STUDENT GOVERNANCE IN TRANSITION: UNIVERSITY DEMOCRATISATION AND MANAGERIALISM

A GOVERNANCE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF STUDENT POLITICS AND THE CASE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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Thierry M Luescher
Cape Town, December 2008

DECLARATION

I, Thierry Moses Luescher-Mamashela, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for degree purposes. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work or works of others has been attributed.

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Thierry M Luescher

Cape Town, December 2008

ABSTRACT

In the aftermath of university democratisation, only one critical change in university governance has sparked nearly as much academic interest and debate: the rise of managerialism. The participation of students in university governance was the key issue in debates on university democratisation; however, in the recent debates about managerialism in universities, there is little mention of the new place of students in university governance. This dissertation revisits the general topic of student participation in university governance. It sets out to provide a theoretical and empirical perspective on the interaction between university democratisation and the rise of managerialism in terms of their respective impacts on student participation in university governance. It does so in a number of ways: (i) based on a literature review of international debates and trends; (ii) by developing a theoretical framework for a governance approach applied to higher education, and; (iii) through an extended case study of student politics and transitions of university governance.

In the theoretical investigation, I adapt Goran Hyden's theoretical conceptualisation of 'governance' for a study of student participation in university governance. Key to the adaptation is a typology of four ideal-type regimes of student governance focused on respectively different conceptions of 'student' involved in different justifications of the inclusion (and exclusion) of students in formal decision-making in universities. This typology and related conceptualisations of regime transitions is nested within distinct 'visions' of the university and embedded in Hyden's general governance approach.

By means of a longitudinal study of student politics and transitions of governance at the University of Cape Town, I investigate the context, origins, processes and outcomes of distinct historical transitions of student governance in this case and apply the conceptual-analytical framework empirically. I find that university democratisation has proceeded in two historically distinct waves at the case university which are conceived in analytically different ways. The first wave of university democratisation conceived of 'democratisation' as the representation of the affected interests of *functionally* different university constituencies and thus involved in theoretical terms a transition towards a more stakeholder-democratic regime of governance. In contrast, the distinctive contribution of the second wave was the concern with *demographic* representivity in university governance, which can be understood theoretically as a transition towards a more communitarian regime. The outcomes of the two waves of university democratisation interacted differently with the emergence of managerialism at this university. While the legacy of the first wave was partly diminished, the outcomes of the second wave actually facilitated managerialisation in important ways. The study demonstrates the way student participation in university governance was accommodated in a hybrid collegial-managerial regime of governance and conceptualises problems arising from this with reference to the formal role of student representatives and two different types of activist student politics: entrepreneurial and emancipatory student politics.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIMS	Audit and Integration of Management Systems
ANC	African National Congress
ANC YL	African National Congress Youth League
APF	Academic Planning Framework
ARM	African Resistance Movement
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
AZASCO	Azanian Students' Convention
AZASM	Azanian Students' Movement
AZASO	Azanian Students' Organisation
BC	Black Consciousness
BISCO	Black Inter-Residence Students' Council
BSS	Black Students' Society
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSG	Commission on Student Governance
DA	Democratic Alliance
DASO	Democratic Alliance Students' Organisation
DTA	Distinguished Teacher Award Committee
DVC	Deputy Vice-Chancellor
EMM	Executive Management Meeting
EEMM	Extended Executive Management Meeting
Exco	Executive Committee
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HEQC	Higher Education Quality Committee
HOD	Head of Department
HP	His People Christian Church
IF	Institutional Forum
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
MK	Umkhonto weSizwe
NCHE	National Commission on Higher Education
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEHAWU	National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union
NP	National Party
NPM	New Public Management

