) states that heterotopic spaces are a spatial answer to a social problem and that this is the way in which gated communities allow crime prevention to become a rationale for exclusion. According to Hook & Vrdoljak (2001), this also subverts the original function of the gated community which is to prevent crime and not to promote a superior lifestyle to the areas that surround it. This is an example of how the discourses intersect in ways that warrant the exclusion and privilege associated with gated communities. This largely contributes to the unequal

distribution of resources in space and a limited ability to access them, since many gated communities are founded on the privatization of previously public spaces. Therefore, it is pertinent to look at the extent to which these heterotopic spaces contribute to the larger problem of spatial injustice.

2.3. Space, Spatial Justice and Productive Power

Following the previous discussion, gated communities can be seen as reflective of spatial injustice. The term “spatial justice” was a term first coined by Soja (2010). Spatial justice can be defined as “seeing the search for justice as a struggle over geography” (Soja, 2010, p. 14) and refers to the equitable distribution of resources in space and an equitable opportunity of accessing them. In this regard, spatial justice seeks to explain how various resources and amenities are positioned within space and who can easily access them without travelling too far or with too much difficulty. Soja (2010) argues that space is at the foreground of economic growth and that a quest for justice largely revolves around a quest for spatial justice in a city.

Questions of social justice always have a spatial aspect to them and the production of spatial (in)justices can therefore be seen as a consequence and a process. In this regard, space becomes a reflection of social (in)justice as well. This becomes especially pertinent when he states that spatial justice is concerned with the “control over how the spaces in which we live are socially produced” (Soja, 2010, p. 7). The discourse on urban capitalism results in decisions that favour the rich over the poor and this can be seen as the primary cause of inequality or injustice. “Locational discrimination”, which is often reduced to problems of segregation, is instrumental in producing spatial injustice by upholding the foundations that promote certain classes, races and gender (Soja, 2010). Soja (2010) states that these injustices should also be interpreted in the light of underdevelopment or uneven development within any given area. It is important to note that spatial justice concerns itself with how spaces reflect the larger discourses that create and sustain them. Therefore, it is important to note that the forms of power that operate in space also renders subjects within any given space as experiencing the influence of productive and regulating power.

According to Marcuse (2010), there are two forms of spatial injustice, namely: the unequal distribution of resources in space and the involuntary confinement of a group to a limited space. For the purpose of this study, the latter aspect of spatial

injustice is of particular importance. Marcuse (2010) maintains that the voluntary confinement of a group, such as people who choose to live in a gated community, is not necessarily a form of spatial injustice in itself even though it may lead to aspects of spatial injustice (such as the unequal distribution of resources in space). However, he clearly emphasizes that any involuntary confinement of a group of people to a limited space can be seen as a “major” form of spatial injustice in, and of, itself. The introduction of biometrics at the campus of the university in question, and the previous introduction of fences and gates, involuntarily confined all students and staff to the space. Therefore, it can be considered as a form of spatial injustice and by extension, a form of social injustice. It is important to note that the gated community functions as a heterotopia and operates according to forms of modern power so even though the area is spatially unjust, it is still reflective of subjects who choose to partake in the discourses that created the space and in doing so, become self-regulating.

It is also important to note that the turn to post-modernism was accompanied by a turn to questions surrounding space and critical spatial perspectives amongst a variety of disciplines (Casey, 1997; Harvey, 1993; Massey, 1994; Tuan, 1977). The fact that space is a social product is at the foreground of this turn and can be traced back to Lefebvre (1974). Of particular importance to the spatial turn is Soja’s (1985) definition of space as socially produced relations in the context of a broader geography. According to Arias (2010, p. 32), this initiated the view that geography as a product “speak directly to how it is wrapped up in relations of power, ideology and discourse”. It was only recently that Soja (2010) introduced the term “spatial justice” which explicitly highlights how social injustices are tied to certain spaces and places, which also means that it is both a cause and a result of social justice (Marcuse, 2010; Soja; 2010). Therefore, within the context of this study, it is evident to note that spatial injustices are a result of intersecting discourses that are upheld by certain modes of power in spaces and places.

Questions of space are also discussed in terms of the decolonial project by De Oliveira Andreotti et al. (2015). The researcher believes that this can link theories of spatiality to modes of discourse on decoloniality, which is why this specific theory is chosen to form part of the theoretical framework for this study. The authors state that decolonisation in higher education cannot be reduced to normative forms because it contains a multitude of contingencies, tensions and paradoxes due to its dynamic

nature. They constructed a theory, which defines the spaces of decolonisation in certain spaces, which assists in delineating and mapping these contradictions (De Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015). The study synthesises the literature on the historic violence of modernism in a higher education context and utilises the literature to establish certain spaces in which the principles of modernity is upheld, undermined and subverted.

Following Chapter 1, it is important to note that modernism has been conflated with the term “European” and reflects a term that is suggestive of “belonging to the future” and of progress. These concepts are rooted in the Enlightenment, which forms part of the colonial project. Therefore, everything that is not considered European is considered to be indicative of a lack of progress. Modernism is also associated with instances of violence because of the colonial connotations it has, whereby colonial settlers used force and coercion to impose their idea of progress onto their colonial subjects. These sovereign expressions of power are what gave rise to modern disciplinary power, which is reflective of more subtle forms of control and regulation. Consequently, it is of the utmost importance to examine the spaces through which these Euromodern associations and principles can be interrogated and subverted. De Oliveira Andreotti et al. (2015) delineate these spaces as follows:

The first space is named the “Everything is Awesome” space. This space does not acknowledge the decolonial project and regards no need for any change within the current paradigms. The second space is that of “Soft Reform” where the decolonisation project is not acknowledged, but inequality is addressed by the inclusion of minorities and other cultural capital according to dominant institutional standards. This space assumes that previously disadvantaged members of society can benefit from such inclusion and increased access is emphasized without asking “what is being accessed, to what end and for whose benefit” (De Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015, p. 32).

The next space is that of “Radical Reform” which recognizes epistemological hegemony, seeks to distribute material resources and empower marginalized parties. In the space of “Radical Reform,” the Eurocentric principles in the curriculum is regarded as problematic, but little attention is paid to the actual system of modernity that upholds and promote these ends in the first place.

The last space is the space of “Beyond Reform” and is characterized by an acknowledgement of metaphysical and ontological enclosures wherewith to overthrow dominating systems of patriarchy, hegemony and capitalism to radically transform the space of higher education. The problem with “Radical Reform” is rooted in the fact that our very connection to reality and justice is understood through the lens of modernity that the decolonial project seeks to overthrow. In this regard, it is evident that a move towards a radically reformed higher education space will seek to establish certain forms of spatial justice. In addition, it becomes evident that the current functioning of the university, both in terms of space and place, must be addressed in accordance to both radical, and beyond, reform in order to sustain and promote the decolonial project. The theoretical framework for this study, therefore, exists as a multifaceted lens with which to view the current, and alternative, functioning of the gated educational space.

It is also important to note that each reformative space represents a facet of space and place in the theoretical framework that supports this study. The heterotopic nature of the gated educational space links to “Soft Reform” because there is no recognition of epistemological hegemony and the underlying principles that uphold modernity. This represents the current functioning of the university and is in keeping with Mbembe (2016,) who states that decolonizing access to the university is based on the extent to which students feel a sense of belonging to their campus environment. From this perspective, the university space must move beyond reform and spatial injustice by decolonizing access and recognizing epistemological, ontological and metaphysical hegemonies. This study, will, therefore, study students’ experience of place in an attempt to position them within this framework and explore ways in which additional reform can be experienced and implemented.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter began with an exposition of Foucault’s idea of modern disciplinary power, which is to be regarded as both a productive force that brings subjects into being all the while maintaining a sense of regulation over them. Disciplinary power differs from sovereign expressions of power because of its ability to render subjects “self-regulating”, which leads to them becoming docile or reflective of maximum submissiveness and maximum utility. This is largely due to the theoretical conception

of a panopticon, which refers to a prison with a central tower from which prisoners always assume that they are being watched and, therefore, always act accordingly.

The same sort of panoptic gaze can be seen in the gated communities that function as crisis heterotopias, whereby residents of these spaces become self-regulating due to the restrictive nature and surveillance within these spaces. They also became this way in light of the larger discourse of safety and inclusion, which exclude the people who don't have access to the space. Subjects in the heterotopia are both subjugated and informed by the discourses that facilitate and maintain their inclusion in the space and as such consistently experience the influence of modern power as a productive and regulating force. Within the context of higher education institutions, the discourse on safety and inclusion is responsible for the creation and maintenance of the heterotopic educational space through which certain students can experience productive power, whilst others are excluded from this opportunity.

It is also important to mention the role that discourses play in creating and maintaining these heterotopic spaces, thereby validating their existence. Many gated communities come into being in the name of safety and in response to people's perception of an increasing crime rate. However, in reality, these gated communities function as institutions that reflect discourses on exclusion and privilege, which are subsumed under the merit of "keeping people safe". In the same way, the university space has used the discourse on safety to validate its functioning as a gated community, but this has been proven to be a form of spatial injustice in the name of safety and securitization. Therefore, it is pertinent to examine the ways in which spatial justice can be achieved, through the lens of the discourses and geographies that are at the heart of the interrogation of the university space. Decoloniality must be viewed from the spaces in which it functions and from the discourses that hinder its progression. In this way, spatiality can be situated at the forefront of the investigation into the discourses that combine and intersect to maintain and create spaces that are reflective of exclusion, privilege and ultimately, segregation.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction

This literature review will follow from the previous chapter in that it will focus on an exposition of the research questions at hand and explain what the current literature provides regarding the workings of place, space and power in the higher education context. This will address what the current literature says on students' experience of place on campus especially within the context of a larger, gated educational space. This chapter will specifically look at the discourses that create and maintain the gated educational space and those that can be used to foster spatial equality in higher education institutions in South Africa. This will also expose the modes of power that gives rise to these discourses. This literature review will, therefore, be an attempt at addressing all the facets of the research questions in terms of the existing literature. Not a lot of studies tie together the concepts of place, space, decolonisation and militarization, therefore, the current literature will be discussed in terms of how they relate to the particular research questions posed here. Therefore, the first part of the literature review will pertain to the first research question and, therefore, regard what the literature says about students' experience of place within campus environments. The second part of the literature review will focus on the functioning of the university space as a result of the operations, and circulation, of certain discourses that bring the space into being. As a result, the literature review can provide the reader with a roadmap to better understand the current context of the university space in question and higher education institutions in general.

3.2. Students' Experience of "Place"

3.2.1. Feeling "At Home" in Campus Environments

An article by Shefer, Strebel, Ngabaza, & Clowes (2018) attempts to explore how social identities construct students' experience of higher education institutions in South-Africa. The study was conducted on 147 participants from a university located in a previously disadvantaged area. Results from the study indicated that the notion of "othering" in campus environments discouraged feelings of safety whereas spaces with emotional and physical diversity enhanced students' perception of safety (Shefer et al, 2018). Feelings of safety that were experienced as a result of diversity can be attributed to locations that physically reflect a diverse range of people such as the

dining hall that enhance a sense of community and certain lecture venues where multiple opinions and viewpoints are valued (Shefer et al, 2018).

The idea of students' sense of "safety" is also the means with which students can experience a sense of being at home in their campus environments (Vice, 2015). According to Vice (2015), students can feel at home on campus if they feel safe, comfortable and familiar there and this also leads to a feeling of being "in one's element". This comprises the fact that students feel a sense of being "at home", that they experience a sense of fit between them and the institution and the fact that they experience these feelings as enabling and productive. This links to Mbembe's idea of "democratizing access", whereby he says that access should be decolonised by including previously disadvantaged members of society into the university and allowing them to feel a sense of being "at home" on campus (Mbembe, 2015).

3.2.2. The Architecture of the University

The university space has been criticized for not fostering feelings of belonging amongst students. Mbembe (2015, p. 4) maintains that many of the architectural elements on South African campuses are reflective of the "versions of whiteness that produced men like Rhodes...and must be re-called and de-commissioned". In light of this, Mbembe (2015, p. 5) calls for a project to:

Decolonize the buildings and public spaces...[and to] reinvent a classroom without walls in which we are all co-learners, a university that is capable of convening various publics in new forms of assemblies that become points of convergence of and platforms for the redistribution of different kinds of knowledges

In addition, universities are often characterized by neo-brutalist architecture, which, according to De Villiers (2019) is based on an interest in the malleability of concrete and is characterized by hard spaces and concrete buildings. De Villiers (2019) uses the University of Pretoria as an example because many of the buildings at UP are reflective of this type of architecture, especially the "ship" which is the main administration and management building. This building is used in many of the university's marketing brochures and online platforms (De Villiers, 2019). This positions the architecture of the university space as rigid and depersonalized, which enhance students' isolation from these spaces (Cox, 2011). This form of architecture also does not allow for the ease of circulation between soft open space, which means

that the spaces are incoherent and restrictive of movement and decreases students' ability to experience the campus in a positive manner (Lau, Gau & Liu, 2014). It is also evident to note that students marched to the "ship" during 2015-2016, which to De Villiers (2019) illustrate that students were marching to the central seat of governance of the university. Therefore, the architecture of the university, which is reflective of "whiteness" (Mbembe, 2015), mimics how discourses become reflected in space.

In light of this, it is important to note that the idea of "belonging" and feeling "at home" is a contentious notion and that it does not merely suppose belonging or alienation, but rather that "complex intersectionalities exist which are invoked in struggles for belonging [and] that a transversal politics of belonging, across borders of identity politics and spatial locations becomes a value that generates most potential for change" (Carolissen & Kiguwa, 2018, p. 3). This also happens within a context where certain normative and dominant subjectivities may experience a heightened sense of belonging, because of their familiarity with the discourses that create and maintain these spaces.

3.2.3. The Quantified Subject

Mbembe (2015, p. 7) echoes the role of dominant and normative discourses when he states that university students are treated as "quantified subject[s]" because universities use "quantitative measures of teaching excellence" by measuring students' success via the "periodic and quantitative assessment of every facet of university functioning". Students who function as "quantified subjects" is also enhanced by the implementation of biometric access control measures because this system reflects the "immanent society of control [which] demands that each individual internalize the required algorithms of control and normativity" (Lebovic, 2015, p. 853). Biometrics reduces subjects to objects that are readable by a machine (Amoore & Hall, 2009; Lebovic, 2015; Van Der Ploeg, 1999) and therefore furthers the idea of students as "quantified subjects" (Mbembe, 2015). Therefore, it is evident that students experience their place at the university in a variety of contentious manners as reflected in spaces that promote othering and their functioning as quantifiable subjects of the institution.

3.2.4. The Ideology of Whiteness

The current functioning of the university space is at the heart of how ideologies can shape, and become a result of, certain places. Ideology can be defined as the discursive and material practices that (re)produce inequalities between races or racialized groups. In light of this, it is important to note Althusser's (2014) conception of ideology as "an ahistorical dimension of humanity that makes individuals act 'all by themselves' [because] ideology is not something we come to believe [but rather] something which prefigures our sense of self" (Reoche, 2014, p. 92). According to Duncan (2003, p. 136), ideology "mediates the development of prevailing group identities". Therefore, ideology functions as a catalyst for the circulation of discourses to give rise to certain spaces and students' prevailing sense of self.

The ideology that is of importance here, is the ideology of whiteness, as explained by Mbembe (2015, p. 4): "Whiteness is at its best when it turns into a myth...it is the most corrosive and the most lethal when it makes us believe that it is everywhere; that everything originates from it and that it has no outside". Gusa (2010) states that whiteness has become a shared ideological and philosophical underpinning from which cultures have been cultivated and from which the normative ways of functioning have been derived. In this way, "whiteness...is a socially informed ontological and epistemological orientation, reflecting what one does rather than something one has" (Gusa, 2010, p. 468). This quote by Gusa (2010) positions whiteness as a specific ideology that is reflective of the ways in which power acts as a productive force to regulate, create and maintain people's actions.

Mythologizing whiteness pertains to the fact that many universities reinforce, consciously or unconsciously, historic associations with whiteness. This has aptly been noted during the #RhodesMustFall movement, which is seen as the origin of the Fallist movement. #RhodesMustFall originated from students' disdain with the pervading colonial structures at higher education institutions and their corresponding call for the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town. This led to conflict within and between various higher education leaders and students but, according to Mbembe (2015), the debate shouldn't have centred around whether or not to remove the statue but rather focused on why it took so long to remove it. This has recently been echoed by the call to remove a statue of Rhodes outside Oriel College in the UK, after the original calls to remove the statue was dismissed in 2016

(Bundy, 2020). In light of this, it is evident that these debates surrounding the removal of statues are indicative of the pervading influence of white landmarks on the architecture and functioning of the university. It also indicates the means with which discourses circulate in space and give rise to the spaces that are reflective of these discourses.

3.3. Maintaining “The Gated Educational Space”

3.3.1. “Moves to Innocence”

The removal of historical landmarks associated with whiteness also speaks to the importance of decolonising the curriculum and removing its associations to whiteness. The curriculums of Higher Education institutions have been criticised for implementing Western knowledge as universal knowledge (Heleta, 2016). According to Mbembe (2016), Eurocentric knowledge reinforces the hegemonic nature of universities and fails to acknowledge the ontological and metaphysical enclosures that exist within higher education institutions. Prinsloo follows Mbembe (2016) when she states that decolonisation is a project of remaking and re-centring ourselves by defining what the centre is. Decolonisation must be discussed in terms of how it differs from other frameworks of social justice and how “our colonial and racist past continues to inform economic, political and social realities and, with reference to universities, how it shapes institutional culture, values, practices, processes, appointments, curriculum planning [and] standards” (Prinsloo, 2016, p. 165). Scholars, in this regard, must interrogate what the university is, and what its original purpose entails, and confront the inherent “epistemic violence” in the curriculum all the while acknowledging the dominant Eurocentric canon. For Spivak (1988, p. 76), such a notion of epistemic violence refers to the “remotely orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogenous project to constitute the colonial subject as the Other [and] the asymmetrical obliteration of the trace of that Other in its precarious subjectivity”. This involves moving beyond the acknowledgement of the imperialist account of history to include an account of how such an account of history became the normative account. It moves beyond acknowledgement and into the call for action.

In this regard, decolonisation is not be regarded as a metaphor (Tuck & Yang, 2012) because it is not a “swappable concept nor does it have a synonym...it is disruptive and uncomfortable” (Prinsloo, 2016, p.166). This is why Tuck & Yang (2012)

warns against “moves to innocence” which refer to how settlers divert away from discussions involving decolonisation to pacify their feelings of guilt. These “moves to innocence” are often found in the spaces where the curriculum is challenged for its Eurocentric nature but not interrogated to the extent of determining who it serves and for what purpose. This notion of innocence is also seen in the work of Wekker (2016), where she describes “White Innocence” as a critique against the paradox between the existence of racism and the aggressive acts of racism that can be traced through various elements of Dutch culture and the fact that the willful denial of racism is reflective of a sort of “white innocence”, which protects white privilege and its associated benefits. These notions of innocence links to the vulnerability that is felt by people who become aware of their whiteness (Stewart & Gachago, 2020) and stands in contrast to how this ideology should be confronted.

Similarly, the grip that colonial power retains over higher education, and nations as a whole, can also be described as comprising various facets. These forces operate as a “form of soft power that is informed by longstanding colonial matrices of power” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013, p. 47). These methods of subjectivation include the control of subjectivity and knowledge, which relates directly to the colonial impact in higher education institutions and the “epistemological colonisation and the re-articulation of African being as inferior and constituted by a series of ‘deficits’ and a catalogue of ‘lacks’” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013, p. 47). What is needed to resolve the control over knowledge is an epistemic rupture, which describes the instance where one dominant epistemic order becomes nullified and exhausted to the extent that it can pave the way for alternative imaginings of knowledge and modes of being (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). The epistemic rupture calls for a need in a rupture of the discourses that maintain the current representations of knowledge and modes of being, through decolonisation.

3.3.2. Institutionalized Racism

In light of this, it is important to note that racism has become institutionalized within the context of higher education institutions in South Africa, which influences and produces a space that is reflective of power and privilege (Booyesen, 2016). The term institutional racism, also sometimes referred to as systemic racism, refers to how racism becomes normalised through everyday practices within a society or organization (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1992). An example of this can be seen in the resistance by UCT regarding the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes. The

statue is a symbol of colonialism and oppression, but its presence has become so normalised that the university resisted its removal (Booyesen, 2016; Mbembe, 2017). As Mbembe (2017, p. 29) states:

Rhodes' statue has nothing to do on a public university campus. Then we are told that he donated his land and his money to build the university. How did he get the land in the first instance? How did he get the money? Who ultimately paid for the land and the money? Furthermore, a great donor is one who is discreet; who gives without reserve, in anticipation for nothing. A great donor is not one who is trying to manufacture wholesale debts, especially debts [with] regards to future generations who are then required to be eternally grateful.

Therefore, institutionalized racism is reflected in the architecture of university spaces (De Villiers, 2019; Mbembe, 2015); the militarisation of the university space (De Villiers, 2019; Maringira & Gukurume, 2017; Praeg, 2018); the mythologizing of whiteness (Mbembe, 2015; Stewart & Gachako, 2020) and the failure to decolonise the curriculum (Heleta, 2016; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013).

Vincent (2008) suggests that this is a result of the fact that the increased inter-racial contact of post-apartheid South Africa does not equally benefit black and white South Africans and that white students' narratives often fail to recognize the dominance, hierarchy and hegemony of higher education institutions. This alludes to the seductive nature of discourses, through which power becomes enacted and certain behaviours become normalized. This is echoed by Costandius et al. (2018) who explored both students' and lecturers' responses to the student revolt of 2015-2016. They concluded that many students were frustrated by the lecturers' and by implication the institution's, unwillingness to partake in the movement. This reflects an institutional failure to acknowledge systemic racism and is echoed by Vincent (2008, p. 1442) when she says:

If apartheid was about keeping people 'in their place' then the present moment can be understood as characterized by struggles to redefine place. These struggles include processes of withdrawal, renegotiation of meaning, appropriation and, importantly, the emergence of new legitimizing narratives of separation and exclusion.

These "struggles to redefine place" can be linked to spaces that reflect "legitimizing narratives of separation and exclusion" or the dominant discourses that give rise to, and maintain, power.

Rob Higham (2014) contributes to this discussion by discussing desegregation in South-Africa, reporting on power relations that facilitate exclusion and introducing the voice of post-apartheid students from two universities in South-Africa. The notion of desegregation in schools was implemented in post-1994 South-Africa but the process of reform has largely been left in the hands of the organisations and institutions. This has led to “fragmented” transformation in the curriculum and inclusion of people from previously disadvantaged backgrounds into a system that excludes them from within. After many years of democracy, higher education institutions in South-Africa still take an “ad hoc” approach to transformation in the curriculum because of a failure to acknowledge the lens of modernity from which all other modes of knowledge are viewed (De Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015). As a result, the curriculum remains rooted in Western knowledge, dominated by white middle-class academics and reflective of the circulation of power through a variety of discourses that create and sustain inequalities. The disparate voices of the University of Cape Town (UCT) students reflected an incongruence between the status quo and what they require for exclusion to be avoided (Higham, 2014). Students’ responses prove that they feel excluded from the activities at the university, the interactions at the university and education itself, which, in turn, reflects and maintains exclusionary spaces on campus. This can be said to be reflective of the workings of power because the institution retains control on “how it should be”, whilst power circulates in the discourses that allow students to become self-regulating in adherence to the normalized practices of racism.

This notion is furthermore supported by the evolvment of the #FeesMustFall movement towards a #FreeDecolonisedEducation movement, which emphasized the importance of free, decolonised education, especially for black students in South Africa (Maringira & Gukurume, 2017). Maringira & Gukurume (2017) conducted fieldwork at the University of the Western Cape in order to examine these ideas and explore the extent to which the #FeesMustFall protests were “a manifestation of deep-seated disaffection with structural racial inequalities and the endemic poverty associated with blackness” (p. 37). They found that students were disdained with the functioning of higher education institutions and noted that the most pertinent issues pointed toward existing racial issues in South Africa and especially the distinction between black and white lives. This distinction is worsened by the fact that Milazzo

(2015) states that “white wealth is a direct consequence of black poverty” (p. 561) as is seen in the unequal distribution of land and a wealth of other resources and benefits. In addition, the experience of blackness is constantly being threatened by higher education institutions and the state as was seen in the instances of violence that occurred during the protests. The police were deployed to silence the protesters, which is reflective of the way in which institutionalized violence was used to delegitimise and criminalise the protest. In this way, exclusion and power become a way to retain control over the university space.