NSFAS	National Students' Financial Aid Scheme
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
ODG	Organisational Design and Governance
PASMA	Pan-African Students' Movement of Azania
RAG	'Remember And Give' Fundraising Organisation
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAC	South African College
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SALSA	South African Liberal Students' Association
SANSCO	South African National Students' Congress
SASCO	South African Students' Congress
SATISCO	South African Tertiary Institutions Sports Council
SAUJS	South African Union of Jewish Students
SAU-SRC	South African Universities Students' Representative Council
SCF	Students' Christian Fellowship
SGR	Student Governance Review
SHAWCO	Students Health and Welfare Centres Organisation
SP	Student Parliament
SPF	Strategic Planning Framework
SRC	Students' Representative Council
SSD	Students for Social Democracy
STAC	Student Transformation Action Committee
TSC	Transitional Students' Council
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UNIN	University of the North
USAC	University Student Affairs Committee
UTF	University Transformation Forum
UWC	University of the Western Cape
VC	Vice-Chancellor
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand
WRA	Woolsack Residents Association
YCL	Young Communist League

Imagine, you were meant to be the Judge
Or well, a member of the Jury
And then you end up as a Witness
A native informant in the Courtroom.
(The Courtroom Parable)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Introduction

Different models of the place of students in university governance can be traced historically to the birth of universities in 13th century Europe (Verger, 1992 & Perkin, 2006). The university established in Paris came to be known as the "university of masters", where the guild of professing teacher-scholars shared control over the university with the student rector, usually a young master elected by the students. The Bologna University, in contrast, represented the rival model of a "student university" where students organised in a federation of student guilds (constituted by subject and 'nations') were in control of the organisation of their studies (Perkin, 2006). Student control over the University of Bologna was almost complete:

> *"The power acquired by students, although falling short of control over the curriculum, was used to impose the most draconian discipline upon their teachers. The student rector and proctors determined the doctors' fees, levied fines on them for starting or finishing their lectures late, not keeping up with the syllabus, leaving the city without permission or without giving sureties for their return, and forced them to deposit large caution moneys from which to deduct the fines. […] This extraordinary system lasted, despite professorial protest, until the late 14th century…" (Perkin, 2006: 165).*

Towards the end of the 13th century so-called "doctors' colleges" appeared also in the Bologna University, even though the dominance of students and marginalisation of professors continued in institutional terms (Verger, 1992: 49-50). Over the centuries, however, the southern European model of the student university established first in Bologna and eventually in other Italian cities gradually converged with the Parisian model (Perkin, 2006: 165).[1] Thus, the pre-modern experience of the student university gradually faded into distant memory. By the mid-20th century, students did not play a prominent role in university governance in most countries.[2]

Academic interest in the participation of students in university governance peaked almost forty years ago when a veritable wave of university democratisation swept across universities in the

[1] Nonetheless, according to Perkin the tradition of a politically activist student body at the Bologna University "…has lasted down to the present day" (Perkin, 2006: 165).
[2] Universities in Latin America were the main exception (*see* chap. 2).

industrialised countries of Western Europe and North America. University democratisation typically involved a reconstitution of internal decision-making in universities with reference to democratic principles, *inter alia,* by making decision-making processes in universities more representative of internal constituencies such as students (Moodie & Eustace, 1974 & de Boer & Stensaker, 2007; *see also* Habermas, 1971 [1967]). The wave of university democratisation of the late 1960s and early 1970s had significant and diverse outcomes conditioned by the demands of students and the responses of governments in different national systems of higher education and the institutional leaderships of affected universities. In British and American universities, university democratisation mainly involved an extension of the membership of existing governing bodies (such as a University Council and Senate and their committees)[3] to elected representatives of students (Moodie & Eustace, 1974). By contrast, in Continental European universities the combined demands of students and an alienated non-professorial academic staff often had more dramatic results. In Johan P. Olsen's terms, university democratisation involved a transformation of internal governance arrangements in keeping with a vision of the university as "a representative democracy" (2007). At the time, university democratisation was a contested topic generating rich academic debate on the supposed purposes and benefits of the formal participation of students in university governance.