In the current global political climate, the resistance to institutionalized violence, especially by the police, have become increasingly important and relevant as is reflected by ongoing protests to defund the police in America. Taylor (2020) suggests that the first step in ending the institutional racism that is exercised by the police is the elimination of the assumption of black guilt. This sense of black guilt originates from the process of criminalising African Americans through the hyper-surveillance of black communities, seemingly characterised as spaces of social crisis and disorder, which produces a disproportionate number of arrests and perpetuates the need for increased policing and punishment. This forms part of a larger discussion regarding defunding the police through a “recognition of the relationship between robust funding for police and the consistent lack of adequate funding for the programs and institutions that may have the most impact on improving the quality of life for poor and working-class black people” (Taylor, 2020). Similarly, the university continues to fund projects of securitisation but fail to acknowledge the importance of free, decolonised education.

At this point, it is important to note the relational nature of racism as is seen in the local militarisation of the university and the global call to defund the police. The relational nature of racism is described by Goldberg (2009) as being twofold. Firstly, Goldberg (2009) states that racism that occurs in a single place is fuelled by racial practices everywhere else, although it retains a certain local nuance. Secondly, racist practices in any place can be influenced to a smaller and larger extent by racism that occurs everywhere else through a process called “the globalization of racism”. In light of this, any racist practice can be related to every other racist practice which is why evidence of police brutality so closely mimic the militarisation tactics of the university.

3.3.3. The Militarisation of the University

The militarisation of the university is not necessarily an entirely new phenomenon; however, the university became increasingly reflective of police camps and “sites of surveillance” after the Fallist movement:

Surveillance was a response to student protests and sought to discipline the perceived undisciplined students. The threat...became real when students understood that their academic spaces were saturated with state intelligence personnel. The university became a barrack, a prison in which the security men viewed students with a military gaze, one which sought to control and discipline the ‘wayward’.

(Maringira & Gurukume, 2017, p. 42-p.43)

This military gaze can also be likened to the panoptic gaze whereby students modify their behaviour and their actions. In addition, any discussion about decolonisation must necessarily address access to land, resources, education and “being black” in South Africa, especially within the context of, what Maringira & Gukurume (2017, p. 47) call, “the accumulative oppression of the state”.

This is echoed by Praeg (2018) when he states that the university’s perceived sense of threat keeps the students and staff in terror and, therefore, resembles a totalitarian state, with particular reference to the recent securitisation of the University of Pretoria’s campus spaces. The existence of such a totalitarian state comes into being by the university’s postulation of itself as a “microstate”. According to Praeg (2018), the university functions as a sort of microstate because it imitates the gentrification processes that happens in other microstates as well as the “macrostate” whereby a microstate can be seen as a state which “constitute [itself] by emulating or imitating the logic of state formation” (p.9). This is evident by the erection of borders and the implementation of border control, as reflected in the fences and biometric access control measures which regulate access to the campus.

In addition to this, discourses on safety have now become equated with discourses on security and the securitisation of the university. The inception of such a microstate is also founded on the premise that certain policies were put in place to exercise a sense of control such as the fact that any event that is to be held on campus must be approved by an Events-committee (De Villiers, 2019; Praeg, 2018; University of Pretoria, 2020). According to Praeg (2018), the main criterion for allowing an event that falls outside of the academic program is to determine whether such an event will

be deemed too political. Although the university describes the purpose of the Events Committee as “[ensuring] that facilities are optimally used...and in the best interest of the University, [providing] guidelines for the efficient and orderly running of events at the University and [setting] guidelines to be followed when an event is hosted or presented” (University of Pretoria, 2020). However, Praeg (2018) mentions an incident that occurred on campus, which proves how strict the university is with regards to events that fall outside the academic program:

After a three hour seminar, I took ten of my honours student to the lawn in front of the Aula for a game of soccer. Thanks to our world-class security system, it took security precisely four minutes to arrive on the scene to inform us that we cannot play on the because it poses a security risk...What are they so afraid of, I asked myself? The answer I eventually realised was...pleasure: the capacity to have fun.

(Praeg, 2018, p. 9)

In this regard, the foundation of this microstate relies on the violation of academic, personal and political freedom which stands in contrast to the original purpose of the university, namely the “pursuit of academic freedom in the name of the common good” (Praeg, 2018, p. 20). According to Praeg (2018), this microstate mimics the totalitarian form of governance because of the distinction between the “lawful” and “lawless” as is evident by the “patriots” or those who live according to the law and policy and the “traitors” who describes anyone who opposes those rules and policies that are introduced by the state. In a totalitarian state, this is done via the process of surveillance and policing to ensure complicity. Praeg (2018) also states that the totalitarian government rules “through terror because they are ruled by terror and they resent those who are not terrified” (Praeg, 2018, p. 19), which is why nobody is allowed to play soccer on the lawns. For these reasons, it can be said that the totalitarian state has the power to ensure complicity from its state members by making sure that they are being monitored at all times, which closely resembles many of the securitisation tactics found on South African campuses today.

Similarly, De Villiers (2019) comments on the fact that the events policy at UP (University of Pretoria, 2020) limits and prohibits certain forms of protest action. De Villiers follows Layard (2016) and continues the discussion by positing the existence of “property”, “lines” and “interruptions” that occur within, and ultimately produce the university space. According to Layard (2016), lines involve “moving and producing lawful relations” and can be seen to move and evolve continuously with time.

Interruptions on the other hand disrupt a certain space and, therefore, also disrupts the flow of time by becoming “a slice in time”. Lines refer to any type of movement in space which happens with permission such as making use of a sidewalk or driving on a highway, thereby referring to any permitted movement. Interruptions, on the other hand, refers to any movement that occurs without permission. Interruptions are of paramount importance in this regard because they allow private spaces to become temporarily public and public spaces to become temporarily privatised. It can therefore be regarded as the mechanism through which we can change, what Layard (2016) refers to as “the property” of a space or who that space belongs to. However, since the university has become increasingly privatised and by extension more exclusionary, De Villiers (2019) states that “the question is, therefore, less who does the University belong to and more who belongs in the University”. As a result, that which can transform the university space are those very actions that are not permitted by its very strict events committee. This becomes a direct example of how discourse both create and maintain spatial and social inequalities in higher education institutions in South Africa.

3.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, many of the issues associated with institutionalized racism and the Eurocentric curriculum are rooted in an ideology that produces and sustains the university space. Following the literature, the prominence of institutionalized racism, the architecture of the university space, the mythologizing of “whiteness” and the militarisation of the university all contribute to creating and maintain the university space. It has also been said that this is echoed by the movement to remove a Rhodes statue at Oxford and the current resistance against police brutality in America. In addition, it is also important to regard the extent to which the #FeesMustFall movement and the university and students’ responses to this movement have highlighted some of the most pertinent issues in this regard, including the effects of ideology, the resulting moves to innocence and the corresponding necessity for an epistemic rupture as the means with which to achieve decolonisation. This rupture must move beyond re-appropriating the curriculum but also focus on creating a rupture in the discourses that maintain the university space. The workings of power that produce and maintain the discourses, which reflect, and are created by, spatial inequalities will form the heart of the methodology that will interrogate how students, as subjects, are

brought into being and how they experience and appropriate the discourses that inform their experiences of being in the university space.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

The methodology of this study followed from the theory in that it attempted to examine students' subject positionings towards the discourses that create and maintain their university space. The proposed methodology of this study will first be discussed in terms of its approach, followed by an explanation of the process of data collection and data analysis. The ethical considerations, quality of the current research methodology and reflexivity will also be discussed. The study followed a qualitative, narrative approach in order to get rich and textured descriptions from the participants. Data collection occurred through email interviews and the responses were analysed via a thematic narrative analysis approach as well as a performative narrative analysis approach. This enabled the researcher, to answer both research questions, namely 1.) how biometrics affect students experience of "place" and 2.) how discourses contribute to creating spaces of (in)equality. The performative narrative analysis is especially relevant to the theory and content of this particular study because it emphasises the importance of the context (space and place) and the purpose of what is being said or heard. The Foucauldian theory that guides this study makes the performative narrative analysis approach an appropriate mode of analysis because of performative analysis' emphasis on subject positionings. This becomes the means with which to analyse students' positions to, and within, various intersecting modes of discourse and power.

4.2. Qualitative Research

The research design for this study followed a qualitative approach. Research designs can be either qualitative or quantitative, where qualitative approaches are concerned with descriptive data and quantitative approaches use numerical data. The descriptive nature of qualitative data makes it especially useful in evaluating the meaning that is derived from certain experiences (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). Qualitative research approaches are concerned with both the meaning and texture of people's experience as opposed to establishing cause-and-effect relationships (Christensen, Johnson, & Turner, 2015; Fossey et al., 2002; Willig, 2013). Research in the qualitative domain studies people in open settings whereby the conditions and characteristics of these settings develop, interact and construct a

process of ongoing change (Willig, 2013). The purpose of qualitative research is to illustrate people's subjective experience, as it is experienced by them, and with reference to their social contexts and actions, and the meaning that is derived from this. Qualitative research has its footing in the interpretive and critical research paradigms which stands in opposition to the earlier positivist approaches (Fossey et al., 2002). Consequently, qualitative research also acknowledges the worldviews, paradigms and beliefs that the researcher brings to the research project, which necessarily inform the writing and analysis process. Qualitative research assumes that the nature of reality is subjective and uses inductive logic by studying participants in a specific context and making larger assumptions regarding the society and world that they live in (Cresswell, 2007; Willig, 2013).

4.3. Narrative Inquiry

This study employed a narrative methodology because narrative can provide a specific lens for examining the relations of power that is work in students' construction of their subject positionings because it allows for an analysis of the stories that they tell, which inevitably frames their experience and can provide insight into their specific experiences of their university environment. The narrative research approach is especially concerned with meaning and how it constructs experience into temporally significant episodes, allowing stories to provide a way of understanding the cognitive processes with which people construct meaning (Polkinghorne, 1988). According to Squire, Tamboukou & Andrews (2017), the narrative tradition has its roots in the humanist paradigm, the Russian structuralist paradigm and the French post-structuralist paradigm. The humanist paradigm stands in contrast with positivist approaches and evolved to focus on individual case studies and person-centred accounts. The importance of the narrative in this paradigm relies on what is being said by the person who recounts the narrative. On the other hand, the post-structuralist approaches "are more concerned with narrative fluidity and contradiction, with [the] unconscious as well as conscious meanings, and with the power relations within which narratives become possible" (Squire, Tamboukou & Andrews, 2017, p. 4). The post-structuralists choose to focus on the circumstances and social formations that produce the situation, language and the story to the extent that "the storyteller does not tell the story, so much as she/he is told by it" (Squire, Tamboukou & Andrews, 2017, p. 4).

Narrative research also seeks to produce descriptions of individual or group narratives, of a subconscious or conscious nature that constructs the schemes people use to acknowledge the significance of the past or anticipating outcomes of the future (Polkinghorne, 1988). The narrative approach in this study attempted to position the participant with relation to the past and future as well as the settings in which the discursive practice occurs in order to make visible the schemas that are used to construct the meaning of their positions in space/place. It is evident that narrative layers of meaning may often be contradictory, but by focusing on the narrative construction of these meanings we can:

Investigate [how stories] are structured and the ways in which they work [and] who produces them and by what means; the mechanisms by which they are consumed; how narratives are silenced, contested or accepted and what, if any, effects they have” (Squire, Tamboukou, & Andrews, 2017, p. 2)

Stories may be constructed in a multitude of ways, which will result in various interpretations, but events become more meaningful because of where they are placed within a narrative (Riessman, 1993). It is important to note that this relates to the experience-centred narrative analysis approach, which emphasizes the progress of time and the forms that stories take on (Squire, 2017). In this study, context takes precedence, therefore, this research study is less concerned with the structural form of stories but rather focuses on teasing out the situations that give rise to stories and the spaces from which they are told.

This also constitutes the distinction between “big stories” (cf. Freeman, 2006; Ricoeur, 1991) and “small stories” (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008), where big stories are lengthy autobiographical accounts and small stories focus on how stories are constructed with regards to context and non-verbal elements (Squire, Tamboukou, & Andrews, 2017). “Big stories” refer to the traditional sequential form of narratives, whereby experience is understood as a temporally significant sequence because each event is evaluated as meaningful in relation to the whole story (Tamboukou, 2013). “Small stories” are specifically concerned with the ways in which people use stories in their everyday lives and use stories to create and maintain their sense of self (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). The emphasis on small stories focuses on narrative pragmatics or the context in which a certain narrative or cultural genre takes place (Squire, Tamboukou & Andrews, 2017) and how narratives are used as a specific

discursive function to bring subjects into being as a result of, and within, a variety of contexts. Small story research positions both the participant and the researcher, as co-constructor of the specific stories that can emerge in the interview situation. Therefore, for this study, the emphasis will be on small stories and especially the context of the place, the body and power within the campus space.

4.4. Research Questions

The study proposes to address the following two research questions:

What are the effects of biometric access control on students' experiences of place within the context of a larger gated educational space?

How do dominant discourses maintain and create spatial (in) equalities at higher education institutions in South Africa?

I, as the researcher, am of the opinion that a narrative analysis, with a focus on small stories, can function as the means with which these questions can be answered. In this regard, performative narrative analysis can prove to be especially useful in analysing the stories that students tell, as a result of the context in which they find themselves in. It can also assist in understanding how these small stories bring these contexts into being and, therefore, can assist in teasing out the contingencies that are found in the working of modern disciplinary power and the discourses that are created and maintained by this form of power.

4.5. Data Collection

4.5.1. Context

This study used a South African campus as an example of a campus environment that functions as a gated community and, by extension, a crisis heterotopia. The study was conducted in 2020, which is characterized by the Covid-19 pandemic and national lockdown measures that were implemented by countries across the globe. For these reasons, the methodology had to change from in-person interviews to email interviews as access to the campus was limited due to the spread of the virus. Consequently, many participants did not have access to the campus environment when they were responding to the questions, which means that they had to rely on their earlier experiences of the campus environment.

4.5.2. A University Campus as an Example of a Gated Educational Space

In the present study, the researcher chose to conceal the name of the campus space of which the students form a part of. This is not meant as an interrogation of this space but rather the means with which to draw larger conclusions about the functioning of higher education in South Africa, in general. This campus is largely similar to other historically advantaged university spaces. For the interviews, participants were randomly selected and although these students responded to their experience of this specific environment, the questions were not directly aimed at assessing the specific challenges of this institution, but rather to obtain their responses on the broad issues as stated in the aims and objectives of this study.

4.5.3. Sampling

A purposeful voluntary method of recruitment into the study was employed because qualitative studies often recruit participants based on some or other inclusion criteria (Willig, 2013). The inclusion category for the possibility of recruitment into this study was being a full-time registered student and being able to speak, write and understand English, as this is the language that the email interview was conducted in.

The study aimed to recruit 8-12 students from the university in question. Because of the nature of data collection participants were recruited virtually, via Whatsapp and email. A digital advertisement was posted on Facebook and Whatsapp, which provided students with information about the study. All students' addresses and numbers were obtained after they indicated their interest to participate in the study. Interested students replied to the advertisement via email or Whatsapp. Initially, the plan was to host an online briefing session with each participant on a video platform; however, many students complained about a lack of access to WiFi. Therefore, participants were briefed only via email and via the participant information letter. This supports the chosen methodology for this study, which attempted to make the interview as accessible as possible to students. Because of this, many students were able to use their smartphone and their cellular data to complete their interviews.

Qualitative research does not require large representative samples because of the time consuming and labour-intensive nature of data analysis (Christensen, Johnson, & Turner, 2015). Willig (2013) maintains that qualitative research assumes that participants' experiences are socially constituted, therefore, I assumed that the

participants' location within the gated educational space will reflect a collective of diverse voices of their experience of the university space.

4.5.4. Participants

10 participants were recruited via email, Facebook and Whatsapp. The following table lists all the participants and a short description of each². All participants were fully registered day students from the university in question. From Table 1, it can be noted that a majority of participants were white and that there was an equal amount of post-graduate and undergraduate students. The white male students were Niko, Ignus, Samuel, Christo and Rohan and made up the largest demographic of the sample. There were two black female students, Karabo and Refilwe, and one black male named Glen. Two white females, Kiara and Jane, also participated.

Table 1: Summary of Participant Information

Pseudonym	Race	Gender	Year of Study
Niko	White	Male	Post-Graduate (Masters)
Ignus	White	Male	Undergraduate (4 th Year)
Karabo	Black	Female	Post-Graduate (PhD)
Kiara	White	Female	Undergraduate
Jane	White	Female	Undergraduate
Samuel	White	Male	Post-Graduate (PhD)
Refilwe	Black	Female	Post-Graduate (Masters)
Christo	White	Male	Undergraduate
Glen	Black	Male	Post-Graduate (Masters)
Rohan	White	Male	Undergraduate

² In this study "Black" is to be understood as an ideological construct representing those members of the Black African community.

4.5.5. Email Interviews

Data collection occurred by means of email interviews, which is a type of digital narrative. According to Craig (2013, p.8), a digital narrative inquiry “refers to a representational form that features narratives of experience told and re-told, and storied and re-storied...and employs digital technology to convey research findings that arise from broadening, burrowing, storying and re-storying, and fictionalization”. The content of digital narrative is to be considered as possessing a story-like quality because people can relate to it on a spiritual and emotional level (Ryan, 2011) to the extent that “something as simple as a picture or a line of text can be regarded as a digital narrative as long as it is interactive” (Halleros & Nordqvist, 2018, p. 6).

The format for the present study took on the form of email narratives. This fits into the category of “digital storytelling” and also allow “the temporal dimensions of email to allow [students] to construct, share and understand personal meanings online when it is not always possible to meet face-to-face or be onsite for research purposes because of the constraints of time and space” (James, 2017, p. 7). This study was conducted under the current constraints of the national lockdown as a result of the spread of COVID-19. For this reason, I decided to use this form of data collection for practical reasons and as a means of thinking through new ways of conducting narrative research. The process used here will be similar to the one employed by James (2017), who used email as a way of examining academics’ narratives about their work lives. Interview questions (Appendix B) were sent to the participants, one at a time, embedded in an email message. The participants were given 5 days to answer each question. The use of deadlines for each question ensured a good response rate and provided rich data in the format of “narrative as written” (James, 2017, p. 8). The questions were asked in a way that elicits narrative responses from students, and prompt and follow up questions were used to elicit narratives when they were not present or where the responses were too short. This is a limitation of this study because it is easier to elicit narrative data in a physical interview setting as opposed to an email setting. Sometimes, two or three follow up questions had to be sent to elicit narrative responses which lengthened the data collection process further. The questions were structured and themed around the themes of space and place and, therefore, succeeded in obtaining narratives that are indicative of the subject positionings from which they were told. Many questions also commented on the

current functioning of the university space as the means with which to prompt participants to produce narratives on their experiences within the space. This allowed the researcher to identify small stories from participants' responses, which formed the basis of the narrative analysis and allowed for an analysis of students' subject positionings.

As soon as informed consent (Appendix C) was obtained, participants received the first question and they responded via email within 5 days before the next question was sent. This continued until all responses were recorded and the interviewer amended the follow-up questions to address responses that were given to earlier questions. What is most important to note in the email context is how space and time are represented and what this means for the interview process. This context allows the researcher and participant to participate in their own space, and according to James (2017), participants found it helpful as it allowed them some time to reflect on their responses. However, it should be noted that the email interview does have the limitation of not allowing for the same spontaneity that might occur in physical interviews and it also does not allow the researcher to make field notes regarding the non-verbal elements that often accompany what participants say.

The narrative process takes on a performative function in this virtual space because it allows participants to generate narratives about themselves through a process of self-reflective thinking and of relating to their consciousness, allowing the research process to become a "practical information resource [and a] medium of communication to explore and perform multiple identities" (James, 2017, p. 10). Time is also represented differently within this space as email communication is reflective of an asynchronous temporal dimension. James (2017) posits that this allows participants to engage and reflect more deeply on their responses. Participants' responses become informed by their responses to earlier questions, because of the nature of email exchange whereby text messages are retained and "participants' texts [are returned] to them as part of the normal process of email exchange which [gives] participants and the researcher the opportunity to interrogate their texts as the email dialogues [develop], creating a "narrative collage" (James, 2017, p. 12). Because of the nature of data collection, there was no reason to record or transcribe the interviews, as they were downloaded and kept on file on my computer. Field notes were also made, especially with regards to participants' responses throughout the

virtual interviewing process. These notes were constantly used throughout the data analysis phase to inform the analysis process and allowed me to become aware of my position in the research context. This positioning was often contradicted and compared to the subjects' positionings from the small stories that were produced in the interview context.

4.6. Data Analysis

There are many ways to conduct a narrative analysis, but Riessman (1993, 2008) proposes 4 particular types of narrative analysis. For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on a thematic narrative analysis as well as the performative analysis. The thematic analysis focused on analysing the particular content ("what is being said") of the narrative, whereas the performative analysis emphasised "storytelling...as performance – by a "self" with a past – who involves, persuades, and (perhaps) moves an audience through language and gesture, "doing" rather than telling alone" (Riessman, 1993, p. 5). The thematic analysis served as a useful starting point for data analysis as it helped in finding common thematic aspects across a variety of participants' responses. However, it is not to be used in isolation because Riessman (2008) warns of the danger of ignoring the context of what is not being said or told, in this case, the small stories that provide the basis for contextual performative analysis. The performative narrative analysis assisted the researcher in making sense of how participants negotiate and appropriate the workings of power within the context of their university environment and the discourses that create and sustain the environment from which the stories are told.

Performative narrative analysis "shifts from the told-the events to which the language refers-to include both the doing and the telling" (Smit, Allen-Collinson, & Phoenix, 2012, p. 346). In this type of narrative analysis, the importance of context is emphasized and extends to include the influence and response of the researcher as well as the socio-cultural circumstances that produce the interview setting. Since the emphasis for this study is small stories, the performative narrative analysis took precedence and functioned as the means with which to explore the ways in which students make sense of their experiences through the stories they tell, whereby these stories are seen as particular modes of identity construction. In this regard, stories are seen as material and discursive constructions, specific social actions and the means

with which narrators may involve the audience in “doing their identities” (Riessman, 1993, p. 5).

This directly links to the Foucauldian notion of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977), which frames this study, and presumes that modern power is constructive as it brings subjects into being, produces knowledge (ways of knowing the world) and creates the discourses that are reflected in space. Performative narrative analysis, therefore, provided insight into how individuals frame themselves with regards to the notion of disciplinary power, whilst the thematic analysis highlighted the actual content of what was being said by the participants. The thematic narrative analysis was conducted first, after which a more detailed exposition of the contextual elements with regards to the performative analysis could be discussed at length.

4.6.1 Thematic Analysis of Narratives

The thematic analysis for this study is driven by the theory that was detailed in Chapter 2. Riessman (2008) warns against focusing too much on the content in thematic analysis and, therefore, neglecting to acknowledge what is left unsaid. Therefore, the thematic narrative analysis should be informed and grounded in the prior research and theory of the study (Birch, 2011). In the context of the present study, the researcher used the theory of modern power to guide the thematic narrative analysis. It has been mentioned that Foucault’s (1977) theory of modern disciplinary power, positions power as being both productive and regulating. These modes of power render subjects self-regulating and also submissive and there is a constant tension between these two. Therefore, there always exists an ambiguity in the workings of modern power as it circulates through the discourses that create and maintain spatial (in)equalities. For this reason, I also used these two distinctions of power to guide the thematic analysis. For Pansardi (2012), these two modes of power can be defined as “power to” and “power over”. The Foucauldian (1977, 1984) conception of power was used as a theoretical lens with which to interpret to what extent participants say something pertaining to “power to” or “power over”. In this regard, power produces discourses that make students’ self-regulating all the while maintaining the discourses that regulate the students overall, as indicated in the diagram below. This also informed the structuring of the entire discussion and results chapter and formed the basis for the performative narrative analysis. The theoretical

lens of modern disciplinary power, which guided the thematic analysis is summarized in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: The Theory of Modern Power



The thematic analysis started with a thorough reading of all participants' responses in order to identify themes. Many themes were then listed, after which they were divided into the categories of "belonging" and "non-belonging", which relate to the concepts of "power to" and "power over", respectively. The theme of "belonging" is seen as an enabling factor, whereby students may internalize discourses that help them to become self-regulating and productive ("power to"). The theme of "non-belonging" relates to the regulating form of power, which students are subjected to, especially in light of dominant and normative discourses ("power over"). Similar sub-themes were grouped together until three sub-themes for each category could be identified.

4.6.2. Subject Positioning / A Performative Approach to Narrative

After the themes were identified, following the theory above, the subject positionings of the participants could be identified. The performative narrative analysis was an attempt to better understand how the theoretically guided thematic analysis can assist in describing the position from which these themes are experienced. The

performative analysis specifically focused on the intersection of various themes in an attempt to identify the intersection of various discourses and modes of power that bring about and maintain spatial inequality and affect students' experience of place and their ability to utilise the university space to their advantage. Therefore, the performative analysis was an attempt to identify how students orient themselves towards the circulation of power, especially through the various discourses that create and sustain modern power. From the themes that were identified, four specific intersections of themes were discussed as the basis from which the performative narrative analysis could be conducted.

4.7. Ethical Considerations

According to Willig (2013), qualitative research must reflect participants' informed consent, confidentiality, voluntary participation in the study and participants' right to withdraw. Participants were provided with an information letter (Appendix D), a letter requesting participation (Appendix E) and an informed consent form (Appendix C) via email as a means with which to provide them with the relevant information about the study. These forms were supplied to the participants before the research process started. This also ensured that they knew exactly what the study entailed and made them aware of their voluntary participation and their right to withdraw. All responses were stored on my laptop, and only my supervisors and I have access to it. Both the laptop and the email inbox are password protected. In addition to this, pseudonyms were used to protect the participants' identities.

It is also important to note that there are specific ethical considerations, which should be considered when conducting qualitative research online (Roberts, 2015). Online research is often seen as a way to quickly obtain data, without having to worry about the ethical considerations involved in working with human subjects in a physical interview situation. However, it is imperative that the researcher conducts the same ethical procedures and also remains ethical throughout the research process. This means alerting subjects to their involvement in the research, protecting their identity and acknowledging their authorship and not using online communications as a secondary text analysis (Roberts, 2015). The current research project recruited students obtained their consent and acknowledged their authorship all the while protecting their identities with the use of pseudonyms. However, there was a small expense to the participants because they had to use their cellular data to complete the

study and they were not reimbursed for this. They were, however, thanked for their participation and supplied with data by the university during the period of lockdown and Covid.

Ethics in narrative research also involves a balance between maintaining the dignity and privacy of the participant's account with the researcher's obligation to authenticity (Josselson, 2007). There exists a contract between the researcher and the participant (Josselson, 2007). The researcher must acknowledge their subjectivity and the biases and beliefs they bring to the interview setting as well as the interpretation.

Josselson (2007) also state that "all interviews are interventions" (p. 546) because the research setting teaches the researcher. Similarly, intelligibility is dependent on cultural meanings and metaphors and can point toward broader cultural contexts. The researcher plays a role in sharing what is important with the audience and stories are often only understood in light of larger cultural backgrounds and shared meanings (Hoshmand, 2005). Consequently, it is evident that the researcher must at all times be aware of the social and cultural world of the participant to facilitate proper engagement all the while maintaining awareness of "the implicit aspects of participants' consent...all those unstated expectations they may have of [the researcher]...and to manage these in the dynamics of the relationship [they] form with each participant, both during the personal contact and in [the] handling of the material thus obtained" (Josselson, 2007, p. 547). This experience is enhanced by the use of a performative narrative analysis which hold the importance of subject positionings at its core. In addition, the process of remaining reflexive throughout the research process can facilitate an ethical treatment of the narratives that are provided by the participants and the interactions that occur between researcher and participant.

4.8. Reflexivity

Narrative researchers also assume that the researcher has an active role in co-constructing the narrative accounts (Willig, 2013) and this must be made explicit by the researcher before, during and after the research process. This is done through reflexivity, which refers to the researcher's acknowledgement, and awareness, of their own position, bias and knowledge that inevitably influences the research (Willig, 2013).

In an attempt to remain reflexive, especially regarding my advantageous background, Garman (2013) suggests that researchers in such a position must prioritise listening (and by extension, understanding) as opposed to supporting the argument-based communication they were schooled in or imposing criteria on the participants' responses. Therefore, I kept a reflexive diary so as to maintain awareness of my understanding of participants' responses and my positionality as a listener throughout the research process. The use of a performative narrative reiterates this stance because this mode of narrative inquiry is regarded as a co-constructive process whereby the knowledge is co-constructed between researcher and participant within a particular time and context. This is supported by my interest in subject positions and the corresponding acknowledgement of my own positionality, as a white middle-class female, in this regard.

In the spirit of being reflexive, it is important to also note the limitations of the specific study. This study was limited by the fact that the interview context had to change to a virtual context, where students' body language and physical responses in the interview setting could not be observed. The study is, furthermore, limited by the fact that the majority of participants were white males, and the majority of participants were white, which means that further analysis can be done to specifically investigate black, coloured and Indian students' perspectives on their experiences of the campus environment. The chosen theoretical framework for the study also relies heavily on the works of Foucault, and utilises a very specific framework of power, so it might be useful to explain the context of place, space and decolonization using other power theorists such as Flyvberg and Habermas. Lastly, the study could have also benefitted from the inclusion of other theorists and theories on space, such as Soja's trialectics of space or Lefebvre's notions on the production of space.

4.9. Validity, Trustworthiness, Rigour and Reliability

It is important to make note of the quality of the study and the methods that were employed. According to Willig (2013) and Cresswell (2007) validity, trustworthiness, rigour and reliability are the criteria for assessing the quality of a qualitative study. It is important to note that reflexivity also enhances the quality of a study, but that reflexivity will be discussed in the next section. Firstly, "validity" refers to "an attempt to address the 'accuracy' of the findings, as best described by the researcher and the participants [and regards] any report of research [as] a

representation by the author” (Cresswell, 2007, p. 206-207). In the current study, validity is ensured via triangulation, which refers to the use of multiple methods, sources, investigators or theories. This is an important factor that can enhance the quality of qualitative research (Cresswell, 2007), and is seen in the fact that this research study employs two modes of data analysis, thereby triangulating the methods and leading to a higher rate of validity.

“Reliability” refers to the researcher’s objectivity and the ability to successfully ground the research in “the contexts that have generated them” (Willig, 2013, p. 174). This can also be improved through the process of triangulation and making use of detailed fieldnotes. In the present study, I made use of fieldnotes and a researcher reflexive diary in order to assist with the data analysis process. “Rigour” refers to the appropriateness of the method in answering the research question and the importance of presenting a thorough exposition of the methodology so that the reader is also aware of the entire data collection and data analysis process (Morrow, 2005; Willig, 2013). This chapter, and the inclusion of the steps that were followed in both modes of data analysis, promotes the rigour of this specific study.

Lastly, “trustworthiness” refers to the quality and authenticity of the findings and the extent to which they might be applied to other contexts. This can be enhanced by the researcher’s understanding of participants’ culture, context and the extent of rapport (Morrow, 2005). Understanding students’ contexts was enhanced by the fact that I generally participate in the same context as them, namely the University of Pretoria and this, in turn, also improved rapport between me and the participants. Even though the participants and I participate in the same context, it is important to note that this occurs from both similar and different positionalities. Therefore, the truthfulness of the meaning-making which can be derived from the interview context, becomes enhanced.

4.10. Conclusion

In conclusion, the research methodology for the study will follow the format of a qualitative, narrative approach. The interviews were conducted via email because of the context of the study, which took place during the time of Covid 19, whereby the campus environment was closed, and many students worked from home. I was able to recruit 10 participants from the University of Pretoria, which functions as an example

of a gated higher education space. The email interviews made the interviews more accessible to students since many of them have limited internet connectivity and limited access to devices. I also followed a twofold approach to narrative analysis, which included a theoretically driven narrative analysis and a performative narrative analysis. The thematic analysis attempted to identify the themes relevant to the specific theory that drives this study, namely the circulation of modern power through the discourses that maintain and create spatial inequalities. Therefore, the two modes of power as “power to” and “power over” guided me in identifying the themes, which formed the basis of the performative narrative analysis. The performative analysis is especially relevant to the theory of power, as it is employed here, because it analyses subject positionings and can expose the ways in which students orientate themselves toward the workings of power, and the circulation of various discourses, within their campus environment. The twofold approach to data analysis also improves the quality of the study. In addition, I kept a reflexive diary so as to make my own biases and assumptions clear in an attempt to examine how this may influence the dissemination and presentation of the results. The reflexive diary also allowed me to become aware of my own subject positioning within the study of the context, which relies on the theory of modern power. Therefore, the methodology flows from the theory in that it guides this study and informs the structure and method of analysis that will follow in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 5

ACCESS AND (BE)LONGING: A THEMATIC ANALYSIS

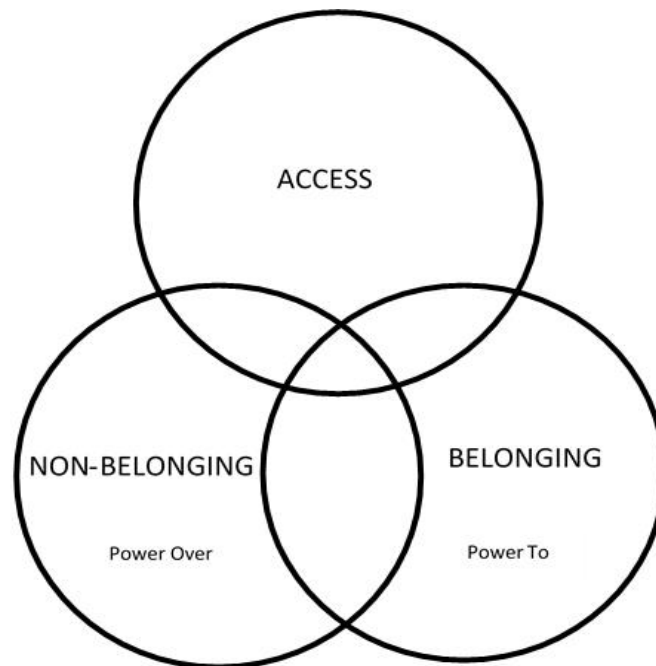
5.1. Introduction

As the researcher, I initially identified several broad and specific categories that arose from the research. As the research process continued, these categories were divided into three broad categories, which are divided into several sub-themes. The first two broadly defined categories or themes are that of *belonging* and *non-belonging*. Each of the participant's responses can fit into either of these categories. The theme of belonging is divided into the categories of safety, comfort and inclusion whereas the theme of non-belonging comprises the sub-themes of threat, discomfort and exclusion. The nature of this specific study relies on the discursive influence of power; therefore, I am of the opinion that each of the broad categories could be related to a certain notion of power. According to Pansardi (2012), power can be divided into the categories of "power to" and "power over" and this can relate to the two categories mentioned above. Pansardi (2012) defines *power to* as an individual's ability to act and *power over* as someone's ability to produce someone else's action. This also links with Foucault's idea of modern disciplinary power as being both productive (power to) and regulating (power over). In this context, *power to* refers to students who internalize the discourses that enable them and *power over* refers to the discourses that regulate students within the space. Therefore, students both internalise discourses that contribute to a sense of belonging and are regulated by the maintenance of discourses that contribute to non-belonging, resulting in spaces that reflect these discourses.

Pansardi (2012) further argues that in order for there to be *power over* there must be *power to*. Considering this, an additional theme can be added, one that belongs to, and enables both categories. The name of this thematic category is that of "access". The university exerts power over the students that have access to it. Access becomes the discourse with which students navigate between belonging and non-belonging. Access belongs to both categories of belonging and non-belonging because access facilitates students' sense of belonging; even though there are still certain exclusionary aspects of the university space. The discourse of access is both internalised by students as an enabling force but also maintained as a regulating force within the environment. Therefore, physical access to the university does not mean

that students necessary feel a sense of belonging there. The following diagram, Figure 2, is a visual representation of the relation between the themes, which will be further discussed in the performative narrative analysis.

Figure 2: Main Themes of the Thematic Narrative Analysis



5.2. Theme 1: Belonging and “Power to”

The first over-arching theme is that of “belonging”. In this study, belonging follows Mbembe’s (2016) idea that it does not only refer to including more members into the university but also to ensure that all students feel a sense of being “at home” on campus. According to Vice (2015, p. 50), this experience of feeling at home within a higher education institution refers to:

A space that is beneficial to some at the expense of others, restrictive of personal growth and autonomy, suspicious of change and difference, complacent and conservative. And these dangers can arise precisely from its positive aspects—security, comfort, familiarity.

The fact that feeling at home is often at the detriment of others and that it makes students resistant to change will be discussed at length in the next two themes. With regards to this particular theme, the discussion will focus on the fact that these feelings of being at home comprise feelings of “safety, comfort [and] familiarity” (Vice, 2015, p. 50). This is also accompanied by a feeling of being “in one’s element” which can be

defined as “[being] in one’s natural abode, appropriate to one’s character, nature and activities, and in which one feels secure, enabled and productive” (Vice, 2015, p. 51). Vice (2015) suggests that “being in one’s element” comprises three factors, namely the feeling of being at home, that this feeling is experienced as “enabling and productive” (p. 52) and that this is relational, suggesting “a fit between a person and the institutional way of doing things...[meaning] one can both ‘do’ what one has to do and ‘be’ who one authentically is” (p. 53). In light of this, one student compared the campus environment to “a bird in its nest”:

Refilwe: For me being able to attend a university like this one is a privilege that I absolutely appreciate. Even after adding a year to my degree, I took the opportunity to get involved in other things. I learnt so much about finance, personal growth, communication, and career growth by getting involved in different organisations. I understand the privilege that is in front of me, and that there are many people who would kill for this opportunity. I would not trade this opportunity for anything. Completing my degree has been a great achievement for me. I carry the university name with pride... [the campus is like] a bird in its nest...a bird is ideally is safe in its nest. The university is a safe space for all of us to come together and learn in our different fields. We are all equal in that environment. Basically, a bird in its nest is most at home - in its element. The university is like home to all of us.

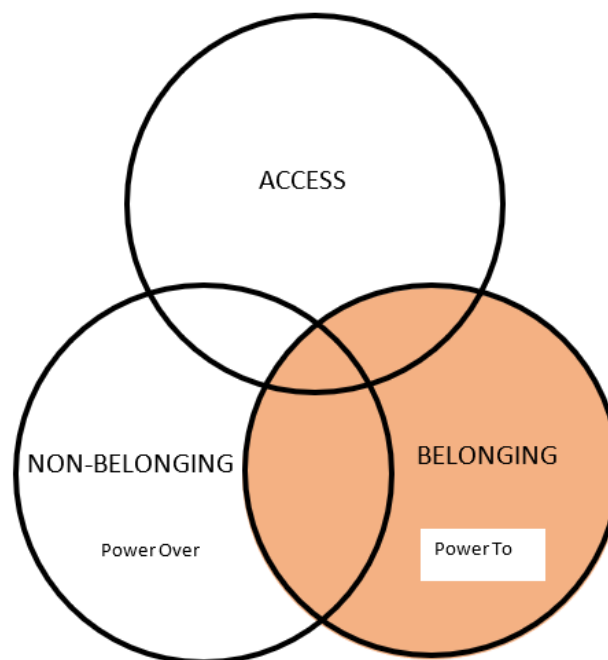
This passage is indicative of how inclusion can contribute to students’ sense of belonging. A bird belongs in its nest, it is at home there. This student directly equates the campus environment with that sense of belonging.

In addition, Refilwe also describes this sense of “being in [her] element”, which directly links with Vice’s (2015) statement that this feeling accommodates the idea of feeling at home. Refilwe states that she “learnt” so much and “[got] involved in different organisations” even “after adding a year to[her] degree”. This supports Vice’s (2015) idea that students who feel at home are in their element when there is a fit between the person and the workings of the institution, which, by extension, allows students to do what they need to and be who they want to be. In this way, the discourse of belonging promotes an inclusionary space in which students internalize their belonging as the means with which to achieve their goals.

The first overarching theme of belonging will be sub-divided into the categories of safety, inclusion and comfort. This directly relates to Vice’s (2015) description of

being at home as comprising safety, familiarity and comfort. However, “familiarity” has been replaced with the sub-theme of “inclusion” as a more encompassing sub-theme. It is important to note that these themes supplement each other. Increased safety leads to higher feelings of inclusion and feeling comfortable and feelings of inclusion may allow students to feel safer and more comfortable. Therefore, these aspects of the university experience contribute to students’ overall sense of belonging. This part of the analysis is indicated in the diagram below.

Figure 3: Visual Representation of Theme 1



5.2.1. Sub-Theme 1: Creating the Discourse on Safety

The sub-theme of safety relates directly to how most students refer to the environment within the campus, which stands in direct contrast to how they describe the areas on the peripheries of the campus. This theme pertains to belonging because increased feelings of safety directly increase students’ extent of feeling at home on campus. Vice (2015, p. 50) posits that feeling at home contains, at least in the positive sense, feelings of “safety, comfort [and] familiarity”. Most students state that being within the enclosed space on campus makes them feel safe and that they feel at risk as soon as they leave the premises, as one student noted:

Glen: The campus environment feels very safe and relaxing; it is a highly interactive place. I like the legibility and interconnectedness of the entire physical environment

within campus as it is easy to move from one building to another...I always feel unworried and safe as soon as I enter the campus. When I leave the campus I feel that I have to be more cautious and vigilant for any unknown risks usually associated with criminality...I would find [campus] extremely unsafe [without fences or gates]...[it] would attract a lot of criminals given the increasing crime rate in the country...students are easy targets for criminals

Glen states that he feels “unworried and safe” when he enters campus and “cautious and vigilant” outside of the campus environment. Therefore, these feelings of safety are often associated with the gated nature of the space. Students feel safe within the confines of this space and they feel unsafe outside of this space. This antagonism towards the external environment and the perception that it is unsafe is echoed by Glen when he says that there exists “unknown risks associated with criminality” on the periphery of the campus environment and that it would be “extremely unsafe” without the gates because it would “attract criminals”. This is consistent with research on gated communities, whereby residents also regards the outside perimeters of the space as unsafe because the “motivation for security zone communities is predominantly the fear of crime and outsiders... [and] gating [is an attempt] to maintain the values, identity and safety of the neighbourhood” (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2001, p. 200). This is echoed by Durlington (2009, p. 80) when he states that perceptions of safety in gated communities are fuelled by a culture of fear and that residents of gated communities have “constant anxiety about the possibility of what crimes could happen in the outside world that [is]...supposedly deterred by [the gated] surroundings”. This is evident in Glen’s reference to the “risks” and “criminality” that exists in the environment that surrounds the campus.

It is also important to realize that the rise of gated communities can be attributed to people’s perception of crime and not necessarily the crime statistics itself (Durlington, 2009; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2001). This often goes hand in hand with the perception of an “increasing crime rate” as mentioned by Glen above (Durlington, 2009). This can be attributed to the media’s portrayal of the dangers of the rising crime rate which, by extension, fuels the culture of fear that necessitates gated communities (Durlington, 2009). This can also be likened to the media portrayals of the Fallist movement, whereby many instances of violence were reported more readily than moments of solidarity in protest. This can attest to the fact that the university as a

gated community could also be a response to the perception of the threat as opposed to the likelihood of the actual threat. There also exists little evidence that gated communities succeed in their primary purpose, which is to deter crime (Breetzke, Landman, & Cohn, 2014). In fact, these types of security enclaves may attract crime because of the false sense of security they create to the residents inside. Nevertheless, it is evident that the enclosed nature of the campus environment contributes to students' sense of safety, and by extension their sense of belonging. One student explains it as follows:

Ignus: I feel safe when I enter campus because it is not safe to walk just outside campus...[the area] is full of criminal activity and I feel that the campus keeps out unwanted delinquent behaviour...the gates and fences serve as a delinquency [deterrent]...it keeps criminal activity outside of the learning institution, therefore, should the gates be removed, I will constantly worry about my laptop and cellphone being at risk of theft.

Like Glen, Ignus also mentions the risks involved in the area “just outside campus”, which he associates with “criminal activity” and “unwanted delinquent behaviour”. He also states that this form of behaviour should exist “outside of the learning institution” and that the removal of the gates will make him more vigilant in terms of protecting his “laptop and cellphone [against] theft”. Therefore, students feel that the safety of the gated space protects them and their personal belongings. This student feels that his belongings are safe within the confines of the gated space and that it serves as a barrier between this space and “delinquents”. Residents (or students) of gated communities feel safer on the inside, which contributes to their sense of belonging. Vice (2015) also speaks about the enabling power of these feelings of belonging (which is linked to feelings of safety); therefore, this theme belongs to the category of productive power because it produces the discourse that enables students. The “at home” feeling acts an enabling force allows students to do what they need to do and be who they want to be (Vice, 2015). Safety allows students to complete their academic activities without fear, and a sense of inclusion contributes to their ability to be who they want to be within the space.

5.2.2. Sub-Theme 2: Creating the Discourse on Inclusion

According to Tienda (2013, p. 467), inclusion is defined as “organizational strategies and practices that promote meaningful social and academic interactions

among persons and groups who differ in their experiences, their views, and their traits”. Therefore, this theme relates to Vice’s (2015) component of familiarity but extends to include the diversity that might be found in meaningful interactions. The thematic analysis of participants’ responses identified various facets of the idea of inclusion. Firstly, the theme of inclusion becomes evident when students talk about how grateful they feel to be a part of the university, which extends to include their appreciation for contributing to society. Glen recalled this sense of privilege as follows:

Glen: Access to the university means being able to enrol and study at that university towards a particular qualification of choice...[attending] a university in South Africa makes me feel grateful because universities are limited to accommodate every qualifying learner. Also given my background, [I] am the first in the family to go to university, so that means a lot to me and family.

Therefore, the notion of inclusion is accompanied by a sense of privilege because students realize that not everyone has been provided with the same opportunities and access to tertiary institutions. It is evident that this type of access enables Glen to study “a particular qualification of choice”, which allows him to be who he wants to be and contributes to his feelings of being at home (Vice, 2015). Glen also acknowledges the fact that universities are “limited to accommodate every qualifying learner”, which enhances the sense of privilege that he feels to be part of this institution. His positionality as a black male also enhances this because he is “the first in the family to go to university, so that means a lot to [him] and [his family]”. The sense of inclusion and the privilege Glen feels by attending the university, therefore, also extend to include the fact that he makes his family proud.

The notion of being included into the university is also equated with some students’ description of campus as their “home” and their fellow university members as their “family”:

Ignus: I feel at home in the library...I feel at home in classes. I feel at home when I go to [certain buildings and departments]. I must say I enjoy the dams...it relaxes me and is one of my favourite spots...I like the...clock tower...To me, it signifies the importance of time. There is also a statue...pointing towards the heavens...the significance of this statue is that he is aiming for the stars. It can also mean that he is pointing towards God and thanking Him for the opportunities he was blessed with...access to the university means the world to me. It means access to a better life, access to the

privilege to make a difference in our country. Attending a South African university is a huge privilege and I do not take it lightly. It is the most important thing in my life with regards to my development as an adult. I feel that everyone should have this privilege...I think the [the biometrics] is pretty cool, I feel more connected to the [university] family because of it

It is especially prevalent to note that this participant believes that everyone who qualifies for tertiary education should be provided with an opportunity to study, regardless of their financial situation. This privilege of being part of the institution is accompanied by a sense of gratitude, which can be seen in Ignus' comment on the statue on campus which represents "pointing towards God, thanking him for the opportunities he was blessed with". He also speaks of the "huge privilege" which he "[does] not take lightly". There is a sense that he is lucky to have this opportunity, and as a white male, he might be acknowledging that he has a certain advantage over others with previously disadvantaged backgrounds. This segment correlates with the meaningful social and academic interaction that form part of the definition of inclusion, He also states that he is "connected" to his "[university] family" and mentions various places where he feels "at home". There is mention of the fact that the biometrics makes him feel more connected to his "[university] family" as if though he is part of something special. This student attributes a sense of meaning and attachment to the campus space and its people, which leads to meaningful interactions within the campus environment.