Since the wave of university democratisation of the late 1960s and early 1970s, only one change in university governance has sparked similar academic interest and debate: the rise of 'managerialism'. Managerialism may be defined as a set of beliefs or an ideology that legitimises the authority of university executives as professional managers; it involves, and is typically described in terms of, the application of leadership styles and management approaches developed in the business world to the academic context of university governance (Epstein, 1974; Trow, 1994 & Bundy, 2004). In broader perspective, the 'new managerialism' may be viewed as part of the modernisation of university administration and governance associated with New Public Management (NPM) prescriptions (Deem & Brehony, 2005). The rise of managerialism is not uncontested; in defence of more traditional approaches to university governance associated with the idea of academic freedom as "academic rule" (*see* Moodie, 1996), the term 'managerialism' is often used in a pejorative way (Meek, 2003). The rise of managerialism was described first in the American context (1970s) and then in British universities (1980s), followed by the observation of similar changes in Commonwealth universities and universities in Continental Europe and Latin America (1990s and 2000s) (Eckstein, 1974; Trow, 1994 & Amaral *et al*, 2003). For Olsen, the rise of managerialism is part of a larger historical transformation of the university in keeping with a new vision of the university as "a service enterprise embedded in competitive markets" (2007). Academic writing on the rise of managerialism proliferates and much of it tends to be polemical;

[3] By the term 'governing bodies' I refer not only to such bodies as a university's Council (or Court or Board of Trustees) but I use it as a blanket term to refer collectively to all statutory governance structures such as, in South Africa, Council and Senate and their permanent committees with delegated authority, all of which are involved in governing a university.

this needs to be distinguished from more serious investigations of the changes in university governance in general and the impact of the rise of managerialism in particular.

While the participation of students in university governance was the key issue in the earlier debates on university democratisation, in the recent debates about the rise of managerialism in universities, there is little mention of the new place of students in university governance. Implicitly this raises questions regarding the relation between university democratisation and managerialism. This dissertation revisits the topic of student participation in university governance as a means to investigate the interaction between university democratisation and the rise of managerialism in university governance.

1.2 Research Topic

This study investigates changes in the participation of students in university governance. I pursue this topic at different levels and in different ways. At an abstract level I am interested in developing a general analytical framework suited to the theoretical understanding of differences and critical changes in the formal involvement of students in university decision-making; in more concrete terms I study the historical development of student participation in university governance focused on key transitions of university democratisation and the rise of managerialism in the case of a particular university.

South African higher education offers a particularly instructive context for an applied study of the interaction between university democratisation and the rise of managerialism. In South Africa, the post-apartheid transformation and restructuring of public higher education in the 1990s sought to democratise university governance along with introducing more modern forms of university management. In particular, the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE), which was tasked by the new democratic government to make proposals on a transformation of higher education, reported in 1996 arguing:

> *"In South Africa there are varied mixes of the donnish, democratic and managerial models in different institutions. A key governance problem is that these mixes have not gelled into an accepted model. […] South African higher education is faced simultaneously with fewer resources, a demand for greater participation, an expansion in student numbers and a need for more efficiency and accountability. This means there is no space and time to move sequentially from democracy to 'managerialism'. The co-operative governance model that the Commission is proposing is an attempt to combine, in a particular South African way, more democracy with more modern management" (NCHE, 1996: 198-199).*

What had been historically successive stages in the global trajectory of higher education governance – i.e. university democratisation and the rise of managerialism – were meant to be tackled simultaneously in terms of South African post-apartheid policy of a democratisation of governance and managerial modernisation of universities. In terms of the international experience of these differently oriented restructurings of university governance, this amounts to a problematic conjunction; as policy goals university democratisation and managerial modernisation may involve paradoxically opposed tendencies. Whereas in the international experience a democratisation of university governance placed representatively constituted governing bodies at the centre of decision-making, the source of managerial decision-making prioritised the senior line manager with responsibility for a particular domain of business. The opposed tendencies are presumably especially marked with respect to the role and significance of students in university governance. Historically, political activism by students played a major part in bringing about university democratisation, institutionalising forms of student representation in university committees at various levels. As against this, the managerial modernisation of universities hardly concerns itself with students except as potential clients. It is therefore of particular interest to investigate how the presumed paradox involved in the simultaneous pursuit of university democratisation and managerial modernisation (which is likely to involve a rise of managerialism) can be resolved with respect to the place of students in university governance.

1.3 Research Purpose, Research Questions and Overview

I take the paradox involved in the simultaneous pursuit of university democratisation and managerial modernisation in South African higher education as a specific localised question that emerges from a more general research problem, i.e. that of seeking to understand certain critical changes in the formal involvement of students in university governance. Generally, the purpose of this study is *the theoretical and empirical investigation of critical changes in the involvement of students in university governance.* More specifically, my investigation aims to provide both a theoretical and an empirical perspective on the interaction between the belated democratising of university governance in post-apartheid South Africa and the rise of managerialism in terms of their respective impacts on student participation in university governance. I investigate this problem through a combination of theoretical analysis and empirical study related to the following two research questions:

- The first research question is: *What general theoretical conceptualisation of different regimes and transitions of student governance, including those of university democratisation and the rise of managerialism, can be developed relevant to changes in student involvement in university governance?*
- The second research question is: *How have the ostensibly opposed implications for student participation in university governance involved in university democratisation and*

the rise of managerialism historically been resolved in the regime of governance of a South African university?

The two research questions are addressed in different parts of this thesis. I first approach the research problem in general theoretical terms by developing conceptual models of, and an analytical framework for, different regimes of student governance and related regime transitions. In chapter 2, I therefore review the knowledge base for the study of student participation in university governance, identifying the different ways in which formal student involvement in university decision-making has been justified in academic literature and the different conceptions of 'students' which they involve. This literature survey provides relevant material for the subsequent development of a typology of different regimes and regime transitions of student governance. In chapter 3, I investigate a theoretical approach to the study of regime politics developed by Goran Hyden (1992, 1993, 1999 & 2000) and adapt it to the university context. My adaptation of Hyden's general 'governance approach', in conjunction with my typology of different ideal-typical regimes of student governance, eventually provides a theoretical perspective on the research problem. Moreover, it generates a conceptual-analytical framework which I apply in the empirical part of this study.

In chapter 4, I explore the research problem through an empirical case study. I investigate in detail how student political activism and the formal involvement of students in university decision-making affected, and have been affected by, successive regime transitions of student governance of the University of Cape Town (UCT). Beginning with an account of the 'ancien régime' of student governance at UCT by the mid -20th century, I will investigate the role of student activism in the different contexts through which elements of university democratisation were established and consolidated in successive regimes of student governance at this university. On this basis, I will then investigate how university democratisation interacted with the managerial reforms of the 1990s and the emergence of managerialism at that university. Throughout my concern will be to analyse the respective legacies of successive waves of university democratisation along with the impact of the rise of managerialism on changes in the formal involvement of students in university governance.

In the following sections, I discuss this research design in more detail and outline the methods employed in developing a general theoretical conceptualisation of regimes and regime transitions of student governance, on the one hand, and those involved in conducting an empirical case study of student politics and governance in a South African university, on the other hand.

1.4 A Governance Approach to Study Student Politics

There is an extensive and diverse literature on student political activism, student participation in university governance, and on higher education governance and management. However, a survey

of this literature shows the absence of systematic and theoretical conceptualisations of student involvement in university governance. None of the recent studies from North America, Europe and South Africa that are specifically concerned with student participation in university governance (such as Alence, 1999; Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999; Persson, 2003; Tavernier, 2004 & Menon, 2005) utilise an analytical framework suited to my general research problem. In Africa, studies of student politics are almost exclusively concerned with student activism in relation to national politics (e.g. Boahen, 1994; Badat, 1999 & Munene, 2003). The few South African studies specifically interested in student politics within the context of university governance tend to focus narrowly on political structures and dynamics internal to the student body such as Students' Representative Council (SRC) elections (e.g. Maseko, 1994; Koen *et al*, 2006 & Cele, 2008). Internationally, even the most suggestive recent studies on student participation in university governance give little or no attention to the historical development of formal student involvement in university governance and related changes in university governance nor do they seek to develop a theoretical understanding of different regimes and regime transitions of student governance (e.g. Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999).