In addition, inclusion is fostered by the ease with which students can move around within the campus environment and the extent to which they feel comfortable in the space. One student tells of the first time she walked onto the campus grounds:

Karabo: [Coming] into the university, seeing the attention to the vegetation, landscaping and pavements that aided my navigation, surprised me and made me see that what I had imagined was nothing like what was on the ground. I was able to easily navigate my way around different buildings because of the signage and pavements that lead you from one place to another... We knew who sat where and when, therefore, the spaces were memorable not because of their physical composition and location, but because we could easily say "let's meet at that bench where so and so always sit before SOC110 lecture". Such experiences of the space helped in navigation and familiarity.

This links to Vice's (2015) idea that comfort and familiarity form part of "feeling at home" in campus environments. The ease with which students can navigate can therefore be correlated with the ease with which they adapt to their university environment and feel part of the space. This is evident when Karabo says that "vegetation, landscaping", "signage" and "pavements" helped her in "navigation and familiarity". In addition, the extent of students' interaction with other students also contributes to this sense of inclusion. Karabo notes that spaces were "memorable" not because of their "physical composition and location" but because of their familiarity because she "could easily say 'let's meet at the bench where so and so always sit before SOC110 lecture'". Karabo was also surprised by this experience of inclusion when she says, "what I had imagined was nothing like what was on the ground". This might be because of her positionality as a black female and the corresponding exclusion she might have felt in other spaces, which led her to believe that she might struggle to fit in at the university.

In this section, many factors were identified as contributors to students' sense of inclusion but it can be said that the ease with which they move through the space and the extent of their social interaction contribute to the extent that they experience meaningful interactions (Tienda, 2013), a sense of feeling at home (Vice, 2015) and privileged for being part of the university environment. This produces the discourse that students internalize as a means of feeling included, giving them the power to complete their academic careers successfully because of the sense of belonging that they feel within the space.

5.2.3. Sub-Theme 3: Comfort & Spaces of Belonging

The last sub-theme is that of comfort, which is also the third factor contributing to feeling at home (Vice, 2015). This sub-theme also relates to the way in which spaces are reflective of the discourses produced and maintained by power and has to do with students' experience of certain spaces that make them feel comfortable. In this sense, they can feel at ease in the university space and, therefore, experience a greater sense of belonging. In most of the responses, students equate natural spaces with feelings of being calm and at ease. This is in keeping with a study done by Luprini (2014), in which she evaluated students' experiences of green spaces at the University of Pretoria. The study concluded that students experienced the green spaces on campus as aesthetically pleasing and that this improves students' physiological and

psychological health. The study also found that students' mainly use green spaces for relaxation and socialisation, both of which, can improve students' sense of belonging. One student describes it as follows:

Ignus: I must say that I quite enjoy the external campus environment. I enjoy sitting under trees and on the grass...The classes are aligned in such a manner that I can travel between classes with ease; I think it is because I know [the] campus quite well...the classes are aligned in such a manner that it feels as if all my classes are in the same building...The classes are large enough for everyone to sit where they wish, and I enjoy that because I want to sit where I want to sit and I don't want to feel cramped.

It is evident that this participant feels a sense of comfort "sitting under the trees and on the grass", which is in keeping with the Luprini's (2014) study on green spaces. He states that the alignment of classes allows him to "travel between classes with ease". He also comments on comfort in the classes when he describes them as "large enough for everyone to sit where they wish" because he doesn't "want to feel cramped". This points toward the level of comfort he experiences in green spaces when he moves between classes and within the classes themselves. Some students also commented on the physical landmarks and buildings that contribute to their sense of feeling relaxed and at ease:

Jane: I would say my experience has been mostly positive. I started studying in 2017 ...right after the #FeesMustFall ordeal, I was assured multiple times in my [matric] year (2016) that we will be safe for the coming academic year. I felt proud being a...student and I'm a third-generation going to [university]. What stood out the most to me about ...is how the campus is always clean, there are so many [personnel] working: security officers always being visible within the parking lots - covered and not covered - guards around campus and of course access gates, clean...in terms of the lawns, gardens and facilities...I think everyone has their favourite building on campus or like some architecture choices better than others, mine would be...a mix of 2 styles Classic and Modern, and the space between those buildings is always [aesthetically] pleasing and [an] easy meetup point before class or exams. Before even becoming a student my parents and cousin...always [referred] to the "big ugly admin building"...I have to say it's a bit out of place for me and having to walk [far] to consult a lecturer because the elevator queue is way too long doesn't help the huge...eyesore...1st-3rd year I had a few classes on [campus], but searching for my classes in those years was hard as I

had no idea where everything was (the information boards around campus does help in [a] sense but not fully as some buildings aren't even listed) and the scale of campus overall was a bit scary in first year.

This student comments on the fact that she experiences the campus as being “clean” and well-equipped. She mentions that she was ensured of her safety after the “#FeesMustFall ordeal”, which suggests that she might have expected a more chaotic environment. Jane states that she is a “third-generation” student going to the university, which necessarily also contributes to her sense of familiarity, inclusion and comfort. She also comments on the architecture choices, and she mentions that she likes those that are “aesthetically pleasing” and “easy meet up [points]”. Therefore, the ease with which students navigate campus and experience their environment relates to the sub-theme of inclusion and contributes to their overall experiences of being at home. This is supported by Jane’s description of the campus environment as “homey”. This is also further explained by Jane when she explains the trouble with “having to walk [far]” and the size of the campus being “a bit scary”. This student’s response proves that certain buildings can directly contribute to students’ sense of feeling calm, comfortable and relaxed.

From the analysis of this sub-theme, it can be said that environments that contain natural elements, are comfortable, accessible and aesthetically pleasing can contribute to students’ sense of comfort on campus, which contributes to their experiences of feeling included.

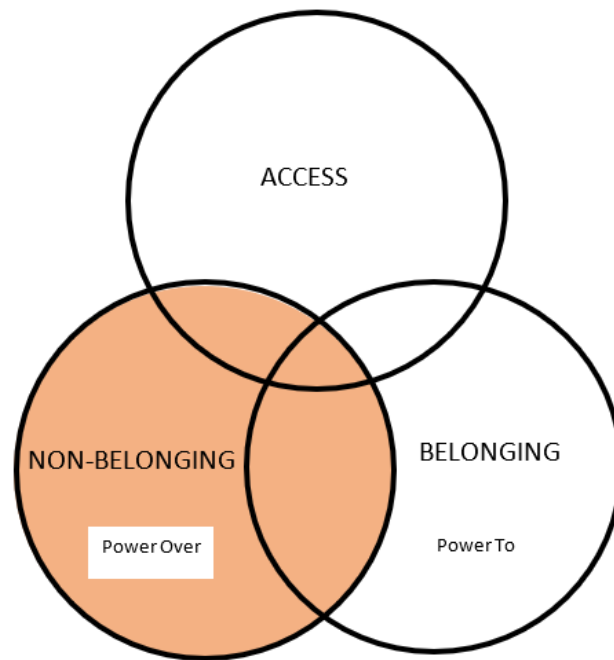
The overarching theme of belonging, as it was discussed in this section of the thematic analysis, relates to the empowerment of students and the discourses that enable them. The sub-themes of safety, inclusion and comfort were also discussed as the means with which modern power creates a discourse of belonging within the space. The fact that students feel a sense of safety on campus can be attributed to the sense of safety people feel in gated communities. Inclusion is said to be fostered by the ease with which students can navigate their way around campus and the extent of their social interaction. Mediating successful inclusion contributes to students’ experience of the campus space as homey and allows them to experience a sense of gratitude and privilege for being part of an institution that allows them to learn and grow as individuals. It has also been noted that students’ ability to relax and feel calm, is fostered by their use of green spaces and the extent to which they feel comfortable,

which is reflected by the discourses that produce these spaces. The sense of calmness and their ability to be comfortable allows students to feel a heightened sense of belonging. Therefore, it can be said the students' experiences of feeling safe, included and comfortable contributes to their sense of belonging and by extension, their ability to enable themselves ("power to") in light of the discourses that enable them to use the space to their advantage.

5.3. Theme 2: Non-Belonging and "Power Over"

The second overarching theme is that of "non-belonging" or "power over", which refers to the factors that contribute to the fact that students are not feeling a sense of being at home on campus. The term non-belonging is specifically employed because it includes "those who do not belong, those who refuse to belong, or those who refashion belonging in their own image...their own imagining" (Zaatari, 2005, p. 75). Therefore, it does not merely refer to a sense of being alienated from the specific environment in question but also refers to a sense of alienation from the discourses that can enable students to experience belonging. This theme is divided into the sub-themes of threat, exclusion and discomfort. As in the previous theme, these elements are all related. The presence of an imminent threat leads to feelings of discomfort and exclusion and an increase in one of these elements may lead to an increase in another. These are the aspects of students' experience of the university space that hinder their ability to form a sense of belonging and attachment to the space because of the pervading influence of dominant discourses. These factors are, therefore, not enabling ("power to") but rather obstacles to overcome ("power over"). This part of the analysis is indicated in the diagram, Figure 4, below.

Figure 4: Visual Representation of Theme 2



5.3.1. Sub-theme 1: Threat and Maintaining the Discourse on Safety

It has been noted that members that form part of a gated community, often have a heightened sense of threat towards the area that falls outside the perimeters of the gated community. Consequently, many students are antagonistic towards the areas that fall just outside the enclosed area of the campus and comment on the increased risks that they face upon exiting the campus environment. The first threat under discussion is that of “criminals” and “delinquents”. It has been mentioned that participants feel safe on campus which is in keeping with the research on gated communities (Breetzke, Landman, & Cohn, 2014; De Villiers, 2019; Durlington, 2009; Hook, 2011; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2001). It has also been pointed out that this is related to members of a gated community’s perception of an increasing crime rate (Durlington, 2009). This perception of an increasing crime rate is a symptom of the “culture of fear” which is promoted by media coverage of violence, a lack of faith in the police service and a lack of accurate crime statistics. This discourse is often put forward by members of a gated community as the reason for their decision to move there:

The man in the uniform at the boom gate, checking license plates, calling ahead to the residence or patrolling the perimeter...fills the conceptual gap that reduces the anxiety for the populous and specifically for the gated community residents. (Durlington, 2009).

The perpetual portrayal of instances of violent crimes by the media is also seen in the following students' response to the security and regulation at the campus environment in question:

Niko: Initially I didn't like the biometric system because it felt like a prison, and one couldn't just bring someone in to come see campus. The access also makes it difficult to pick up and drop stuff...[but] after maybe spending [too] much time on the news and reading about crime and vandalism I have in some ways come around and can see the need for a system like this at times...[without fences or gates] I might be more vigilant in terms of my personal belongings (laptop/phone)...I find myself seeking out spaces that seem safer/ more regulated...I think fear or one's perception of what is safe and what is not plays a big role

Niko is aware of the gated space when he says that it feels like a "prison" and that it makes it "difficult to pick up and drop stuff" but he states that he came to accept the security measures after "spending [too] much time on the news and reading about crime and vandalism", which highlights Durlington's (2009) statement of the portrayal of violence by the media which contribute to the culture of fear. He states that the absence of fences or gates will make him "more vigilant" and that he finds himself "seeking out spaces that seem safer and more regulated". It is important to note that he says that they "seem safer", indicating that they aren't necessarily safer, and this is echoed when he speaks about the "perception of what is safe and what is not [playing] a big role". This echoes the idea that members of gated communities have a perceived sense of threat (Hook, 2011) and heightened perception of criminal activity (Durlington, 2009), which does not necessarily correlate to the actual threat. In addition, the gated space is also not necessarily safer (Breetzke, Landman, & Cohn, 2014), but it appears safer to the people inside.

Unlike the residential gated communities of South-Africa, the perceived sense of threat experienced by students can be traced back to a certain moment in time, namely that of the Fallist movement of 2015-2016. This can be seen in the following student's statement, which makes it clear that he still fears that the protest action (and

the associated violence as portrayed by media coverage of the protest) will make a return:

Christo: When entering the campus I do feel a sense of being enclosed [which] makes me feel safe in terms of security, but also makes me feel scared if there were protests happening on the campus as the protestors could simply block all entrance and exit points...[creating] a physical barrier to movement if something had to go wrong and I had to run away... I personally believe that the campus shouldn't have any fences...I think the campus area should incorporate a route that is fenced off on both sides and therefore people wanting to move through the campus to take a shortcut, who aren't students can do so. I then believe that there should be tighter security throughout the campus and there should only be a form of access control to get into lectures. There should also be signs that prohibit non-students from entering the property and random checks should be done by security to make sure no one is breaking the rules. This will allow freedom of movement for students and also allow non-students to take shortcuts, but still enforce a sense of security.

This student states that the fences make him feel more threatened because they create “a physical barrier to movement” that will prevent him to “run away”. He then promotes the fact that he doesn't want fences to allow “people wanting to move through campus...who aren't students [to] do so”. However, this stands in contrast with the fact that he states that there should be signs that “prohibit non-students from entering the property”. It is interesting to note that this student experiences threat with and without fences because he believes this restricts his movement. He states that the gates and fences make him feel “safe in terms of security but also scared”, he wants “people wanting to move through campus... [to do so]” but he also believes that non-students should be prohibited. In this case, the entire campus environment, with or without fences makes him feel threatened.

This sense of fear and threat is experienced by students and university management alike, which is seen in the university's decision to enhance security measures in response to the #FeesMustFall protests. This has not only enhanced existing security measures but can also lead to a regulation of the events that may occur on campus (De Villiers, 2019; Praeg, 2018). Praeg (2018) maintains that the presence of these strict security measures serves as a constant reminder of the threat that exists and that this keeps the university in a “state of emergency”. This reflects the way in which the maintenance of a certain discourse can produce and maintain a

certain space. This speaks to Praeg's (2018) comparison of the university to a totalitarian state, whereby he makes this distinction based on the separation of the lawful and the lawless members of the state, or patriots and traitors of the state. In light of this, all students who abide by the rules can be seen as the lawful patriots and those who are not students, or who are students who do not abide by the rules, can be seen as the lawless traitors or, as the students above described them: "unauthorized people" or "delinquents".

In a way, the securitization provides students with a reason to believe in the existence of threats on the perimeter of the gated community and, therefore, perpetuate the "culture of fear" (Durlington, 2009) and the "state of emergency" (Praeg, 2018) that is experienced by members who form part of the campus environment. It is evident that such discourses won't contribute to a sense of belonging on campus, but rather threaten such a sense of belonging in its entirety.

It is also pertinent to make mention of students' experience of threat within the campus environment. According to (Shefer et al., 2018), students feel unsafe in campus environments that portray a sense of "race othering" and "class othering". Feelings of safety that were experienced as a result of diversity can be attributed to locations that physically reflect a diverse range of people such as the dining hall that enhance a sense of community and certain lecture venues where multiple opinions and viewpoints are valued (Shefer et al, 2018). One student makes mention of "race othering" and "class othering":

Rohan: [One area] tends to attract more middle-income white people where [another area] would attract more black people...there is still a form of segregation on campus, not separated by color but more by levels of income and background

The sense of "othering" makes students feel less safe in certain spaces on campus, especially those spaces that lack diversity (Shefer et al., 2018). The following student describes areas where she feels "unsafe" as "ugly":

Jane: Campus for me have a few 'ugly parts' and then other parts are honestly so soothing and calm. As I explained above...my at home feeling...I honestly think it's where you have class that [it's a] calm and a homey environment...[where it] is also pleasing and inviting for me I would sit there not only waiting for class but just because of the area being shaded open and cool (the temperature). What I mean by 'ugly parts'

for me of campus is [a certain area where] you can't find seating it's always hot there and smells like weed and [hubbly] (my dad also say disappointment - just a way to bring up my spirits when it's been a long day). Some entrances to campus are much nicer and planned out than others, main entrance is honestly overrated for me as only a few students do enter there (and also limited parking around that entrance). [Other] entrances...feel like hell for me because of the lack of shade and then [certain] entrances...have shade and is for me more planned for and thought of.

Jane states that she feels more “at home” in certain areas on campus. According to Rohan in the previous section, this specific space attracts more “middle-income white students” which is the demographic that Jane belongs to. Rohan stated that another area attracted more black people and Jane feels a disconnect from this same space when she describes it as hot “and [smelling] like weed and hubbly”. This supports the idea that spaces where “race othering” and “class othering” is evident, contributes to students sense of feeling unsafe. This echoes the previous discussion on belonging which stated that the discourses of “safety, comfort and familiarity” contribute to the sense of “feeling at home” (Vice, 2015). It is evident that the notion of othering excludes students from certain spaces and makes them feel unsafe, which indicates the ways in which the sub-themes relate because the spaces where students feel unsafe are the very spaces in which they also feel a sense of exclusion from.

5.3.2. Sub-Theme 2: Exclusion and Maintaining the Discourse on Inclusion

The theme of exclusion will be discussed in terms of the exclusion that occurs within the university space. Even though students internalize the discourse of inclusion which acts as an enabling factor, they also experience non-belonging from the space they are being included in. By virtue of feeling privileged to be included in the space, many students accept that there are certain facets of the space which they are not privileged to access or feel a sense of belonging to. Many factors that lead to exclusion within the university space are the opposite of those that facilitate inclusion and by extension, leads to a decrease in meaningful academic and social interactions.

It has been mentioned that aesthetically pleasing buildings, soft spaces, comfortable movement and natural environments enhance feelings of inclusion within the campus environment. This is emphasized by Lau, Gou & Liu (2014) who found that campus environments must function as an open and coherent space, which is facilitated by adequate circulation, privacy, ease of access and increased physical

comfort. Therefore, a lack of aesthetically pleasing elements and difficulty moving from one place to another will hinder inclusion and facilitate exclusion. In addition, Cox (2011) state that students feel excluded from university spaces that lack personalisation and comfort. De Villiers (2019) also comments on the problem with the “neo-brutalist” architecture of university spaces, which is characterised by concrete buildings and hard open spaces. This reflects a failure to create a personalised and inclusionary campus environment. One student describes his external experience of the campus as follows:

Christo: The campus...lacks soft open spaces spread evenly throughout the campus. The hard surfaces make the campus less appealing and it gives me the feeling of being enclosed in a concrete jungle. The buildings also tend to be old and incorporate very little greenery or colour that makes the space more vibrant and creates a sense of place. I also feel that the campus is too congested with people and there is a lack of movement routes for people and therefore the existing movement routes always tend to be busy and not that easy to walk along...[areas with] no soft open spaces create a terrible environment for students to relax between classes as there is also a lack of seating areas that are shaded.

This extract proves that even though there are soft, open green spaces on campus; they are not evenly distributed throughout the environment which creates “a terrible environment”. In this excerpt, Christo also makes mention of the “old buildings...[which] incorporate very little greenery or colour” resulting in a reduced “sense of place”. This echoes the previous statement by Cox (2011), that buildings should be personalised to students in order to enhance their sense of belonging. Christo recalls that campus “is too congested”, that there is a “lack of movement routes” and that “existing movement routes... [are busy] and not that easy to walk along”. It is evident that a decrease in the ability to move through the campus space with ease and a lack of soft spaces leads to certain students avoiding those spaces and, therefore, contributes to feelings of exclusion. It has also been noted in the previous section that different areas on campus attract members of certain class and groups. In light of this, Tienda (2013) comments on the fact that higher education institutions should be more pro-active in their attempts to encourage interaction between members of different class and race groups to the extent that is “deliberately cultivated through interactions that engage the diverse life experiences of students from different racial, geographic, religious and political backgrounds (Tienda, 2013, p.

471). However, such interactions are not experienced by students as of yet. Some students also comment on the fact that certain buildings and areas purposively exclude students and are reflective of a certain elitist status:

Niko: It is nice to see new buildings go up, and as such new gathering spaces form that are mostly well kept...new buildings and renovations...[signify] progress and growth and that is nice to witness. I like in particular how they have tied in the old building of architecture (along with the interior refit) with [the] new building...although access to these new buildings...feel like they are only for a select few and it's not a place to really hang around. I like development where the old and new [tie] together well. Greening also adds to feeling welcome.

From this extract, it is important to note that Niko likes new buildings because they are a sign of progress and growth. Like Christo, he also mentions the old buildings but that he likes it when they tie together well with new buildings, especially if there is “greening” that “adds to feeling welcome”. However, these new buildings are experienced as being for “a select few” and “not a place to really hang around”. On the one hand, the progress excited Niko but on the other hand, he cannot partake in the progress because he is excluded from the building.

The presence of exclusionary spaces on campus points toward the very reason for a decrease in meaningful interactions between students and their environment and between each other. It also signifies that students cannot experience all aspects of their experience, especially when they are excluded from buildings that they like. This links to Foucault's (1979) description of the prisoners in the panopticon whereby they become isolated from one another because they cannot see one another. They can only see the central tower from which they are being watched. Students cannot see everyone else on campus because some are contained in buildings, which they do not have access to.

This can be compared to the role of “the ship” at the University of Pretoria (De Villiers, 2019). The ship is the main administration building where campus managers reside. No student has access to this building, but it is used in UP marketing and the templates for presentations and desktop backgrounds (De Villiers, 2019). De Villiers (2019, p. 58) state that this building was used as the icon on the university's website “to communicate updates regarding the court procedures of the interdict against student protests alongside messages relating to shut-down measures and online

procedures...[and is] therefore a signification of the power of the university”. The “ship” is also the main centre from which security services operate (De Villiers, 2019); therefore, it functions as the central tower of the panopticon.

The exclusionary spaces on campus are not available for use by the students and render them helpless to use the full capacity of the environment to their advantage, thereby contributing to their sense of non-belonging. In addition, students experience the panoptic gaze of the “ship”, or similar buildings at their respective campuses. Therefore, the centrality of such symbols of power always retains a form of power over students all the while creating and sustaining the discourses that contribute to exclusionary spaces on campus.

5.3.3. Sub-Theme 3: Discomfort & Spaces of Non-Belonging

Just as students may experience belonging by feeling a sense of calmness and comfort, events that provoke anxiety may threaten this sense of belonging by virtue of the fact that it decreases comfort, a noticeable aspect of feeling at home. This can be seen in the variety of spaces and interactions that reflect the discourses on threat, exclusion and non-belonging. Many students reported times when they experienced discomfort on their way to campus, of which the first one under discussion is the problem with finding parking. This reduces the ease with which students move toward the campus environment and, therefore, reduces their sense of comfort and the corresponding feelings of being at home. One student noted:

Jane: I try parking on campus [but there's] limited student parking available [and it] never works out as you wait in the queue for more than 45min and sometimes more than an hour. So I park...just opposite to Campus and walk to...Campus. The reason why I'm explaining where I park is because of the walk to campus as you can say. Walking from the...entrance of...past...the Labs coming out see to my favourite part of Campus....is an experience for me, then the boulevard walk... Access to the university for me would be that I can enter wherever I want...at my own convenience. I feel restricted entering campus not by using my student card or the fact that you can get stuck between the turnstiles but by the fact that you have to walk almost around campus to enter it. Students usually have to walk through a parking lot to access campus...Not to mention the lack of parking around campus, you either squeeze your way past a car or you need to avoid being hit by one, even on campus there are allocated stop signs at major pedestrian crossings but people do ignore the signs...I dislike having to use my finger where everyone else has also used the biometrics pad

thing. Even before Covid, I got goose bumps from having to use it because [I don't know] where the persons before me [has] been. Now with Covid, it's even more disturbing...What bothered me the most is that if you forgot your student card you had to walk all the way to the main entrance.

This student comments on a variety of factors that contribute to her discomfort, namely the difficulty with parking, the danger of getting hit by a car, walking very far because of restricted access points, getting stuck between the turnstiles and the use of biometrics which gives her “goose bumps” because it is unhygienic. She states that she wants to enter “wherever [she] wants” at [her] own convenience”. In light of this, she mentions that she feels “restricted” not by virtue of the access control or getting stuck in the turnstiles but rather the fact that she needs to “walk almost around campus to enter it”. The fact that she mentions waiting in a queue for 45 minutes also echoes this sentiment and her experience of finding the process of entering campus time-consuming. In addition, the process of access control is also unhygienic because she “dislikes [using her] finger where everyone else has also used the biometric pad thing”. Therefore, the biometric system contributes to students’ discomfort when they enter campus, mainly due to it being unhygienic. There is an obvious suggestion here that the campus environment needs to do more to make students feel comfortable and to allow them to enter the environment with ease. It is also evident how the discourse of safety inadvertently reduces students’ sense of comfort and belonging because of the fact that it created and maintains a space which makes ease of access difficult for students.

In addition, the closing off of the campus environment also leads to students associating it with a place of work and not a place of relaxation. This is supported the fact that a memorable bar on this campus, where many students used to enjoy a drink or two after a class, has been shut down. Most of the restaurants are coffee shops and take-away places which contributes to the idea that campus is a place of work and not of recreation. One student described the campus as:

Karabo: A place of work, deadlines and pressure. Upon entering my mind is focused on the tasks of the day. When I leave the environment, I feel “free”. Like I am getting out of this controlled space and going where I can relax and let my hair down. I think this is because I come into campus to inject my labour and then at the end of the day, I retreat to a place where I am not under any surveillance, where I can make and unmake the rules as I please, where I can be me.

This student equates leaving the campus environment with being free because she can “make and unmake the rules as [she pleases]”. She also states that she “injects her labour”, signifying the labour-intensive nature of her experience on campus which is contrasted with her experience off-campus, which she describes as relaxing, where she “can let [her] hair down” and which she equates with a “retreat”. The “retreat” which is her home stands in contrast to the campus which is a “controlled space” where she “injects her labour”. Therefore, she feels more at home at her actual home than in the campus environment, which suggests that decreases in students’ sense of comfort within the space, decreases their ability to feel at home there.

It is evident that the lack of parking, the use of biometrics and the congestion in certain areas on campus, and on the way to campus, heighten students’ sense of discomfort. In addition, the gated nature of the space means that students associate campus with a place of work and of relaxation, which may further contribute to their discomfort, anxiety and stress levels. They experience stress and discomfort on their way to campus and within the environment itself, which makes it feel like a place of work as opposed to a more homey environment, furthering their feelings of non-belonging. Many of the things that contribute to their feelings of being threatened, anxious and excluded are factors that are beyond the students’ ability to control, which adheres to their experience of the university space as exerting a certain sense of power over them because of the dominant discourses that maintain and regulate the space.

At this point, it is evident to make certain elements of the thematic analysis clear:

- Students have a perception of feeling safer on campus (belonging), but they also have the perception of the imminent threat of the outside world (non-belonging). Therefore, power creates a discourse of safety that is maintained by the discourse of fear or imminent threat.
- Green, open spaces and ease of movement can facilitate inclusion and meaningful interaction (belonging) but the elitist nature of certain spaces and the restriction of movement contribute to feelings of exclusion within the enclosed university space (non-belonging). Therefore, power creates the discourse of inclusion, which is internalized by students, but it also maintains the exclusion which is simultaneously experienced by students.

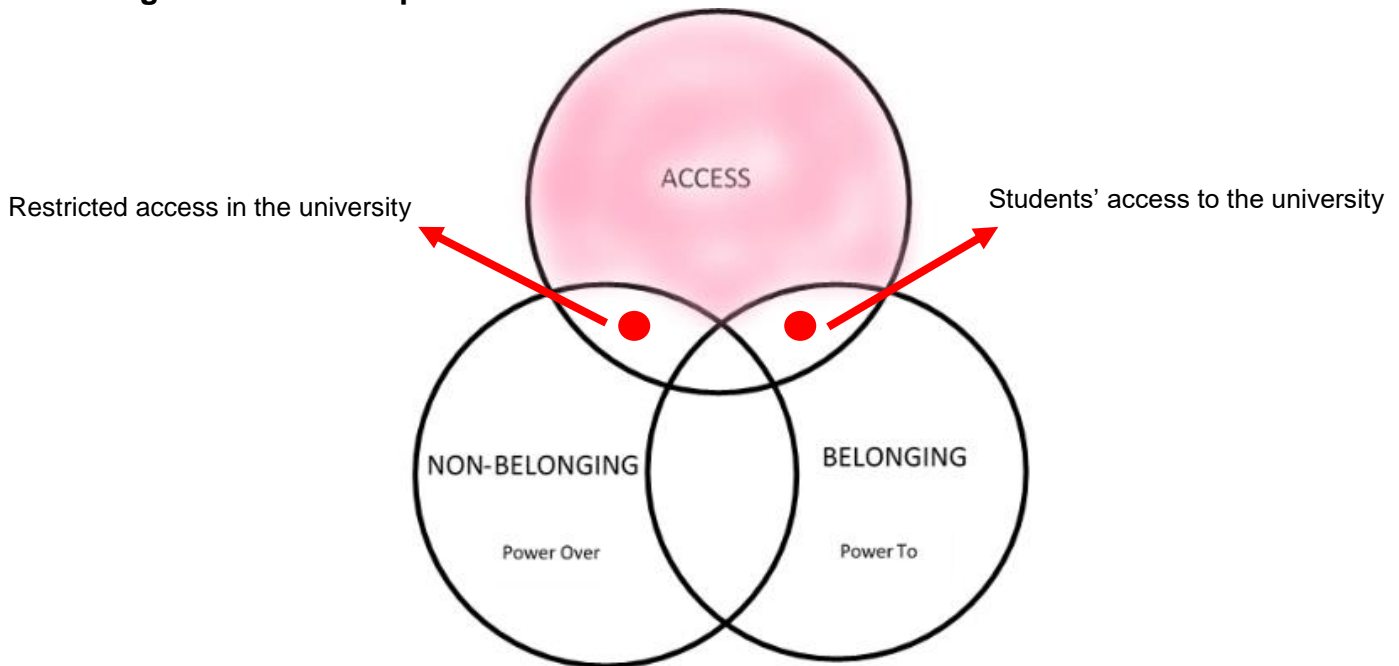
- Comfort can be facilitated by aesthetics and greenery (belonging) but the anxiety students experience on their way to campus and within the campus environment itself may lead to heightened levels of discomfort (non-belonging). Therefore, power creates the discourses that create spaces of comfort all the while maintaining certain spaces that are reflective of discomfort.

5.4. Theme 3: Access

The third encompassing theme is that of access. This theme stands on its own because it belongs to both categories of “power to” and “power over”. Access is the means by which students enable themselves (power to) by attending and being part of the university and experience exclusion from the public and from the university itself (power over). In this way, students experience the influence of the dominant discourses that create them as self-governing subjects, and they are subject to these same discourses that maintain their regulation. This links to the idea that *power to* is a necessary condition for *power over*. The theme of access enables, and form part, of both of these categories and mediate students’ extent of belonging and non-belonging. In this way, access becomes the mirror where both types of power intersect and reflect one another and where the precise creation and maintenance of the discourses that maintain and create spatial inequalities can be found.

Because these notions intersect, it is important to regard the first two important parts of the theme of access: namely *students’ access to the university environment* (sub-theme 1) and *restricted access in the university environment* (sub-theme 2). In addition, a third sub-theme with regards to access will also be introduced, namely the *restriction of access to the university space* to non-students and the public (sub-theme 3). Since the theme of access belongs to both other categories, there are many intersecting points between this theme and previously mentioned themes. The sub-themes under discussion is indicated in the diagram, Figure 5, below. The pink area refers to the restriction of access to the university environment to non-students and member of the public (sub-theme 3) and the red dots indicate the themes of students’ *access to the university environment* (sub-theme 1) and their *restricted access in the university environment* (sub-theme 2). The intersectional nature of the sub-theme 1 and 2 is discussed at length in the performative narrative analysis.

Figure 5: Visual Representation of Theme 3 and Sub-Themes



5.4.1. Sub-Theme 1: Students' Access to the University Environment

Students' access to the university environment is regulated by two things, namely the physical barriers that exclude people from the environment as well as the exclusion of disadvantaged and previous disadvantaged members of society who cannot afford a tertiary education. The current discussion will only focus on students who have access to the university environment and the broader theme of access to the university environment by the public and non-students will be discussed later. The sub-theme of access to the university environment relates to *power to* as this access to the university, and its resources enable the students within the space to make use of the university's access and resources and facilities and bring them into being as self-regulating subjects of this environment.

The physical barriers that regulate access to the university are the very facets that qualify the space as a gated community, namely the scanning of access cards and biometrics, the physical fences and gates and the presence of CCTV cameras and security guards at every entry point. The responses from many students indicate a heightened sense of privilege to form part of the university, accompanied by a heightened awareness of the fact that many people do not have the same access that they do. As one respondent noted:

Karabo: Access to the university means a lot to me, not only the physical access of being able to walk through the gate and be part of the university community. But access in terms of being able to access resources, facilities and experiences that many young South Africans do not get the opportunity to access. Access through the university gates means having the opportunity to engage with people that one would not normally encounter in everyday reality. It means meeting people from near and far, and having something in common to be able to build relationships...Attending a university in South Africa feels like a privilege, considering the high rates of poverty, unemployment and deprivation that people face, being part of a university sets one apart, particularly in black communities where some of our parents and grandparents never had the opportunity to see or even enter the gates of an institution such as a university. It is like a little city on its own, that my grandmother always asks me about, "how does it look?" "do you sit together with the white people?" "How do you know where to go?" The questions just go on and on, that's why I see the university as more than a space that one accesses physically, but rather where we access psychologically through our visions, inspirations and desires to attain more than the generation before us.

In this excerpt, Karabo explains that access to the university is both a physical and metaphysical experience because it refers to "being able to walk through the gate" and in terms of "being able to access resources, facilities and experiences". It is obvious that this theme relates to inclusion because this student refers to the meaningful interactions she has by "meeting people from near and far" and being able to "build relationships". It is interesting to note that she shares her exchange with her grandmother who asks her to elaborate on the experience of the university and whether she "sit[s] together with the white people" and how she "[knows] where to go". For these reasons, the university space provides her with physical access and the "visions, inspirations and desires to attain more than the generation before". According to Karabo, it also sets her apart from her "black [community]" as she has access to this "little city". This is in keeping with the literature which points toward an increasing presence of the "black elite" in campus environments (Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Higham, 2014), suggesting that Karabo feels that her access is reflective of upward class mobility and shifting class positions. In this excerpt, Karabo states that she has access to "resources, facilities and experiences that many young South Africans do not get the opportunity to access". Another student elaborated on these resources, facilities and experiences:

Ignus: I enjoy the different statues and landmarks that campus has to offer. I enjoy the labyrinth...the bridge...[Campus is] well equipped in terms of food services and I think it is safe to say that I buy food on campus every day...I love the library and go there every day if I can. I work in the library and I also enjoy checking out books...I would also go to the library before or after class. I can say with confidence that I go to the library almost every day.

This student makes mention of many services and utilities that enables him to enjoy the campus experience, such as the labyrinth, the food services and the library. These are all resources that most students have access to, where food is the only one for which students have to pay. Therefore, these things are all accessible for students to enjoy whilst they are in the university grounds.

Even though these resources can only be used by students, and not the public, it still enables students with a sense of agency in terms of satisfying their needs to unwind, eat and study. However, the securitization and strict rules for access forces students to change the way they structure their campus experience, thereby becoming the means with which they regulate themselves in accordance to the rules of the university. For example, many of the students are aware that they are not allowed to invite non-university members to the campus without permission, which leads to the fact that they choose to host events outside of the university:

Karabo: We cannot just have spontaneous events on campus. Today if one wants to organise a social poetry event for example, you have to formally apply for access for visitors, such administration discourages people from going ahead and planning an event, we then consider having it elsewhere, where people are free to come and go without any struggle or humiliation at the gate.

In this passage, Karabo explains that campus does not provide the opportunity for spontaneity because “you have to formally apply for access” which leads students to “consider having it elsewhere, where people are free to come and go without any struggle or humiliation”. This is because the occurrence of any event on campus is regulated, as is the case with the University of Pretoria’s strict Events committee, as is noted by Praeg (2018) and De Villiers (2019), which exert a sense of surveillance on the events that are allowed to occur on campus.

The use of strict access control measures and CCTV cameras furthermore contribute to the regulation of the activities that students engage in. From the students’

responses to this, it would seem that they have regulated themselves into holding events outside of the campus environment or to simply adjusting the type of events they host accordingly. In this way, they are reflective of productive beings who have become self-regulating in the face of strict rules and surveillance. This can also be due to the fact that they experience the privilege of being allowed access to campus and that they would not want to lose that privilege. In this way, access to the university environment enables them to regulate themselves in accordance to the rules all the while providing them with resources that they can use for completing their degrees successfully. Therefore, students are enabled by their *access to the university environment* and they feel privileged to be able to belong to such an environment.

5.4.2. Sub-theme 2: Restricted Access in the University Space

This next part will look at students' *restricted access in the university space* and the extent to which this can contribute to their sense of non-belonging. The theme of their access within the space will expose the extent to which they experience access to all the space has to offer. This theme belongs to the category of *power over* because students do not have control over what they may or may not access within the space as a result of the discourses that lead to exclusionary spaces. Access to the resources that the university provides, provides and enables students with the necessary resources to finish their academic careers successfully. However, restricted access to certain aspects of the university space and resources contributes to their sense of experiencing the force of *power over*.

It should also be noted that surveillance plays a role here. Many students experience the use of biometrics and other securitization measures as surveillance measures, which implies that they feel as if though they do not have the freedom to act the way they want to within the space. Therefore, they do not have access to the full range of experiences that were historically enjoyed at the university. The theme of surveillance is of particular importance here because it renders them submissive (*power over*) to these rules and regulations.

Even though students have access to a wide array of resources and facilities, there still exist certain exclusionary aspects to campus, whereby certain students are excluded from access to certain resources, buildings and services. Several buildings and rooms have their own biometrics, which only allows certain people to have access

e.g. the research commons in the library which is only for use by post-graduate students and undergraduate students' access control cards and biometrics will not grant them access to it. From the researcher's experience, this is one of the most well-equipped spaces in the library, because it provides students with better computers, coffee and couches to relax on. The rest of the students in the library work on less efficient computers and have to stand in line to use the printer. They are also not allowed to have coffee in the library. Therefore, some students experience more restrictive access than others in the library.

The access to certain spaces and events also has to do with the fact that certain students feel a greater sense of belonging in some spaces, as opposed to others and that they experience restricted access to non-students:

Samuel: The increased security does instil a sense of safety. However, the drawback to this is that I have difficulty inviting friends who are not studying or working at [this university] to events that are hosted on campus. This is a particular struggle for the society that I am an EC member of since our events are advertised to, and attended by, many non-students...A normal day for me would consist of arriving on campus by Uber and entering via the main gate. This is the closest gate to where I spend most of my day...I would usually go [to]...the [my] building and unpack my computer. The rest of my day would consist of alternating between tutorials, classes, and working in the postgraduate office...I feel at home on campus, largely due to the fact that I have a space and a circle that I belong to. My department is the closest thing to an auxiliary family that I have in Pretoria, and I do feel a sense of belonging on [the department's] floor. By virtue of having access, and working on campus, I do feel as if I belong, however, this is dependent on where I go. I don't have such a strong sense of belonging closer to the [opposite] side of campus.

Earlier in the discussion, the things that make students feel a greater belonging in certain spaces, as opposed to other have been noted (safety, inclusion and comfort) and these facets inform the extent of their access to certain spaces in the university. In the excerpt above, Samuel explains that he feels a "sense of belonging on [his department's] floor" but that this sense of belonging is "dependent on where [he goes]". The belonging he feels on his department' floor is facilitated by the fact that he has "a space and circle [he belongs to]" by "virtue of having access and working [there]". It is evident that if students feel a greater sense of belonging in one space as opposed to another, it is because they feel safer, included and more comfortable there. The rigid

access control within the campus environment, however, renders them without the ability to freely move within and between spaces. In addition, it also restricts the access they have to non-students. Samuel notes that the “drawback” of the security is that he has “difficulty inviting friends who are not studying or working at [his] university to events that are hosted on campus”.

The surveillance of access is also pertinent to note as a component of *power over*. The university has power over students’ ability to move around campus and also to what they do on campus. Karabo notes that any event that is held on campus must be approved, and these events are often only to be enjoyed by those who have access to the university, therefore, students have restricted access to a wide variety of actions and interactions as well:

Karabo: Campus was an accessible space when I first came to the university, the sight of seeing parents walking around, high school kids in uniform, or even young children was a common sight. The university was really a community asset, because the public had access to it, could engage with it and ultimately experience the hype...It was also a place where at random, you would hear someone calling your name, and when you look, it’s an old friend who is actually a student at another institution, but they were able to visit [the university] and enjoy the sociability that it offers.

In this way, the university is regulating what actions student may take and what interactions students may have with other students (and non-students) within the space. Karabo refers to the fact that non-students in the university space was a “common sight” and that the campus was a “communal asset”. This student mentions that the “hype” could be shared by many and “random” interactions with non-students occurred regularly. She compares this with a certain “sociability” that campus offered, which the students of campus do not have access to any longer. There is a limitation to the sociability and the social experiences that students can experience within the campus as a gated community and lack of “random” interactions with people who do not have access to the space. This also links to students’ inability to engage in spontaneity on campus as mentioned earlier.

In accordance with this, is evident that the university restricts’ students’ access to certain areas of the space, to a variety of interactions with other students and non-students and the type of things they are allowed to do within the space. These are all modes in which the power that the university has over students, function. It is also

indicative of the way in which power produces and maintains the discourses that give students access to some aspects of the university experience but not to others. At this point, it is especially important to regard the limited sociability students have with non-students and members of the public.

5.4.3. Sub-Theme 3: Restricted Access to the University Space

The third theme of access does not belong to the categories of “belonging” or “non-belonging” because it does not involve the students. This is the theme of restricting access to the university space: by excluding the public, non-students and people from previously disadvantaged backgrounds who can’t afford a university education. As mentioned in the previous section, this also limits the sociability that students of the university can experience. One student explained it as follows:

Jane: [My university] was always open to the public and the fact that it is not anymore is sad to me but it makes sense for student and personal safety (again the #FeesMustFall and Gender Based Violence...For me, I always imagined the [American] type colleges (the ones you see on movies) with plenty of student housing around campus, family and friends easily visiting you and almost anyone can sit in on a lecture...I do feel safe on campus but I feel like [an] academic prisoner and sometimes I want to go home at the most earliest convenience...I think or feel that [some South African universities] have the American type feel as anyone can enter their campus and it’s a freer environment...I would enjoy the campus...[more] with no fences...It would make a huge difference to the overall...setting and I would [imagine] tourists wanting to visit campus as part of their tours as it is so close to [other tourist attractions]...campus is a quest and I’m the explorer...as I’m learning and discovering...[some] call it ‘treading new ground’ and it shows how learning is exiting-it gives knowledge like the museums on campus, rich in history and academics

This excerpt pertains to the physical barriers that surround the university, thereby excluding it from the public. Jane expresses feelings of being “sad” that the public doesn’t have access to the university but validates the security measures and exclusion when she references the importance of safety. She also posits “#FeesMustFall” and “Gender-Based Violence” as threats to the safety of the campus, probably because she is a white female student. She states that she imagined the “American type colleges” with “plenty of student housing” where “almost anyone can sit in on a lecture”. This suggests that she imagined the campus to be how she experienced it “on movies” and that the real portrayal of campus is something

completely different, which makes her feel like an “academic prisoner”. This idea of the “prisoner” relates directly to the idea of disciplinary power which regulates “bodies” to be maximally submissive and as having maximum utility. She longs for a “freer environment” and also mentions that she “imagines” that tourists would want to also share in her experience of campus as a place “rich in history and academics”. Jane constantly compares her current experience of campus with what she imagined, and she also compares campus to a quest where she is the “explorer”. This suggests that she feels that there is much more the environment that is left to be discovered.

This sub-theme forms part of the larger context of the study and does not involve students’ extent of belonging or non-belonging but rather looks at they in which the university does not serve the common good of the public and the ways in which this affects students’ engagement with their external environment. It is important to note that the university contains two museums and many historical buildings which are now being excluded from public views, since the implementation of restrictive biometric access control measures that was implemented in 2015, which limit access to the space. This also means that the public is excluded from events that occur at the university such as concerts and theatre productions.

The second part of this theme relates to the failure to make the university accessible for all. This was the primary catalyst for what started the #FeesMustFall movement, whereby many students expressed their disdain at the rising cost of tertiary education and the fact that this excludes qualifying students from completing their tertiary education. One student stated:

Ignus: I do think it is possible to provide free tertiary education in South Africa, it is just a matter of where the priorities of the government lies...education is the future and I believe that if more people can study it will only be beneficial to the South African society... I think the gates symbolize the class and financial polarization of South Africa. The gates are there for the protection of the students, but it implies that people outside of the gates are not welcome to study because they are not the right class or they are not financially capable. This seems to be the harsh truth behind the security measures

In this passage, the student makes mention of the fact that “free tertiary education” is a “matter of where the priorities of the government lie”. He associates education with the “future” which suggests that there is still much to do in order to make it accessible

to all. He states that the gates “symbolize class and financial polarization” in South-Africa, which enhances the discourses of privilege that is often associated with gated communities (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2001; Hook, 2011). He further states that the gates “[imply] that people outside of the gates are not welcome to study because they are not the right class, or they are not financially capable” and he continues to describe this as a “harsh truth”. This statement directly relates to the exclusion of the public from the university in terms of both the physical barriers and the metaphysical restriction of access to higher education within the South African context, based on class and financial background.

Even though this study revolves around students’ experiences of the university environment, it is important to make mention of the theme that excludes other people from the university environment because this alters students’ experiences of campus and situates all the other themes in a broader South African context. This also points to the importance of the theme of access, as a sort of catalyst for the discourses that create and maintain spatial inequalities at the university and within the larger context of South Africa as well.

5.5. Conclusion

The encompassing theme of access discussed students’ access to and within the university as well as the restricted access that the public and non-students experience from the university space. Students’ *access to the university* and the *restricted access in the university* can equip both equip them with the knowledge and resources to enable themselves and the ability to internalize discourses to the extent that they become self-regulating all the while rendering them submissive to the rules and regulations of the institution which they belong to. In this way, they become reflective of Foucault’s notion of “docile bodies” and access becomes the mirror from which to view this theory of modern power. The *restricted access from the university* analysed the theme that positions the university as an institution that has pulled themselves away from the public and into the private realm. This theme also discussed the problem of providing qualifying students with access to tertiary education due to the high cost of tertiary education in South Africa. In the next chapter, the performative analysis will analyse these modes and intersections of power and discourse in order to indicate which discourses influence and maintain students’ experiences of belonging and non-belonging on campus. It will also regard the ways in which

restricted access from the university function as a specific mode of spatial injustice. This will make it evident that the theme of access arose as a specific and pertinent theme from the thematic analysis and the ways that it hinges on the fine line between belonging and non-belonging as well as how it becomes symptomatic of spatial injustice.

CHAPTER 6

SPATIAL INJUSTICE AND “BEYOND REFORM”: A PERFORMATIVE NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

6.1. Introduction

A performative narrative analysis focuses on why something is being said, in what context it is being said and whose purpose it serves. The focus is, therefore, less on the content and more on the context in order to explain how people (co)construct narratives from a certain context and in support of the discourses and ideology that create such a context. The performative analysis will continue to explore the themes as they stand in relation to each other, to the participants, to the researcher and within a larger context and framework of power.

It is important to note that access specifically intersects with the themes of inclusion and exclusion, which were mentioned as sub-themes of belonging and non-belonging earlier in the discussion. It can be noted that *access to the university* correlates with the sub-theme of inclusion (Intersection 1), as it facilitates “power to” and hinges on the privilege that student feels of being included in the space. On the contrary, the theme of *access in the university* is based on the notion of “power over” and the exclusion of students from certain aspects and environments within the campus (Intersection 2).

Therefore, the themes of inclusion and exclusion can be said to bridge the gap between the themes of access, belonging (power to) and non-belonging (power over) as indicated in the amended diagram in Appendix F. In addition, the intersections of belonging and non-belonging will also be discussed (Intersection 3, indicated in yellow), especially in terms of the tension between belonging and non-belonging and the corresponding idea of “(be)longing” (Liccardo, 2018). This will be followed by a discussion of the intersection between all the themes (Intersection 4, indicated in green), in terms of the idea of spatial injustice.

The analysis of these intersections supports the method of a performative narrative analysis because it regards the way in which various discourses intersect to create and maintain spaces that reflect exclusion and privilege.

6.2. Intersection 1: Access, Inclusion & The Crisis Heterotopia

The intersection of *students' access to the university* can be equated with students' feelings of belonging and *inclusion* there. As mentioned earlier, this is facilitated by students' experience of gratitude and privilege be in a higher education institution and the fact that they feel safe and comfortable there. However, it is at this intersection that it becomes pertinent when investigating students' sense of removal from the outside world and their experience of the university as a sort of utopia or ivory tower. When asked for a metaphor for the campus environment, the following student's response reflects this idea:

Niko: The word that comes to mind is Utopia, I am also reminded of the movie Elysium, as there is a clear distinction between who is allowed into a certain space, who a certain space is intended for. I am not saying this is right or wrong, it might just be a reflection of what is happening in society [as a] whole.