Yet, my survey in chapter 2 shows that the existing literature on student politics can provide relevant material for the theoretical conceptualisation of different regimes and regime transitions of student governance. In particular, there have been various suggestive studies referring to the different ways in which student involvement in university governance can be justified. Some studies dating back to the heyday of student revolt and university democratisation in Europe and North America explicitly discuss different grounds for justifying formal student involvement in university decision-making (Wolff, 1969; Habermas, 1971 [1967]; Thompson, 1972 & Moodie & Eustace, 1974). A number of more recent studies on student participation in university governance also consider justifications for the formal involvement of students in university decision-making, even though the link to the earlier literature of the late 1960s and 1970s has largely been lost (Bergan, 2003 & Boland, 2005). As against this a distinctive 'governance approach' in related interdisciplinary fields emerged in recent decades (*see below* chap. 3) though this has not yet been specifically applied to university and student governance in the field of higher education studies. I propose a synthesis of, on the one hand, those studies of student politics concerned with different justifications and corresponding conceptions of 'student' and, on the other hand, the new interdisciplinary 'governance approach' applied to student and university governance. My purpose will be to develop and adapt the existing theoretical conceptualisation of 'governance' to the university context.

1.4.1 Adapting the Governance Approach to the Study of Student Politics

Interdisciplinary surveys of academic literature show that the term 'governance' has become influential as a conceptual lens in a range of different disciplines and fields of study. For my purposes, Anne Mette Kjær's survey (2004) is particularly relevant as it highlights a complex theoretical conceptualisation of 'governance' as an approach to the study of politics in contexts of regime change including that of Africanist and political scientist Goran Hyden (1992). Hyden

developed an explicit and systematic theoretical framework for studying regime-level politics in transitional societies as an alternative to democratisation theory (Kjær, 2004: 163-165 & Hyden, 1992: 5). His governance approach is particularly relevant to my study as it enables me to develop my theoretical conceptualisation of regimes and regime transitions of student governance within a more systematic and theoretically informed approach. In this study, I will not be concerned with considering Hyden's governance approach in its own right as a theoretical perspective, or to provide a critical discussion thereof. Rather, my interest will be in *applying* governance as a general theoretical approach to the topics of student politics and university governance as well as to transitions in regimes of student governance.

My adaptation of Hyden's theoretical framework involves two elements of his framework in particular: his regime typology and his articulation of the empirical dimensions of governance. My primary concern will be with the development of a typology of different ideal-typical regimes of student governance.

1.4.2 A Typology of Regimes and Regime Transitions of Student Governance

The research problem requires the development of a typology of regimes and regime transitions of student governance. For this purpose, the available literature in higher education studies offers a variety of un-theorised 'models' of the university and of university governance as well as diverse justifications of student involvement in university governance providing relevant material for the development of ideal-type regimes of university and student governance. Hyden's 'governance approach' includes a general and systematic regime typology which relates to an account of different 'qualities of governance' corresponding to these general regime types (Hyden, 1992: 12-15 & 16-20) which may also be understood as "different ways in which power is legitimated" (Bratton & Rothchild, 1992: 270). My approach in chapter 3 will be to bring the literature on higher education studies and Hyden's theoretical conceptualisation of governance together by nesting a typology of ideal-type regimes of student governance in the pre-existing theoretical framework developed by Hyden.

My starting point will be that the notion of 'student' cannot be assumed to involve the same sense across a range of different regimes of student governance. The literature on student politics and activism suggests that different conceptions of 'student' may be distinguished in relation to various regimes of student governance. Key differences in the conception of 'student' appear most clearly from the different kinds of justifications provided for the formal inclusion of students in university governance. Thus, an ideal-typical consumerist regime of student governance will conceive of students predominantly in terms of individual 'clients' and 'users', whereas a stakeholder-democratic regime of student governance conceives of students in political terms as a collective stakeholder group or an important internal constituency of the university. Amplifying the constitutive characteristics of different ideal-type regimes of student governance (such as those involved in

different justifications for student participation in university governance) will eventually provide for different regimes of university governance and different visions of the university.

In chapter 3, I will propose to bring the ideal-type regimes of student governance and Hyden's governance approach together. In particular, I will propose to nest my typology of student governance in Hyden's theoretical framework based on the correspondence of predominant rules of governance between his general and my applied typology.

The question of regime transitions of student governance is a central concern of my theoretical conceptualisation of the research problem. In terms of the research problem and the specific research questions outlined above, my focus is on the particular regime transitions involved in university democratisation and the rise of managerialism. Still, these two critical changes in university governance cannot be considered in isolation and will have to be related systematically to other kinds of transitions relevant to different regimes of student governance. Conceiving of regime transitions as governance shifts from one regime type to another, I anticipate that identifiable historical experiences may be interpreted in terms of moves towards (or away from) a particular ideal-type regime. Thus, a move towards a more stakeholder-democratic regime of student governance may be conceived as *university democratisation* whereas converse shifts towards a more market-oriented university may be associated with a rise of managerialism and a *managerialisation* of student governance, and so forth.