Niko describes the campus as utopic with “a clear distinction between who is allowed into a certain space, who a certain space is intended for”. He continues by saying that this is not a matter of “right or “wrong” but rather a “reflection of what is happening in society”. This links to the Foucauldian description of the heterotopia as an “enacted utopia” (Foucault, 1997, p. 24). The theory of the heterotopia positions these specific spaces as sites of difference, which are far derived from the space that surround it. Heterotopias can be divided between “heterotopias of deviation”, which are reserved for individuals whose behaviour deviates from the social norms of society e.g. prisons and asylums, and “crisis heterotopias”, which is “recognized as...privileged of forbidden place reserved for individuals...in a state of upheaval, difficulty or breakdown with reference to the greater environment in which [they] live” (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2001, p. 216). Hook & Vrdoljak (2001) also emphasises the importance of not limiting the idea of the heterotopia to a mere analysis of space but that the spatial-discursive nature of the heterotopia should be taken into account, especially given the fact that “a given place, like that of a gated community may be seen as a very materialized form of discourse” (p. 204). This is also referred to in Foucault's later writings when he depicts the importance of discourses, as being embedded in various practices and material dimensions and structures. For this reason, it can be said that the heterotopia reflects the discourses that lead to its inception but are also created by those discourses.

According to the 6 principles of the heterotopia, as outlined by Foucault (1984), Hook and Vrdoljak (2001) and Hook (2011), describe a gated community in Northern Johannesburg as a crisis heterotopia and I am of the opinion that the same process can be applied to an analysis of the campus environment in question. The reasons will be outlined below with support from the following extract:

Samuel: As someone who has been on campus for nine years, I am relatively comfortable there. I tutor there and have become very familiar with the layout and infrastructure. Being on campus does not generate any emotional experience in me, apart from the intimate awareness that I am (to some extent) isolated from the outside world. When I was younger, prior to the introduction of the biometric system, I felt less detached from the world upon entering the premises, however, the introduction of the biometrics, as well as the increased security, generates a feeling of 'separateness' and detachment from the rest of the surrounding environment. I am usually not a fan of this feeling, however, if I am invigilating a test or exam, and I have to head home after dark, I usually ensure that I am picked up from campus, since the increased security does instil a sense of safety...I rarely feel pressure or danger, and have never gotten into a confrontation with security personnel. I am wary of the use of my biometric data for access, but I have not personally experienced any negative repercussions due to the implementation of the system... A normal day for me would consist of arriving on campus...alternating between tutorials, classes, and...[having] lunch or coffee, sometimes with a friend, at [one of the] eateries on campus...I have no explicit feelings upon entry, except a sense of routine and belonging, since I am usually greeted by the friendly staff at the main gate, whom I have come to know, and who knows me by virtue of seeing each other every day. I also have very little emotion regarding leaving, except for being greeted goodbye by the same people. I guess that my emotional experience regarding accessing and leaving campus can be equated to clocking in and out at work. I am more comfortable on campus than in any other nearby place, due to the fact that I have been made to feel as if I belong there. I know the people, they know me, and I never have the experience of estrangement that I feel in other places.

The university as a gated community can be regarded as a crisis heterotopia for the following reasons:

- 1.) Firstly, Foucault (1984) states that heterotopias occur in every society and can be divided into crisis heterotopias and heterotopias of deviation. It has been mentioned that Hook (2011) compares gated communities to a crisis

heterotopia because of the fact that residents' perceived sense of threat can be seen as a state of "crisis". This is also echoed by Praeg's (2018) comparison of a university, which functions as a gated community, as being in a "state of emergency". The university, its staff and students, are living in a state of fear, and in crisis, which makes them feel safer inside the university than outside on the perimeters. This is echoed by Samuel in the extract above when he says that the "separateness" of the environment "[instils] a sense of safety" and that he "rarely feel[s] pressure or danger". He says that when he "[heads] home after dark" he ensures that he is "picked up from campus", which implies that he feels safer there after dark as opposed to the area on the perimeter of campus.

- 2.) The second principle states that heterotopias have a specific function tied to broader socio-political agenda, which may change over time (Foucault, 1984). The university stated that the increased securitization was employed to ensure the safety of the students (Gillespie, 2017), but this fuels a larger discourse of exclusion and segregation at higher education institutions in South Africa. This also evolved as a result of the #FeesMustFall movement and the university's function changed from a public space to a private place of securitisation. This is evident when Samuel says that when he was younger, when the university was still accessible by the public, he felt "less detached" from the outside world, but that the increased securitization "generates a feeling of 'separateness' and detachment from the rest of the surrounding environment". This indicates a change in the function of the university space.
- 3.) The third principle suggests that the heterotopia consists of many incompatible spaces that contain elements that may not otherwise be grouped together, such as zoo or a garden that groups things that do not necessarily belong together (Foucault, 1984). Within the university space, many students from various backgrounds are brought together and many seemingly incompatible space exist alongside one another. For example, the campus contains offices, classes, libraries and eateries which do not necessarily exist in a single space elsewhere in society. Samuel states that he "[alternates] between "tutorials, classes, and working" whilst also stating that he "would usually have lunch of coffee, sometimes with a friend, at [one of the] ...eateries on campus"
- 4.) The fourth principle suggests that heterotopias are linked to "slices in time" and that they change the people's experience of time. The inception of this

heterotopia can be traced back to a certain moment in time, namely the Fallist movement of 2015-2016, which changed the functioning of the university indefinitely. This changed the experience of time at the university because of the fact that students and staff clock in and out at the gates. They are now more aware of their entrance and exit times as opposed to previous years when they could seamlessly move between the borders of the university and the outside world. This emphasized by Samuel when he explains that his entrance and exit can be equated with “clocking in and out of work” and that it is characterised by the security personnel that greets him upon entering and exiting.

- 5.) Foucault (1984) state that heterotopias always contain a system of opening and closing, which “both isolates them and make them penetrable” (p.8). At UP, there are access control measures, which measure who may enter and move through the premises. This is evident in Samuel’s statement that he feels more “detached” from the outside world since the implementation of the biometric access system and that he is “wary” of the “use of his biometric data” to gain access.
- 6.) Lastly, Foucault (1984) states that heterotopias reflects some sort of illusion of people’s innermost desires or a compensation for the areas that surround them. The university space creates the illusion of safety, inclusion and comfort (belonging) which reflect an internal desire to feel safe and secure in their place of study. This is evident when Samuel says that he feels a sense of belonging on campus because he was “made to feel as if [he belongs] there” because he knows the people and they know him, making feel less “estranged”. This is an illusion because he already mentioned how “separate” and “detached” he feels from the outside world, which signifies estrangement.

Following Hook and Vrdoljak (2001), it is important to look at the discourses that construct and (re)construct the idea of the heterotopia. The need for an enhanced access system, which included the dual verification of access card and biometric fingerprint access, was proposed by the university under the idea of improving the safety of staff and students (Stroh, 2015) and the prevention of letting unauthorized members enter the campus environment. However, this forms part of a larger discourse that posits the university as a private space, not intended for the use of the public. As noted by Samuel in the following excerpt:

Samuel: Access to the University, to me, provides a sense of belonging and accomplishment. It is something that feels like a privilege. It feels 'special', although, I do not think that this access should be restricted to the point where we are geographically compromising movements of others. The university is so large that 'going around' it is difficult, and time-consuming. It is disappointing to think that the simple act of taking a shortcut through the university is impossible to so many. I do consider education a right as well as an accomplishment. By this I mean that I am supportive of academic merit being used as criteria for admission, but I dislike the idea that tertiary education is being sold to the highest bidder in many cases. I know of many people who have been financially excluded. I also know many people who, despite making the academic criteria, do not have the financial means to access the university. The fact that the university is a space where one gains physical admission, based on socio-economic capacity, is deeply disturbing. The fact that there are people who are simply unable to "afford" being in the space makes me sad.

Samuel states that access to the university is a "privilege" and that it is "special", which links to the discourse of privilege that often creates and maintains the gated community. However, he makes mention of the fact that access is being "restricted to the point where we are geographically compromising movements of others" because they are prohibited from "taking a shortcut" through the university. This is a direct consequence of the access control measures, where many people who were once allowed to move around and access the campus are now being excluded. He then continues to state that access is dependent on academic merit but that it is also "sold to the higher bidder" in some instances, which leads to the fact that many are "unable [to 'afford']" being in the space. This contributes to the discourse on exclusion and the discourse on privilege that necessarily create and maintain the gated educational space.

Gated communities also operate through a discourse that positions everything outside of the gated community as unsafe by describing it as "perilous, damaged and irretrievably lost to social disorder, and [does] so in a way which provides a series of warrants for exclusion, separation and segregation" (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2001, p. 212). It has been mentioned earlier that the students are antagonistic to the environment surrounding the campus, which they equate with criminal activity and delinquency. The gated community can therefore be said to be built on the idea that is dangerous outside but that it is safe within the gated community. In addition, this suggests that it is "better"

inside the community, which further promote and sustain the discourse on privilege, superiority and exclusion.

It is important to note that the discourse of inclusion necessarily means that something is excluded, which is why there is a constant tension between the themes of access, inclusion and exclusion. In returning to the research question, this intersection of access and inclusion specifically pertain to students' experience of place, and, therefore, pertain to the first research question which studies the effects of biometric access control on students' experience of place. The university functions as a crisis heterotopia and determines how students experience place. In this study, place refers to students' experience of their bodies and its history (Casey, 1997). Within the university, students' bodies are at home and they generally feel a sense of being at home and safe. The history that influences the body and this experience has to do with the perceived violence of the Fallist movements of 2015-2016 and students' corresponding need to experience their place of learning as being safe. As a result, they also experience this place as a sort of ivory tower, far derived from the external world and safely nested within its own confinement. It can be said that the enhancement of existing security measures through the introduction of biometrics, enhances students' sense of belonging and by extension, their experience of place. It can also be said that this is due to modern power's ability to produce discourses that contribute to a heightened sense of belonging in creating and maintaining the campus gated community.

6.3. Intersection 2: Access, Exclusion & The Loss of Identity

The intersection between exclusion and *restricted access* in the university is based on the notion of surveillance. Access in the university refers to the type of access the students are excluded from despite the fact that they have access to the institution that is the university. Surveillance and regulation are the means by which students are excluded from certain spaces, events and actions within the university. The intersection of access and exclusion refers to the node where two modes of *power* over come into effect.

It has been mentioned that surveillance and regulation become the means by which certain university students are excluded from certain spaces. This is evident when respondents claim that they feel comfortable and at home in certain spaces but not in others. As an added factor to the intersection between access and exclusion,

the implementation of the biometric system plays a primary role. Most students admit that the biometric system enhances their safety, but many commented on the experience that it makes them feel excluded. The following extracts will be analysed with regards to this:

Niko: When one drives in, the security [guards on campus] are always friendly, maybe because we know one another by now, so that helps. [I've] been at [the] university access controlled areas where this wasn't the case and that makes one feel like you aren't welcome at the very place you [work] for and study at, especially when there biometrics [don't] work, it's a struggle to get in and you are just another number.

Karabo: I understand why [the biometrics] are there, for our safety and the control of those who can come in and out. However, they are frustrating particularly because they are not human. If I forget my access card at home, I have to drive all the way home to get it because the system won't let me in. However, in previous years one could ask the security and explain one's dilemma and he would let you in, because he is human and can sympathise with another person. The biometrics have made the university less human and thus hostile to students and the general public. I find that it humiliates people as well, it is so embarrassing to keep swiping and for some reason your finger is not recognised by the system and you have to stand there hoping that something happens... This way of controlling students and surveying their every move has reduced our sense of belonging. The system symbolically positions us as outsiders who need permission to be let in. Whereas before, campus was ours and we could engage with it as we pleased. Now, it belongs to those whom we do not see nor encounter. The campus is no longer ours.

These two extracts were picked for this specific part of the analysis because of the reduction of students' humanity that is portrayed here. In the first extract, Niko begins by stating that the interaction with the security guards make him feel comfortable, mostly by virtue of the fact that they "know each other by now". He then proceeds to speak of the "access controlled" areas that he has visited (these are the areas where students are required to have specific access to enter the space) and where "the biometrics don't work", which probably refers to the fact that he was not recognized by the system as someone who can enter the space.

He also accentuates this frustration by stating that he feels "unwelcome" at the "very place" he works and studies at. This reference to "the very place" indicates that Niko feels that he should be recognized by the system and that he feels as if though

he has the right to enter whichever space he is being excluded from. This already point to the sense of dehumanization that is evident here, but this sentiment is emphasized in the last sentence when says he is “but a number”. His humanity has been reduced by virtue of the fact that he is not recognized by the biometric system and consequently, feels unwelcome. This signifies that he is being reduced to a number that can be read by a machine. This also links to Mbembe’s (2015, p. 7) idea that higher education institutions act as systems of “authoritative control, standardization, gradation, accountancy, classification, credits and penalties” which positions students as “quantified subjects”. Van Der Ploeg (1999) also states that indexical data such as using a passport, or student card in this case, allows for “a space, however small. . . [that] exists between the person and the obligatory pass or identity card, a space that disappears entirely with biometric identifiers, as if the identity card were glued to your body”. The embodied person now becomes the object whose identity can be confirmed by a machine. This sentiment is echoed by the dehumanization experienced by Karabo.

In the second passage, Karabo echoes what Niko says in the first extract. Karabo begins by saying she understands why the biometrics have been implemented, much like Niko’s sentence of socializing with the security guard, this indicates a certain level of acceptance and comfort with the biometric system. However, she proceeds to describe the system as “frustrating particularly because [its] not human”. She laments on past years, where she could forget her access card and verbalize the problem to the security guard who can sympathise with her, from one person to another. However, the biometrics have no sympathy, which necessarily points toward this aspect of the dehumanization of students. Students can’t explain a dilemma to a technological system that has to scan their fingerprint for access. According to Karabo, this dehumanization is stressed by the humiliation that is experienced by students when they can’t enter the space when she says “you keep swiping and for some reason your finger is not recognized by the system and you have to stand there hoping something happens”. This also points to the same frustration felt by Niko when the biometrics “didn’t work”. In this regard, both students feel that they have the right to the space but an inability to access it. Karabo proceeds to explicitly state that this reduces students’ sense of belonging, which echoes her earlier statement that these mechanisms make the university more “hostile”. She also points

to feeling like an “[outsider] who needs permission to be let in, whereas before the campus was ours”. This points to a loss, the students have lost their humanity, their sense of belonging and by extension, their campus because “now, it belongs to those whom we do not see nor encounter...the campus is no longer ours”.

This sense of loss and dehumanization points to a loss of students’ ownership of their identities and their campus environment. Students feel that they are reduced to a number and that they are being dehumanized by the very place they feel a sense of belonging to. There is also a loss of ownership involved here as evident by the statements from the following two students:

Ignus: Biometric access is everywhere anyway. It does not bother me that the University has my fingerprints.

Kiara: I must say that I don't like the idea of the university having my fingerprint information as it is very specific to me. However, I don't mind having to use the biometric system when entering campus.

First of all, in both extracts, the students claim that the university “has” their fingerprint. This indicates that they feel as if their fingerprints are owned by the university and that it does not belong to them. In the second extract, Kiara states that this bothers her because the fingerprint information “is very specific to [her]”. Of course, this relates to the fact that every fingerprint is unique and that is a method of unique identification to each individual.

Therefore, this sense of a loss of ownership of the fingerprint signifies a loss of identity. This is in keeping with research on the use of biometrics and the problem “involved in uncovering, breaking down, and writing the body into digital form” (Amoore & Hall, 2009, p. 451). It has also been noted that biometrics reduces the human subject to an object that is readable by a machine (Alterman, 2003; Amoore & Hall, 2009; Van Der Ploeg, 1999). This supports the idea that students have become “docile bodies” because Foucault describes this transformation as one where the prisoner-subject becomes the obedient object (Driver, 1985; Foucault, 1979). It is also interesting to note that both these students implicitly state that they have lost the ownership over their fingerprint, but that they do not mind the biometric system. This once again displays the sense of acceptance that the students have come to experience with

regards to the security control measures and the extent to which they have become self-regulating all the while experiencing this sense of *power over*.

This intersection is of particular importance because it involves a certain tension between the seemingly opposite notions of access and exclusion. It would seem that having access to a space, should allow members of that community to be able to move freely and feel human within this space. However, in this sense, the access goes hand in hand with the sense of non-belonging that is felt by students who experience dehumanization and exclusion from the institution they form a part of.

It has been noted earlier that the sense of dehumanization that occurs at this intersection and the corresponding loss of identity is reflected in the fact that students no longer own their identities or the campus environment. For this reason, this intersection pertains to the first research question because it comments on how students experience place. It's at this intersection where students can feel a dangerous sense of exclusion from the space to the extent that they lose their sense of humanity and where a discourse on the "loss of identity" is tied to the discourses on safety and exclusion. It has been noted in the analysis of the previous intersection that the security measures enhance students' experience of place, with respect to the factors that make them feel safe and included in the space. However, at this intersection, it is important to make mention of the fact that their experience of place is also problematic because it may decrease their feelings of belonging and safety. This also suggests that there is tension involved in students' experience of their campus environments, namely the constant tension between access, inclusion and exclusion and more particularly, the tension between students' sense of belonging and non-belonging.

6.4. Intersection 3: The Notion of (Be)longing

It has been mentioned that the theme of access hinges on the line between the notions of belonging and non-belonging and this part of the analysis will explore this concept further by conducting a performative narrative analysis of an extract from the email interviews. The line between belonging and non-belonging is represented by students' access to the university (power to) and their access within the university (power over). Therefore, I would like to define this intersecting space between

belonging and non-belonging (indicated in yellow in Appendix F) as a space of “(be)longing” (Liccardo, 2018).

In her study, Liccardo (2018) describes how young black women in STEM fields simultaneously occupy marginal and central positionalities in higher education institutions in South Africa. The notion of (be)longing is described as “the intersecting space in between inclusion-exclusion...[which] represents an infinite state of resistance in which [students] (re)member their disconnected selves into meaningful ‘wholes’” (Liccardo, 2018, p. 18). This tension between inclusion-exclusion forms part of the students’ identified tension between belonging and non-belonging. In her study, Liccardo (2018) maintains that recognition can foster inclusion and that misrecognition can foster exclusion. For this reason, the notion of (be)longing refers to subjects’ “ambiguity of agency” (Butler, 1997) where they attempt to position themselves in alternative discourses than those that are produced and maintained by the social structures they partake in (Liccardo, 2018; Vincent, 2015; Weedon, 1987). This also illustrates the tension between belonging and non-belonging, whereby students simultaneously form part of and reproduce the very discourses that facilitate their (be)longing. This also pertains to the influence of access to, and access in, the university space. Regard the following extract from participant Christo:

Christo: Access to the University means that I have access to greater opportunities that the majority of the population can’t afford. I am therefore very grateful for being able to gain the relevant knowledge and skills that will give me a greater advantage of finding a job as opposed to someone who can’t afford it and is more deserving of being afforded the same opportunity as I have. It is therefore bitter-sweet as I am afforded a great opportunity, but at the same time it further deepens the existing poverty cycle as because I am more experienced, I will get a job over someone who didn’t go to university because they couldn’t afford it. I also feel that I am extremely lucky to attend university in South Africa, but if I did have to go overseas, I feel that people won’t take my education as being professional and the same standard as first world countries.

This student starts by positioning himself as having privileged access to education to something, indicative of a sense of belonging because of his feelings of being included. He continues by describing his privileged access before moving on to the description of this experience as “bitter-sweet”. He states that he has an opportunity, but at the same time feels that he contributes to the poverty cycle because he will get a job, and other opportunities, over people who never had the opportunities that he

has. This bitter-sweet sentiment rests on the assumption of the tension between belonging and non-belonging and indicates that even though this student experiences his inclusion as a privilege, he is aware of the exclusionary nature of higher education. In the last segment, he describes that he is “lucky”, which reflects on his acknowledgement that he has been afforded privilege based on his race and background, but then states that he would have liked to broaden his horizons even further by studying overseas.

He is recognized by his current institution (inclusion and belonging) but feels misrecognized in the global context (exclusion and non-belonging). He feels grateful to be included but feels that his degree will not hold up to higher education institutions abroad, which excludes him from the standards and privilege of first world countries. By extension, he feels a sense of belonging to the institution but also a sense of non-belonging when he doesn't feel recognized in the global context. This supports the idea that recognition fosters inclusion and misrecognition fosters exclusion and that the endless navigation between these two depicts a “never-ending present where [students] renegotiate, reconfigure [and] re-imagine themselves” (Liccardo, 2018, p. 18). It can be said that by virtue of feeling included, he feels a sense of belonging and that by virtue of feeling excluded he feels a sense of non-belonging. In this segment, C navigates this intersection between belonging and non-belonging, by describing the intersecting space of (be)longing to a space that he is a part of (and has access to) and a space that he wishes he could be a part of. His bitter-sweet experience of having access to the university is based on his awareness of the fact that he maintains, creates and upholds the very discourses that make his experience bitter-sweet and that recognition is based on these discourses. Therefore, (be)longing necessitates a positioning in alternative discourses that promote varying modes of recognition. This suggests that students' sense of belonging is not always evident, but rather a grey area in which they constantly (re)position themselves towards their institution, the discourses that maintain the institution and the various manifestations of power that render them both self-regulating and submissive.

6.5. Intersection 4: Spatial Injustice

The previous discussion focused on the intersection between the forms of power that has been mentioned thus far, but the next facet of this intersection must bring together the discussion on access, inclusion, exclusion and (be)longing and all

they consist of (indicated in green on Appendix F). This means that this intersection addresses *access to* the university and *access in* the university as well as the various ways in which students navigate their experiences of (be)longing. It must also regard the theme of *restricted access to the university* as experienced by non-students and the public.

In light of this, I am of the opinion that the spaces of decolonisation by De Olivera Andreotti et al. (2014) can function as the lens with which to view the spatial injustices that occur at the intersection of these themes. In this study, the authors propose four spaces through which decolonisation can occur, namely the “Everything is Awesome” space, “Soft Reform”, “Radical Reform” and “Beyond Reform”. The Everything is Awesome space describes a space where the need for decolonisation is not recognized. The space of Soft Reform refers to the university’s inclusion of previously disadvantaged members of society but a failure to recognize problems with the curriculum and institutional functioning. The Radical Reform space refers to a space where the need for decolonising the curriculum is recognized, but not executed properly because of a failure to recognize the lens of modernity from which a transformed curriculum is viewed. Lastly, the space of Beyond Reform refers to an acknowledgement of the epistemological and ontological inequalities in higher education institutions, wherewith to challenge and subvert the hegemony, patriarchy and capitalism.

It has been mentioned that students experience belonging when they feel safe, included and comfortable and that they experience non-belonging when they experience threat, exclusion and discomfort. It has furthermore been mentioned that students feel a privileged sense of belonging by virtue of having access to the university but that they experience sentiments of non-belonging due to not having access to everything the university space has to offer. In addition, the university is now inaccessible to the public, which removes it from the public realm.

The data analysis found that students’ experience of being part of a gated community (and a crisis heterotopia) heightens their feelings of inclusion and their overall experience of place. By contrast, the biometric access control measures have been said to result in a loss of identity and contribute to their sense of non-belonging to the gated educational space. Lastly, the tension between these facets of belonging

and non-belonging has been recognized as students' never-ending experience of (be)longing to the university and the corresponding interplay between the ideas of "power to" and "power over", which create and maintain the discourses that are reflected in the university space. In light of this, a common thread needs to be found, one that brings all of these facets together and forms the basis of an intersection that can describe students' experience of the campus environment. I am of the opinion that this thread is spatial injustice.

The research and data analysis prove that this intersection is spatial injustice because of the following reasons:

- 1.) The campus gated community involves the involuntary confinement of students to a limited space, which is spatially unjust (Marcuse, 2010). This relates to the themes of students' access to the university, inclusion and belonging and constitute what De Oliveira Andreotti et al. (2014) call the Everything is Awesome space of decolonisation. In this space, the students' experience their university campus as a utopic place where "Everything is Awesome". This is also the space of productive power, whereby students internalize the discourses that created the space, become self-regulating and experience belonging. This space relates to the discourse on safety.
- 2.) The removal of the university from the public realm is spatially unjust because of an unequal distribution of resources in space and an unequal opportunity to access them. This pertains to the sub-theme of *restricted access to the university* and relates to the problems associated with the Soft Reform space (De Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015) because of a limited inclusion of previously disadvantaged members of society into the university, but an inability to decolonise access to the extent that students feel a sense of being at home on campus (Mbembe, 2015). This relates to the discourse on privilege and elitism.
- 3.) The restricted access students experience within the space is spatially unjust because of an unequal distribution of resources in space and an unequal opportunity to access them. This relates to the themes of exclusion and non-belonging and the issues with the Radical Reform space because of a failure to allow students to experience belonging on campus and limiting the access they have to knowledge, space and interactions within the space. This promotes and

sustains the discourse on capitalism and neo-liberalism and the power the university has over students.

6.5.1. “Everything is Awesome”

It has been acknowledged that residential gated communities are not spatially unjust in and of themselves, but rather that they produce spatial injustices. This is because residents in gated communities choose to live there and, therefore, are not confined to a limited space against their will. However, in the case of the campus gated community, the confinement of students and staff against their will can be seen as a deliberate form of spatial injustice. Marcuse (2010) state that any involuntary confinement of people to a certain space is a major form of spatial injustice. As a response to the Fallist movement of 2015-2016, the university decided to close all the gates permanently and restrict access via certain pre-determined access points and biometric access control measures, making the campus a gated community. In light of this, an extract from the following participant, Kiara, will be analysed:

Kiara: If there were no fences around campus...I think it would feel more like a public open space than the gated institution it currently feels like. I think it would feel more welcoming and not having to go to a specific gate to get into campus would be much more pleasant. I think of campus as being fairly untouchable from the outside, but once inside it's quite a vibrant place full of people having similar objectives of being there to learn. Much like a priceless object or a kept secret. It's not welcome to outsiders but the few who can get in, it serves its purpose of being a good learning institution.

In this passage, Kiara states that she would experience the campus without fences as “more welcoming” and “much more pleasant”. She describes the campus as being “untouchable” and that it is a “priceless object” and a “kept secret” because it is not “welcome” to outsiders. She also mentions that the “few” who can get in can partake in its ability to be “a good learning institution”. This is indicative of the involuntary confinement that she experiences because she states that she wants the fences to be removed. However, it is still evident that she enjoys the benefits of her inclusion and her ability to partake in the “priceless object” that is the university.

One respondent describes the difference between a residential and campus gated community:

Christo: [The campus gated community] is slightly different [because] residential gated communities are usually a grouping of people of a certain class, whereas the campus

gated communities [are] a grouping of people of many classes. They are similar in the sense that both of them lead to segregation and portray the idea of greater social status over the surrounding environment.

This student describes the main difference between these two types of gated communities in terms of the grouping of classes, which reflects the fact that gated communities are often symbols of prestige and elitism. This is emphasized when he says that these communities “lead to segregation and portray the idea of greater social status over the surrounding environment”.

It has been noted that residential gated communities are not necessarily spatially unjust but that they may lead to spatial injustices such as an unequal distribution of resources in space and an unequal opportunity to access them. This can be seen in the fact that gated communities are fenced off and they prohibit access to people who do not have permission to enter the space, for example, some gated communities contain public parks that are now not accessible by the public. Students feel that the gates and regulation of access keep them safe and that the gates belong there.

Many students commented on the heightened sense of belonging they feel to the university campus by virtue of it being a safe gated community. This was indicated by the fact that many students described the space as having utopic qualities and this is also reflected in research that study people who reside in gated communities (Durlington, 2009; Hook, 2011). For this reason, the first mode of spatial injustice reflects the Everything is Awesome space. This is the space in which students and higher education institutions do not see the need to decolonise the curriculum or even acknowledge the influence of colonial rule. This is evident in students’ heightened sense of belonging as part of the gated community. Power produces a discourse of safety which removes the need for any transformation and change and students’ heightened sense of belonging within the space. This is echoed by Vice (2015) when she warns of the dangers of feeling too “at home” within higher education institutions because it makes students, and the institution, resistant to transformation and change.

In light of this sense of belonging, “Everything is Awesome” and nothing needs to change. However, it is evident that the spatial injustice that is found in the confinement of staff and students to a particular space does point to the fact that even

though students are productive and feel part of the university space, this creates and facilitates a larger discourse of spatial injustice and oppression.

6.5.2. “The Right to the City”

It is also important to study spatial injustice regarding the ways in which the university has been removed from the public realm. This has been alluded to throughout this chapter but will be discussed at length here because of the importance of this with regards to spatial injustice. It has been mentioned that access to the university is restricted by the physical barriers that prevent non-students and members of the public from entering the space. This physically limits people who do not work or study at the campus from entering the space. Students are forced to study and move within the confines of the gated space, but this contributes to a larger idea of spatial injustice in the city. This is supported by the following student when she says:

Jane: Before the university enclosed what was supposed to be a public space for all...[the university, a university building, a nearby school and a government building]... had a linked sight- it was planned to be connected...one of my lecturers disliked the idea that campus is fenced off to the public as it is supposed to be a public space. [This] link between the [government building and university building] was accompanied by [a nearby school's] boulevard of trees, so if you stood at the [university building] and look into the direction of the [government building] you would have seen massive trees along a path leading to the [the government building]

The student mentions that these original buildings were positioned in a way so that the government building in question could be viewed from the university, which indicates that the closing off of the university hinders people from experiencing this because they cannot access the university building. This is heightened by her statement that the university is “supposed to be a public space for all” which she repeats twice in this extract.

This means that the theme of “belonging” and students’ experiences of feeling safe and included is problematic within the larger context of spatial justice in the city. It would seem that students’ heightened sense of belonging within the gated community diminishes the university’s ability to belong to the public.

Therefore, I feel that it is pertinent to make a note of the idea of the “right to the city” (Lefebvre, 1974; Harvey, 2008). The right to the city for Lefebvre can be summarized as follows

The right to the city, for Lefebvre, thus signifies a great deal. It signifies the right to inhabit the city, the right to produce urban life on new terms (unfettered by the demands of exchange value), and the right of inhabitants to remain unalienated from urban life. (Attoh, 2011, p. 6)

The suggestion here is that all members that partake in the labour that creates a city, has a right to enjoy aspects of that city. This links to the idea that space is socially produced and forms the basis of the Soja’s (2010) conception of spatial justice.

It can be said that the campus gated community is spatially unjust because it confines people to a certain space and it leads to an unequal distribution of resources in space, such as the museums and historical buildings on campus that may not be viewed by the public anymore. According to Lefebvre’s notion of the right to the city, this is a violation of people’s right to the city because it renders them “[alienated] from urban life” (Attoh, 2011, p. 6). This proves that the idea of the university as a gated community is inherently spatially unjust and that it contributes to the larger discourses of exclusion and privilege that dominate the inception and maintenance of gated communities in South-Africa.

This links to the problem of Soft Reform which reflects a failure to adequately include previously disadvantaged members of society into higher education institutions and a failure to decolonise access to the university. This happens physically, by means of the physical barriers that surround the space but also due to the high cost of tertiary education in South Africa. The discourses that dominate and sustain the neo-liberal university leads the university to become privatized and exclusionary. Access to the university is based on privilege, which facilitates exclusion of many members of society who can’t financially afford to partake in the space and enjoy their full right to the city. This discourse does not prioritise the university as an institution for the common good but rather as an institution that promotes privileged access to the space. In this way, the fencing off of the university can be warranted, and sustained, for years to come.

6.5.3. The “Equal Acknowledgement of Difference”

The third facet of spatial injustice has to do with the fact that the resources on campus are unequally distributed and there exists an unequal opportunity to access them. One student compares the difference between two different campuses:

Kiara: I am a student at the university... [and my] department is [not] situated on [main] campus. If these two campuses are compared, in my opinion, [my campus] falls below [main] campus in terms of amenities, food stalls/shops and green open space areas. I really like some of the old buildings on [main] campus...I don't really like the more modern looking buildings on the campus such...as they feel cold and unwelcoming. I would therefore rate my external experience with [my campus] as very average and not very memorable. My external experience with [main] campus would be a bit above average as I really like the natural open space where one can go and sit and study, especially when the [trees are blooming]

From this extract, it is evident that Kiara prefers the main campus to her campus because her campus “falls below [main campus]...in terms of amenities, food stalls/shops and green open space areas”. This suggests that the people on her campus do not have the same access to resources that student on Hatfield Campus have. In addition, she comments on the “more modern looking buildings” which feel cold and unwelcoming, suggesting that she does not want to partake in the use of that specific space. This is the same building that Niko described in the previous chapter as being for “a select few”.

This is also echoed by Shefer et al. (2018) when they state that places that lack diversity, make students feel less welcome within the space, which is accompanied by the fact that students experience more inclusion when they are in classrooms where a variety of viewpoints are valued. In keeping with Mbembe (2015), the university classrooms are not reflective of diverse viewpoints and the students who function as quantified subjects necessarily are governed by the way in which the university responds to consumer demand. This limits certain students’ access to certain spaces in the university e.g. the previously mentioned research commons which may only be used by post-graduate students and staff. However, there is also a sense of injustice that can be found in the university curriculum. The Eurocentric discourses that support the current curriculum, are therefore the catalyst for the emergence of the spatial inequalities on campus. This has been a subject of debate in higher education

institutions for a long time but is very pertinent in the country of South Africa who only experienced an end to colonial rule in 1994.

Much has been said about the Western and Eurocentric nature of the curriculum, and this is discussed at length in the literature review (Badat, 2015; Heleta, 2016; Mbembe, 2015, 2016). It pertains to the theme of exclusion from within the university because students have access to the university and its resources, but they are often excluded from modes of knowledge that are not Eurocentric in nature. The university responds to the global market, and in competition with other universities, which place a bigger emphasis on some degrees and modes of knowledge, as opposed to others (Heaney, 2015; Morissey, 2015). One respondent, Karabo, explains her experience of this form of restricted access in the extract below:

Karabo: We still find ourselves just adding a few global south/African literature references in our study guides (thinking we have transformed), changing residence names here and there that still have no meaning, and having transformation committees in all faculties that do not focus on real issues of power and equal acknowledgement of difference. We are just adding things together and hoping that it is enough.

In this extract, it is evident that Karabo feels that the curriculum has not been adequately transformed. She also states that the changing of the residence names “still have no meaning” and she thinks that transformation is still an illusion when she says, “thinking we have transformed”. This points toward a longing for transformation that can impact meaningful change via “transformation committees...that [can] focus on real issues of power and [the] equal acknowledgement of difference”. This “equal acknowledgement of difference” links to Millazo’s (2015) statement that racism cannot be erased by arguing that people are all the same and promoting a sense of unity but rather by acknowledging the difference between various races. In addition, this also points to the danger in feeling a sense of belonging to the extent that we resist change as stated by Vice (2015).

This can be related to the issue of Radical Reform space. According to De Oliveira Andreotti et al. (2015), the problem with Radical Reform has to do with insufficient transformation in the curriculum. This space acknowledges the Eurocentric curriculum and changes it by “adding a few global south/African literature references

in the study guides” but does not regard the lens of modernity from which it chooses to view these African literature references. This is also reflected in the way the campus functions and the layout of the space. For example, we still use the English colonial language to analyse and describe these resources because of a lack of academic terms in other languages and the architecture of campus often reflects the associations of whiteness that pervade higher education institutions. As Karabo further explains:

The curriculum needs to change, African students need to be aware of their history so they can have a sense of pride and know that they come from people who although represented as backward in dominant literature, were actually pioneers in their own right. Certain design principles in my discipline (that originate from African cultures/traditions) can only be described in their original language and we do not see an exploration of those concepts or their integration into the curriculum. For example, the concept of "Ubuntu" shows how language is integral in understanding our African societies, that is why it is not translated, it is referred to in its linguist origin because that is the only way in which its essence can be captured.

According to Karabo the curriculum must move beyond “adding a [few references]” to making African students “aware of their history” as “pioneers in their own right” as opposed to having African knowledge represented as “backwards in the dominant literature”. By not acknowledging the problem with this, the university will be stuck in Radical Reform and never achieve the final space of decolonisation, which is the Beyond Reform space. In addition, she states that language is “integral in understanding our African societies” because it is the only way in which “its essence can be captured”.

In light of the previous discussion, an amended version of the proposed diagram of analysis is presented in Appendix G. This explains many of the important themes and intersections that have been described thus far. I am of the opinion that the current performative analysis, in conjunction with the themes that have been identified, can serve as a method for mapping the ways in which the university can move toward the space of Beyond Reform.

6.6. “Beyond Reform”

It has been said that Beyond Reform requires a recognition of the ontological and epistemological enclosures that function within the university, are reflected in the university space, and that this is the catalyst for bringing about the type of change that

can challenge and subvert hegemony, patriarchy and capitalism. From the analysis of the results, it is evident that the discourses which create and sustain spatial inequality should be discussed and the spatial (in)equalities that reflect these discourses should also be addressed. Therefore, the attainment of Beyond Reform will be addressed in terms of the (restricted) access to, and within, the university space.

6.6.1. “State of Emergency”: The Discourse on Safety

It has been said that the main reason for warranting the privatization of public space by erecting gated communities is that of safety. This is because of people’s perception of an increasing crime rate in South Africa and the portrayal of instances of violence by the media (Durlington, 2009). Many of students’ responses reflect this, especially regarding the fact that they make several references to criminal activity and the fear they have that protest action will return. In this way, the need for the gated community remains as students and staff experience a sense of crisis or what Praeg (2018) calls a “state of emergency”. This will remain as long as students are reminded of the instances of violence during the #FeesMustFall movement and the so-called criminality that occurs in the area surrounding campus. Power creates the discourse of safety to create and maintain the gated community and this is internalized by students with regards to the heightened sense of belonging they feel within the space.

The way in which this can be approached is to remove the association between the discourse on “safety” and the need for “securitization”. This study proposes that feelings of relaxation and inclusion can promote feelings of safety and Shefer et al. (2018) state that diverse spaces that do not promote “othering” also makes students feel safer. By promoting safety in this way, the need for stringent securitization becomes less evident.

Shefer et al. (2018) state that spaces that promote “racial othering” and “class othering” decrease students’ ability to experience these spaces as safe. From the previous analysis, it is evident that the campus environment must do more to decrease class othering. The engineering area of campus caters to students of a higher class as is evident by the expensive coffee shops and eateries that can be found there. In contrast, the student centre’s food is much cheaper and, therefore, attract people of a lower class standing as mentioned by Rohan in the previous chapter. Consequently, many students feel unsafe in either of these areas of socialisation.

The discourse on safety and the corresponding idea of securitization, which leads to privilege and exclusion, needs to include the importance of promoting inclusion and integration on campus. This will inspire methods for improving security that move beyond the physical measures of erecting fences and implementing biometric access control and allow the influence of modern power to create an alternative discourse for safety within higher education institutions in South Africa.

6.6.2. #FencesMustFall: The Discourse on Privilege

It has been said that the spatial inequalities discussed in this study, namely the privatization of public space in the name of safety, also reflect discourses on exclusion and privilege. It is also these very discourses which facilitate the inception, and need, for gated spaces in South Africa.

The data analysis proves that, much like the residents of Dainfern in Northern Johannesburg (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2001), the students of the university enjoy the safety of the Hatfield campus and that they enjoy the privilege of being able to access and enter the university space, both physically and in terms of having access to higher education. The students' also experience the same antagonism towards the "external world" and the space on the perimeter of the Hatfield campus gated community, which is reflective of elitism. It has also been noted that this necessary leads to an exclusion of non-students and the public from this specific space, which is a form of spatial injustice.

As a result of the analysis, it is evident that Beyond Reform cannot be achieved whilst the university functions a private space that responds to consumer demand. If people cannot physically access the space, how will we increase access to higher education? If the university continues to further the discourse on capitalism, how can we defend the need for a public university? If the university doesn't serve the common good, how will we acknowledge the metaphysical enclosures that hinder the decolonial project? One student describes an alternative scenario:

Christo: I personally believe that the campus shouldn't have any fences...I think the campus area should incorporate a route that is fenced off on both sides and therefore people wanting to move through the campus to take a shortcut, who aren't students can do so. I then believe that there should be tighter security throughout the campus and there should only be a form of access control to get into lectures. There should

also be signs that prohibit non-students from entering the property and random checks should be done by security to make sure no one is breaking the rules. This will allow freedom of movement for students and also allow non-students to take shortcuts, but still enforce a sense of security. I would prefer the campus to have no gates or fences because this will allow for greater [sense] of movement. I would like for there to be a way to give a sense of security though. Whether that be using AI or some form of technology to ensure that only students are present on campus.

The fencing off the campus is not the only way to enforce security. Privatizing the space is not the only solution to students' safety, but rather seems like an appropriate solution that is fuelled by the larger discourse of "the increasing crime rate" in South Africa and the fact that the university functions as a business that caters to those who can afford it. The current state of the university campus as a gated community places it on a pedestal, as an institution that one needs privileged access to. The extract above also suggests that there is a need for security measures, but that there are other ways of achieving this. As another student says:

Karabo: I would rather have gates and fences that are not built to keep people out, but are built to protect and allow people in. This means, gates that are "human" where we can rely on each other as people, and not on a system that fails us because it cannot possibly relate. The idea of no gates and fences in our social context is but a dream. We can definitely imagine it, but it should be imagined alongside a different society that is not crippled by crime and violence. I think no gates and no fences calls for a bigger project than merely taking them down physically, it calls for a project to renew society's consciousness and that's why it needs to be imagined as a bigger project.

The suggestion here is that the gates are built to "keep people out", which directly refers to the discourses on privilege that create and sustain gated communities. She proposes gates that are "human" which are built to "protect and allow people in" and "where we can rely on each other as people". This is contrasted with her statement of the "system that fails us because it cannot possibly relate", which probably refers to the biometric measures which are currently used to restrict access. Karabo maintains that the removal of the gates can only be imagined "alongside a different society", otherwise it remains "but a dream". This student calls for a "bigger project", one that does not involve the physical removal of gates but also the metaphysical and ontological enclosures in higher education that support and warrant the need for fences, access control and gates. This "bigger project" can only be achieved by

“[renewing] society’s consciousness”. In this passage, Karabo describes the current social context as one “crippled by crime and violence”, in which a “renewal of society’s consciousness” remains a dream or an imagining. She states that society’s consciousness can only be renewed in “a different society” that partakes in alternative discourses and not the privileged discourses that currently create and maintain spatial inequalities in higher education institutions.

6.6.3. “The Hidden Curriculum” and The Discourse on Capitalism

The restriction of access within the university space means that students do not have the full range of access to all areas within the space and that they do not have access to the full range of resources that the university has to offer and by extension, they are restricted from various aspects of the academia. This is fuelled by the discourse on capitalism which emphasizes the neo-liberal functioning of the university.

This happens through the explicit restriction from certain spaces and the implicit restriction that occurs via the curriculum. The restriction from certain areas often happens via regulated access, especially as a consequence of the implementation of biometric access measures. Certain students are excluded from certain spaces such as the research commons and the engineering study centre. It has been said that this reflects spatial injustice and is often fuelled by a discourse that values certain degrees above others, which is in keeping with the functioning of the university as a business that responds to consumer demand. This can be seen in a study conducted by Conor Heany (2015), who analysed the modern university by analysing three important reports that are important to higher education in the UK. After his analysis, he concluded that “academic output...*is now* an output that is compared with consumer demand, an output that can affect the profits of a University, an output that is quantifiable and receives a score, comparable to and in competition with other universities in the world” (p. 306). Academic subjects and knowledge are governed as sites of human capital which renders the original purpose of the university and the production of academic knowledge meaningless (Heany, 2015). This discourse of capitalism and the associated description of students as “sites of human capital” is the very discourse that both created, and sustain, the university campus a gated community. This is also echoed by Mbembe who describes university students in South Africa as “quantified subjects”.

It has also been stated that this restriction often reduces students' sense of identity, especially when they are excluded from a space by virtue of their fingerprint not working. This is heightened by students' restricted access to all modes of knowledges by virtue of being presented with a Eurocentric curriculum. As one student says:

Karabo: I remember I had a lecture with 2nd-year students on African designs of settlements and open spaces...a black student...confidently asked: "do Africans even have their own designs of settlements". This shocked me because the students have a history course in their first year and they were not introduced (or perhaps they soon forgot because it was not reinforced properly). I gave examples of the Egyptian and Sudan pyramids, the Zulu kraals, the Igbo of Nigeria and how they design space looking specifically at the dead (ancestors), the living, and the future. This was groundbreaking for the students and it made me realize that the curriculum needs to change

In this passage, Karabo expresses her surprise at the fact that students were not aware of indigenous design principles, which led her to believe that this is excluded from the history course that they do in first year. As a consequence of this, it can be said that the university influences the actions and interactions that students have access to, which is also known as the "hidden curriculum". The hidden curriculum refers to everyday activities and practices within higher education institutions that promote certain social norms in students (Van Der Westhuizen, 2018). These are the activities that influence students' experience of the university environment and what they implicitly learn from that experience. In the context of this study, students learn how to regulate themselves and they are taught to value certain achievements and degrees above others. The space of Beyond Reform must therefore address decolonizing both the physical curriculum as well as the "hidden curriculum". As Karabo notes:

K: I do not blame the slow progress of decolonization in our institution, because let's be honest, the majority of academic staff is white, so how can they understand our experiences if they are existentially different from us. As such, they do what they can to represent our knowledge, principles, and history, but representations can be flawed, and thus need to be supplemented by experience. However, this is not about one experience versus another or one history against another, it is about acknowledging the meanings and significance of how space can be perceived, represented, and lived differently.

This student states that all aspects of the space should be addressed in order to acknowledge how it can “be perceived, represented and lived differently”. This includes transforming access within the university, by addressing the Eurocentric curriculum and the hidden curriculum as well as the discourses of capitalism that sustain the restricted access in, and neo-liberal functioning of, the university.

6.7. Conclusion

The conclusion will be an attempt to define all the important themes that were identified and also the ways in which they intersect. As a guide, the final diagram is presented in Appendix H.

The data analysis involved a thematic and performative narrative analysis of participants’ responses to the email interviews. The three broad themes of access, belonging and non-belonging were identified. It was also noted that belonging fosters *power to* and that non-belonging is associated with *power over*. The theme of access is a particular one because it has a footing in both of these categories. Each theme was divided into three subthemes as follows:

- 1.) Belonging: Safety, Inclusion, Comfort
- 2.) Non-Belonging: Threat, Exclusion, Discomfort
- 3.) Access: Students’ access to the university, Restricted access in the university, Restricted access to the university by non-students/public

The thematic analysis found that increased feelings of safety, inclusion and comfort fosters students’ sense of belonging and, therefore, provided them with the *power to* internalize the discourses that allow them to use the university space to their advantage. In contrast, increased feelings of threat, exclusion and discomfort led students to experience non-belonging and experience the influx of *power over*. In addition, it was found that students *access to* the university made them feel privileged, they *restricted access* in the university space made them feel excluded from the space and the exclusion of the general public from the university space is symptomatic of the discourses on privilege and exclusion.

The performative analysis studied the intersections of the various themes, as they pertain to certain modes of power and discourse. The first intersection was that of access and inclusion, which describe the crisis heterotopia that students form a part

of, which contributes to their overall sense of belonging and allow them to become self-regulating. The second intersection is based on the surveillance at the university and the fact that students are excluded from certain spaces and experience a loss of identity. The third intersection described the tension between belonging and non-belonging as a space of (be)longing to the university environment. The final intersection concluded that the intersecting discourses of safety, privilege and capitalism remain symptomatic of spatial injustice. These discourses both create and sustain the gated nature of the educational space and hinders the ability to achieve Beyond Reform.

In the final analysis, it is important to return to the first research question, namely: What are the effects of biometric access control on students' experience of place within the context of a larger gated educational space? The data analysis found that students experience place at the university as utopic when they experience a sense of belonging and gratitude. They experience it as a place that enables them and makes them feel safe. They regulate themselves in accordance to the regulations. However, the context of the larger educational space lead students to experience non-belonging, especially regarding the loss of identity that they experience when they are not recognized by the biometric system. Therefore, it can be said that the constantly move between their experiences of place and space and experience a sense of (be)longing to the place/space. This can be attributed to the intersecting discourses of safety, privilege and capitalism that constantly influence, uphold and maintain spatial (in)equalities on campus. It can be said that the gated nature of the space, reflects the power students have to enable themselves and the power the institution, and the larger context of South Africa, has over them. The university space is a constant catalyst for experiences of (be)longing and is maintained and founded on the discourses that create and sustain spatial inequalities on campuses in South Africa.