1.4.3 Applying the Governance Approach Empirically

At the level of the empirical study of student politics there are a number of ways in which an adapted governance approach could be systematically applied. Hyden originally proposed a comparative approach for studying political development across a range of cases of different governance regimes. In my adaptation, this could take the form of a comparative study of several universities. Hyden also proposed a way in which the relationships between his qualities of governance and related empirical indicators and the four general regime types may be stated in terms of specific testable hypotheses (1992: 17). Actual applications of the governance approach are, however, typically single case studies (e.g. various chapters in Hyden & Bratton, 1992 & Hyden *et al*, 2000) or, in one instance, a comparative case study of two countries (Carroll & Carroll, 1997). Moreover, none of these studies attempted to follow Hyden's proposal to develop specific hypotheses with test-implications or applied the full approach. Michael Bratton and Donald Rothchild's (1992) early assessment of Hyden actually suggested that the best application of the governance approach may be one focused on *either* the analytic *or* the normative *or* the substantive aspects of Hyden's theoretical conceptualisation of governance rather than taking them all together.

I propose to apply my adaptation of the governance approach as a conceptual-analytical framework for the study of student governance in a single case study. Why and how this can be a

successful application and research strategy in relation to the research problem requires, however, some elaboration. Firstly, the purpose of empirical study in relation to my first research question, and thus to my theoretical concerns, is limited. Given that the core of my adaptation of the governance approach will be a typology of regimes of student governance (which is nested in the governance approach), I am interested in empirical study in this respect merely to illustrate the usefulness of the typology (and related theoretical conceptualisations) as a means to further an understanding of the interaction between university democratisation and the rise of managerialism, in terms of their respective impact on the student participation in university governance. Thus, in terms of Arend Lijphart's classic typology of case study designs, mine will resemble the ideal-type of an "interpretative case study" making use of established theoretical conceptualisations and propositions "with the aim of throwing light on the case rather than of improving the generalisation in any way" (1971: 692).

Any attempt to apply a typology of different governance regimes and transitions in a single case study will presumably need to take the form of a longitudinal study, involving a historical account and narrative. The case study will have to be organised to focus on key changes in university governance over time and to investigate how these changes interact with student politics (involving both formal student involvement in university decision-making as well as substantive student activism). In this respect, I will need to identify 'operational regimes of student governance' conceived as the applied rules of student governance obtaining in practice. They manifest *inter alia* in the different ways in which students participate in university decision-making, which may range from formal student representation in official decision-making bodies to student political activism aimed at forcing concessions from the university leadership. My typology of ideal-type regimes can, however, not provide accurate descriptions of *historically* different types of regimes of governance, given that it is primarily an outcome of a number of inter-related thought experiments and abstractions. I will therefore apply my typology primarily as a heuristic device that enables me to look in an organised way at the variety of operational regimes of student governance in my case study as I plot these against the matrix of my typology. My application of the model thus involves interpretation as a method. I will therefore also not propose to establish specific testable hypotheses concerning the relationship between the qualities of governance and specific regime characteristics. In the place of testable hypotheses, I will rather postulate a general correspondence between the qualities of governance and the ideal-type regimes in terms of respective 'predominant rules of governance'. In the process of my investigation, I will also have to make explicit judgements concerning agreements and disagreements between specific concrete aspects of the case study and abstract regime characteristics. Therefore, interpretation takes the place of standardisation and testing of hypotheses in the specific instance. The concern of empirical study in this research design in relation to the first research question is therefore not to *generalise* from a single case to many, but to *'particularise'* my theoretical model, if you will, in an empirical application (Stake, 1995: 8; *see also* Lijphart, 1971: 692).