At the same time, the spatial inequalities act as a mirror from which to view these discourses and interrogate them, which is the means with which to address the second research question, namely: How do dominant discourses maintain and create spatial (in) equalities at higher education institutions in South Africa? From the final analysis, it can be said that the dominant discourses on safety, privilege, and capitalism create spatial inequalities that are reflective of three distinct and prominent forms of spatial injustice. This extends to include the inequality of the gated space, the

inequality in removing the university space from the public realm and the inequality in restricting students' access to the full range of resources that the space and curriculum has to offer. In this way, the dominant discourses reflect a space that may heighten students' sense of belonging but also excludes them at the same time all the while largely changing the functioning of the university to a private space that responds to consumer demand. Power is the means with which these discourses come into being, are maintained and remains reflected in most higher education institutions in South Africa today.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction

The conclusion will be an attempt to summarize and synthesize the information from all the previous chapters. In addition, the findings will be discussed and recommendations for future research will be made. This will also provide a roadmap for understanding the context of the study within the larger context of South Africa.

7.2. Rationale and Research Questions

The rationale for this study is rooted in the fact that universities in South Africa responded to the Fallist movement of 2015-2016 with a securitisation project (Gillespie, 2017). Research on gated communities has focused chiefly on residential gated communities (Low, 2006, 2011) and research on biometric access has largely centred around biometric access at borders (Alderson, 2009; Van Der Ploeg, 1999), schools (Gray, 2017; Lebovic, 2015) and airports (Amoore & Hall, 2017). In addition to this, research on university spaces has focused on the importance of open space campus environments (Laua, Gou & Liu, 2014), architecture (De Villiers, 2019; Mbembe, 2015) and isolation and belonging (Cox, 2011) This study was an attempt to fill the gap in the research with regards to a campus gated community and how power produces the discourses that maintain and reflect spatial inequalities. The study also attempted to examine students' specific subject positionings, in terms of their experience of place, at the university.

7.3. Theory and Methodology

The emphasis on the workings of power is reflected in the theoretical framework of this study. The theory that forms the basis for the study is based on the theory of modern power (Foucault, 1977, 1984), the theory of spatial justice (Soja, 2010) and the spaces of decolonisation as set out by De Oliveira Andreotii et al. (2015). Foucault (1977) states that disciplinary power differs from previous sovereign expressions of power in that it is productive and that it seeks to normalize the body. He describes the "birth of the prison" in which he describes how this form of power differs from previous methods of punishment, such as torture, because it renders prisoners self-regulating. He describes the panopticon, whereby the prison has a central tower in the middle and all prisoners must assume they are being watched from this central tower. As a result, they always act as if though they are being watched and become self-

regulating, because they adjust their behaviour in accordance with the dominating form of power. For this reason, power is productive all the while functioning as the means of regulation. In society, disciplinary power functions via the discourses that it brings into being and the bodies that it intersects through the circulation of these discourses. It is important to note that these forms of discourses also bring certain spaces into being. For Foucault (1984), one such a space is called the heterotopia. Heterotopias are sites of alternate social ordering, in relation to the environments that surround them, which exist in every society. There are two types of heterotopias, namely the “crisis heterotopia”, which contain individuals who are in a state of crisis and the “heterotopia of deviation”, which contain individuals whose behaviours deviate from the social norm. It has been suggested that the gated community functions as a crisis heterotopia (Hook, 2011), where residents sense of crisis is their perceived sense of crime and threat (Durlington, 2009; Hook, 2011). In addition, gated communities have been criticized for being spatially unjust because they limit certain individuals to a space and the lead to an unequal distribution of resources in space and an unequal opportunity to access them. This forms part of the larger discourse of unequal access to tertiary education South Africa which limits the ability to achieve “Beyond Reform” or the space in which the decolonial project becomes characterized by a recognition of the ontological and epistemological hegemony that support the discourses of privilege and capitalism.

In support of the theory that guides this study, the study followed a narrative approach and the process of analysis was twofold, following a thematic narrative analysis and a performative narrative analysis. The thematic analysis guided me in identifying the main themes that arose from students’ narratives and the performative analysis analysed students’ subject positionings towards the modes of power that create and maintain the discourses that are reflected in their university environment.

7.4. Overview of Results

From the thematic analysis, three main themes were identified: belonging, non-belonging and access. The theme of belonging refers to the extent to which students’ feel a sense of being “at home” on campus (Mbembe, 2015; Vice, 2015). The sub-themes correlate to Vice’s (2015) components of feeling at home, namely safety, familiarity and comfort. However, “familiarity” was replaced with the theme of “inclusion” making the three sub-themes of belonging safety, inclusion and comfort.

This theme relates to “power to” because the extent of students’ belonging can be said to function as an enabling force. The theme of non-belonging comprises the sub-themes of threat, exclusion and discomfort and is an encompassing theme that refers to “those who do not belong, those who refuse to belong, or those who refashion belonging in their own image...their own imagining” (Zaatari, 2005, p. 75). This refers to “power over” because non-belonging is often the result of the power that the university space exercises upon the students.

The last theme that was identified is of particular interest to this study, namely that of access. Access is the catalyst from which power is exercised on the students (“power over”) and enabled by them (“power to”). This theme comprises the sub-themes of students’ access to the university, restricted access in the university and the restricted access to the university for non-students and the public. Students’ access to the university refers to the fact that they are able to physically access the space and utilise its resources. Restricted access in the university means that students are restricted from certain spaces, activities and interactions with non-students and the public. Restricted access to the university for non-students and the public also refer to the physical barriers that restrict access to the space and the fact that many people are excluded from the space based on their financial capability and financial backgrounds.

The themes all stand in relation to one another and intersect in important ways. The performative analysis was an attempt at making the subject positionings evident in light of the ways in which the themes intersect. The first intersection was that of access to the university and inclusion, whereby students feel privileged and safe to feel part of the university space. At this intersection, the university’s functioning as a crisis heterotopia become evident, which enables students and foster’s a sense of “belonging” (“power to”). Restricted access in the university relates to exclusion because it limits students’ access to certain spaces, events and activities. At this intersection the function of surveillance becomes evident and it corresponds to students’ loss of identity. The third intersection looked at the tension between belonging and non-belonging, which by extension include a tension between inclusion and exclusion. This tension is defined by Liccardo (2018) as a position of “(be)longing”, whereby students are constantly trying to (re)appropriate their sense of recognition in light of the dominant discourses that prioritize certain forms of recognition over others.

The last intersection brings all of the aforementioned themes together and function as an attempt to explain what they represent, and what sort of space these discourses create and maintain. This intersection was defined as that of spatial injustice, which operates within the space in three ways:

- 1.) **“Everything is Awesome”**: The involuntary confinement of members to a certain and limited space. The discourse of safety creates and maintain this gated educational space, which is also reflective of a crisis heterotopia.
- 2.) **The problem with “Soft Reform”**: The unequal distribution of resources in space and an unequal opportunity to access them to members of the public and non-students. The discourse of privilege and elitism create and maintain this space and undermines people’s right to the city.
- 3.) **The problem of “Radical Reform”**: The unequal distribution of resources in space and an unequal opportunity to access them within the university space. The discourse and capitalism and neo-liberalism create and maintain this space, where students are restricted in their access to various resources and modes of knowledge because of the university’s response to consumer demand.

The Everything is Awesome space is characterized by a lack of acknowledging the need for decolonization and transformation. In this space, “Everything is Awesome” and nothing needs to change. This was evident in students’ reference to the university as a utopia. Many students enjoy the space to the full extent and do not acknowledge the need for transformation because they feel safe where they are. The problem with Soft Reform is reflected in the removal of the university from the public realm. This is an obvious form of spatial injustice and relies on the discourse of the university as a “privileged and elite” space and a failure to decolonize access. This can be seen in the fact that physical and academic inclusion into the university relies on financial capability and background. The problem of Radical Reform is experienced by students who are taught in accordance to “the hidden curriculum” which often promotes Eurocentric knowledge as the only important mode of knowledge, thereby excluding students from several other modes of knowledges and teaching. This is exacerbated by the associations with whiteness found in the university architecture and space. In addition, this “hidden curriculum” is fuelled by the fact that the university functions as an institution that responds to consumer demand and positions students as sites of

human capital (Heany, 2015; Mbembe, 2015). This undermines the original purpose of the university, which is “the pursuit of academic freedom in the name of the common good” (Praeg, 2018, p. 20).

7.5. Responding to Research Question 1

The first research question asked: What are the effects of biometric access control measures on students’ experience of place within the context of a larger gated educational space?

The following question will be answered in terms of how students’ experience of place is both enhanced and undermined by the implementation of biometric access control measures.

7.5.1. Belonging and Safety

The discourse of safety is especially pertinent with regards to biometric access control because many students commented on the fact that it makes them feel safer because it prohibits unauthorized people from entering the campus, heightening their sense of belonging and the extent to which they feel at home within the space. Many also stated that it is necessary, especially in light of the perceived violence that occurred at the protests in 2015-2016. From the analysis of the results, it is evident that the biometric access control measures, which led to the gated nature of the university, increase students’ sense of safety and by extension, their sense of belonging. This relates to the productive nature of modern power (“power to”) whereby students become empowered and enabled to achieve what they need to in the academic environment by internalizing the discourses that produce the space. It is also interesting to note that the biometric access control allows students to modify their behaviour in accordance to the rules e.g. holding events outside of campus because it is difficult to provide non-students with access to the space, making them self-regulating. In addition, this also heightens their sense of privilege to be included in the space and their ability to have access to education and resources that many members of the public do not have. In this way, students feel “in their element” (Vice, 2015) and at home; even though this makes them resistant to change and transformation, which limits their ability to create and sustain alternative discourses. In this way, power

creates and sustains the discourses on safety, privilege and capitalism which necessitates the implementation and use of biometric access control measures.

7.5.2. Non-belonging and Loss of Identity

It should also be noted that many students feel a loss of identity and ownership with regards to the biometric access control measures. It was mentioned that the biometrics reduces students to objects that are readable by a machine and reduces their humanity. This links to discussions on students as “quantified subjects” and not as subjects in their own right all the while contributing to the neo-liberal functioning of the university. Mbembe (2015) notes that the marks and numbers that are used within universities reduces students’ humanity and positions them as quantified subjects of the neo-liberal institution. In light of the current study, it is evident that the implementation of biometrics enhances this idea of students as “quantified subject[s]”. Many students feel a sense of dehumanization and a loss of belonging to the university, especially because they need to be recognized by a machine for access. This reduces feelings of being at home because they are not acknowledged for their humanity. In this regard, they are regulated by the control the university has over them and experience the sense of “power over”.

The theory that guides this study posits modern power as a productive and regulating force and, therefore, it makes sense that the answer to the first research question is twofold: students are enabled by their very specific access to the university and the fact that they feel safer in the space; however they are also submissive to the control the university has over them by owning their identities. Students are reflective of “docile bodies” because they have maximum utility within the space to which they are maximally submissive in. In light of this, the ambiguous tension between these two modes of power should also be discussed.

7.5.3. (Be)longing

There is a constant tension between students’ feelings of being both included in, and excluded from, the space and all its associated activities and interactions which is defined as the constant state of (be)longing (Liccardo, 2018). Students are recognized by the institution which fosters inclusion and they are misrecognized for their humanity which fosters exclusion. They appropriate the discourses that validate their exclusion within the space. They make use of the very space that is reflective of

the power the university has over them. Students are in a constant state of flux between being part of, and not feeling included, to the institution to which they form part. This process of recognition and misrecognition, and inclusion-exclusion, is also upheld by the discourses that prioritise certain modes of recognition over others (Butler, 1997) so the project of fostering real belonging will need to widen and change to include alternative discourses, which can (re)appropriate how proper recognition can be experienced by students. Safety, privilege and capitalism appropriates modes of recognition, which is inaccessible to most students and hinders their ability to properly feel at home within the space.

7.6. Responding to Research Question 2

The second research question asked: How do dominant discourses maintain and create spatial (in) equalities at higher education institutions in South Africa?

The second research question will look at the discourses that create and maintain spatial (in)equalities at higher education institutions in South Africa. It is important to note that these spatial (in)equalities are both created and maintained by these discourses all the while being reflective of them.

7.6.1. “Everything is Awesome” and The Discourse on Safety

It has been said that the discourse of safety is one of the main discourses that create and maintain gated educational spaces in South Africa. From the results of this study, it is evident that this discourse plays a primary role in maintaining the gated educational space as well. In the gated community as a crisis heterotopia, people’s sense of crisis can be related to their perceived sense of threat or fear (Hook, 2011). Therefore, it makes sense that the inception of gated communities is almost always based on the need for a “safer” environment. However, according to Praeg (2018), this keeps people in a state of fear because the gated environment is a constant reminder of the threats that may occur on the periphery of the gated community. In addition, it is important to note that safety contributes to feelings of being “at home”, but this makes people within the space resistant to forms of change and transformation (Vice, 2015). Therefore, the gated educational space links to the “Everything is Awesome” space. In this space, people feel safe, included and at home and they are resistant to change. This reduces the need for a decolonial project and by extension, the space of

higher education institutions remain stagnant and gated educational institutions become necessary.

7.6.2. “Soft Reform” and The Discourse on Privilege

There is also the problem with removing the university from the public realm, which reflects a lack of providing physical or academic access to the university. This keeps the university in “Soft Reform” and leads to access to the university becoming monetized. Only those with the financial capability to acquire access may do so and this leads to a failure to decolonise access. In this way, the university remains a sort of utopia for a select few, but this also makes students feel increased privilege to be part of the space and to have access to its resources. Education becomes a privilege and even the physical access to the university becomes an unattainable goal for most members of society. Privilege creates and maintains the university as a private space that may only be accessed by people who are financially and academically capable, making it spatially unjust.

7.6.3. “Radical Reform” and The Discourse on Capitalism

The last discourse that creates and maintains the university as a gated community is that of capitalism and neo-liberalism. According to Heany (2015) most higher education institutions function as a business that respond to consumer demand and competition. In this way, the privatization of the university space makes sense and the prioritisation of certain degrees and resources over others become the norm. This restricts students’ access within the university space because they are excluded from certain spaces, certain resources and certain modes of knowledge. They are subject to follow the “hidden curriculum” which posits Western knowledge as the dominant mode of knowledge and prioritises some modes of knowledge and being over others. In this way, students become self-governing sites of capital who respond to the consumer demand of the larger global context. This is reflective of how the space mimics the discourses because the privatized university reflects a space that is only for a select few and promotes a curriculum that caters to the minority of students all the while promoting Western knowledge and modes of thinking in response to global consumer demand.

7.7. “Beyond Reform”: Recommendations

In light of what has been found in the present study, I wish to make recommendations for achieving Beyond Reform in higher education institutions in South Africa. Beyond Reform will allow students to be fully recognized for their humanity in the institution they feel a sense of belonging to, to the extent that they feel completely at home there.

- First of all, the university should not function as a gated community. Not only is this a form of spatial injustice but it also maintains the discourses of safety, privilege and capitalism that is associated with higher education institutions today. A lack of physical access to the university only enforces a lack of academic access to the university.
- The university should think of alternative ways of ensuring students’ sense of security. Not only is the gated community problematic but the use of biometric access control measures leads students to feel a loss of ownership of their identities and a loss of ownership of the university. However, safety is of importance to students’ belonging so it should still be a priority but there are many alternative ways of promoting safety without equating it with a securitization project and the militarisation of the university space.
- The university must acknowledge the role of the hidden curriculum and all the associations with whiteness that the institution contains, as reflected in the architecture and general functioning of the gated university space. The mythologizing of whiteness contributes to institutionalized racism which is at the heart of what needs to change in higher education institutions today. This is the only way in which we can acknowledge the ontology and hegemony that is contained in the architecture, curriculum and discourses that maintain and create spaces of inequality.

7.8. Recommendations for Future Research

As the researcher, I am of the opinion that more research needs to be done on the spatial inequalities found in higher education institutions in South Africa. Specifically, we must interrogate the discourses that give rise to and maintain these spatial inequalities. Research on decoloniality often neglect the manifestation of discourses in space and I believe that space functions as a very specific lens with

which to identify issues and (re)imaging ways of reform. In addition, research on biometric access control measures should focus on how they foster or hinder, people's sense of belonging especially with regards to these measures being used in academic institutions or other public spaces that have become privatized. The decolonial project must prioritise space, as the lens from which we can view possibilities for transformation. Following Foucault (1984), space can act as a very specific manifestation of the workings of power that give rise to discourses that both regulate and empower subjects. It should also be noted that this study focused on a narrative methodology and a Foucauldian theoretical framework so it will be beneficial for future studies to utilise alternative theories and methodologies. Discourse analysis can function as an alternative methodology for examining the ways in which power gives rise to certain subject positionings within higher education environments and other theorists of space can inform a broader discussion on the workings of space and place in this regard.

7.9. Reflexive Post-Script

At this point, I feel the need to be reflexive of what gave rise to this research study. Entering a private university space after many years of walking freely between the campus and the surrounding environment even before I was a student, was upsetting. I feel confronted with the injustice of it all every time I stare at the gate, every time I wait in line to "inject my labour" as one participant, Karabo, noted. Therefore, it was difficult for me to see how many students are in favour of the system and in favour of the heterotopic space. This often appeared in my comments in my reflexive diary, whereby I prioritized and immediately analysed those passages that support my stance. However, I included all opinions here as one should do when approached with the ambiguity of the workings of disciplinary power. I had to acknowledge the fact that my privileged access made me feel safe and that it enables me to do this research, the research that needs to be done. I am of opinion that research needs to reflect all viewpoints, even those that do not correlate with our own subject positionings. This is the true reflection of reality and must be acknowledged through all that brings it into being. In the spirit of providing a true reflection, I feel it pertinent to note my own anxieties regarding this study as indicated by the following excerpt from my reflexive diary:

I have been thinking about the interview context a lot. This is a safe space where students can speak their minds. I am also communicating with the participants via their private emails and not their university emails. It is interesting to note that the notion of the self-regulating body implies that prisoners will act as if though they are always being watched. Perhaps the participants fear that what they say regarding the university can be exposed. I sometimes feel vulnerable for doing this study because I am indebted to [higher education institutions] for completing my studies. I fear that I write about [them] in a manner they do not approve of. I worry that I may say something or do something that gets me in trouble. In a way, this is proof of my own submissiveness. Even though I know that my intentions are pure, it sometimes feels like I am breaking the rules. Am I the lawless traitor of the totalitarian state?

There is much to unpack here, but I have many times received raised eyebrows regarding my study. People exclaiming “but what about the ‘safety’”, what does it matter if what we are doing is in the name of “safety”. I wish to propose that this discourse of safety allows many to take a comfortable seat and resist anything that threatens that sense of safety. We know that a bird is safe in its nest, but it is not in its nest where the bird reaches its full potential, which is to fly.

The discourse of safety is fuelled by fear and it is in fear that it operates. I am inspired by Prof. Leonard Praeg (2018, p. 20), whose inaugural address I have referenced at length in this dissertation:

Somebody somewhere is going to be called to task for the fact that I spoke as ‘openly and freely’ as I did tonight. And then there will be a flurry of new policies and amendments to existing policies – perhaps even an amendment to the constitution of the Events committee itself – aimed at total control over the inaugural that would make it impossible for future HoDs to speak with quite as much abandon. I can only end, then, with a melancholy apology to all future HoD’s who, as a consequence, may in future be expected to sign an affidavit declaring that the address approved by the Inaugural committee will be the same one they deliver. After all, it will be argued, making amendments is the prerogative of those far higher up the Chain of Being. But I also like to imagine this future HoD leaning over to sign the affidavit with her left hand behind her back, crossing her fingers in mock invalidation of her promise. To which the university will no doubt respond by installing more cameras to record future HoDs from all angles in the act of signing the affidavit; and to which future HoDs will respond ... and so on and so forth until the rabbit hole has bottomed out.

In the spirit of this, I choose to speak with “quite as much abandon” as I did here, while I still can. It is not in fear that transformation will occur but rather through the process of getting uncomfortable. As Einstein famously said: “Nothing happens until something moves”. I am inspired by one of my participants’ metaphor for the university:

Karabo: I can provide two metaphors in my home language; Tshivenda...The first metaphor that I would use to describe the campus environment is “U anetshelwa ndi u dzimiwa” directly translated as; to be told through another person’s narration is to be stunted, better go and find out for yourself...The second metaphor that I would use to describe the campus environment is “Tsha kule tshi wanwa nga muhovhi” directly translated as; if you want to attain something that is above you, you need to extend yourself (stretch yourself).

In the above extract, she states that “to be told through another person’s narration is to be stunted”, which is why we have a great responsibility to tell people’s stories as they want them to be told. We must do more to make research representative of the untold stories and the untold languages and knowledges from which they originate. In addition, Karabo states that the university is an opportunity to “extend yourself”. We can only extend ourselves by becoming uncomfortable, as a white female, I can only posit myself as a listener who wants to represent my participants as best I can. To tell their stories on the platforms that many do not have access to until we can facilitate proper transformation.

I also feel it pertinent to make mention of a poem by Robert Frost called “Mending Wall”, which constantly echoes through my mind whenever I am confronted with the gates to the university and which I also analysed at length in my reflexive diary. The poem is about two neighbours who build a wall between them every season, without really knowing the reason why:

My apple trees will never get across
And eat the cones under his pines, I tell him.
He only says, ‘Good fences make good neighbors.’
...I wonder
If I could put a notion in his head:
‘Why do they make good neighbors? Isn't it
Where there are cows? But here there are no cows.
Before I built a wall I'd ask to know
What I was walling in or walling out,

And to whom I was like to give offense.
Something there is that doesn't love a wall,
That wants it down.'
...I see him there

Bringing a stone grasped firmly by the top
In each hand, like an old-stone savage armed.
He moves in darkness as it seems to me,
Not of woods only and the shade of trees.
He will not go behind his father's saying,
And he likes having thought of it so well
He says again, 'Good fences make good neighbors.'

In the poem, he asks, “what are walling in and what are we walling out” and I think this is what we must ask ourselves. What are we walling in and what are we walling out? And more importantly, what are the tools we are using for this labour? The poem concludes with the reason for the wall when the poet states that his neighbour builds the wall based on something that his father used to say: “he likes having thought of it so well”, namely “good fences make good neighbours”. Indeed I can hope, that the poet here stands in disagreement with this statement or that he agrees and says “good fences make good neighbours” with his left hand behind his back, fingers crossed, in “mock invalidation of [his] promise” (Praeg, 2018, p. 20).

7.10. Conclusion

In the final analysis, the ambiguous working of power is reflected in the circulation of discourses that create and maintain spatial (in)equalities in higher education institutions in South Africa. The university in question functioned as an example of a gated educational space for this particular study and it was found that it functions as both a gated community and a crisis heterotopia. The gated nature of the space became evident with the implementation of biometric access control measures as part of a larger securitization project in response to the Fallist movement of 2015-2016. The study aimed to examine how this affects students' experience of place and how discourses contribute to the creation and maintenance of spatial (in)equalities in higher education institutions. It was found that students' experience of place and belonging is enhanced by the biometric access control measures because it contributes to their sense of safety; however, it also leads to a loss of ownership in

students' identity decreasing their sense of belonging to the university. This tension was defined as a space of (be)longing (Liccardo, 2018) where students constantly move between the poles of being recognized and misrecognized by their institution in light of the larger discourses that create and maintain the space and the various modes of recognition. In addition, it was found that the university space is created and maintained by the discourses of safety, privilege and capitalism and that it reflects spatial injustice. From the results, it became evident that the university is still not achieving a "Beyond Reform" space (De Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015) because of the utopic nature of the crisis heterotopia, the removal of the university from the public realm and the functioning of the "hidden curriculum". The analysis of the results provides a specific reflection of how space can factor into discussions on decolonisation and it also proves why space should be at the forefront of discussions on justice, as stated by Soja (2010). Space becomes a specific lens with which to view and illustrate the role of power in maintaining and creating alternative forms of spatial justice in higher education institutions in South Africa.

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