1.5 The Case of Student Politics and Governance at UCT

The purpose of the case study in my research design is primarily to gain an in-depth understanding of the ways in which the processes of university democratisation and the rise of managerialism have historically unfolded, and how their different implications for formal student participation in university governance may have been resolved in the student governance regime of a particular South African university. In the preceding section, I outlined the relationship of case study research to theory in my application of the governance approach with specific reference to the regime typology of student governance; in this section, I briefly consider more specifically the appropriateness of a single case study design for this study and the matter of case selection. Lastly, I will discuss the specific methods employed in the empirical part of this study.

1.5.1 Single Case Study Design

Earl Babbie and Johann Mouton define the case study as "an intensive investigation of a single unit" (2001: 281). More specifically case study research is characterised by the pertinence of conceptual issues (whether or not a detailed conceptual framework has been explicitly formulated *a priori*), by the difficulty of differentiating the case and isolating the unit of analysis, by the use of multiple sources of data, in-depth descriptions and analytical strategies that often involve pattern-matching, and by explanation-building (2001: 282-283; *see also* Stake, 2000 & Yin, 2003).

There are a variety of uses and rationales for single case studies. On the one hand, I have noted above that my case study design resembles Lijphart's ideal-type of an interpretative case study (1971). On the other hand, it would be wrong to describe my empirical study as a purely "intrinsic case" whereby the sole interest of the investigation is solely the case itself "in all its particularity and ordinariness" and no explicit claim is made as to its further significance (Stake, 2000: 436-437). Rather, I aim to "investigate something which has significance beyond its boundaries" (Hague *et al*, 1998: 275) hoping that my case study will contribute insights into my general and specific research problems by providing a detailed illustration of the *problématique;* the significance of this kind of case study depends, however, to a large extent on the relevance and suggestiveness of the eventual findings for the problem issues identified. While this cannot be guaranteed in advance, it places a greater onus on the selection of the case. In the research process, I will utilise contextual description, new classifications and concepts; however, I will not seek to test any explicit hypotheses or generate novel generalisations. The rationale for the single case study design is also found in my commitment to a detailed, in-depth longitudinal study. In keeping with the research question, I am interested in understanding the way the *historical* processes of university democratisation and the rise of managerialism have unfolded at a particular South African university. This involves a longitudinal study - "studying the same single case at two or more different points in time … [in order to] specify how certain conditions change over time" – for which the single case study design is quite appropriate (Yin, 2003: 42).

1.5.2 Case Selection

The selection of a case should be guided by criteria determined on the basis of the research problem, research design, and the intended uses of the case. Stake argues that the key criterion in the selection of a single case should be the "potential for learning" (2000: 446) and therefore the selection of a case should ensure that it "maximize[s] what we can learn" (1995: 4). Given that the research problem concerns changes in student participation in university governance, the study requires a case with at least some history of student activism and student participation in university governance. A newly established university or one that does not have a significant history of student activism and student participation in university governance would not be a suitable case. Conversely, a university with a long and complex history of student politics might also prove problematic as a case study, unless this related in significant ways to notable changes in university governance. A case with a single stable regime of student governance sustained over an extended period would not be suitable either. Moreover, given that my problem statement focuses specifically on university democratisation and the rise of managerialism, the case should involve an interaction between both of these kinds of regime transitions in university governance. In addition, for more pragmatic reasons, a shortlist of candidate cases of public higher education institutions in South Africa will exclude universities that are undergoing a merger or incorporation[4] and institutions from which no support for a study from either senior management, student affairs department or student leadership is forthcoming.

In terms of these considerations, a study of student politics and university governance at the University of Cape Town meets the requirements for a suitable case study. UCT has a long history of student politics, and one that in parts has been the object of research by historians, from its early days to the late 1980s. In particular, there are five dissertations that cover different aspects and periods of student activism at UCT viz. Xolani Sonaba (1992), Fiona Burrows (2003), Jade Davenport (2004), Robert Erbman (2005) and James G.R. Simpson (2006).[5] Collectively, they have uncovered, analysed and interpreted a considerable body of primary data on the history of student politics at UCT covering the period from the 1950s to 1990. Even though their focus is primarily that of anti-apartheid student activism (except Sonaba), the descriptions and analyses of the origins and developments of student politics at UCT until 1990 frequently intersect with my concerns. More generally, UCT has been the subject of a number of monographs dealing with different periods of the University's history, including William Ritchie's *The History of the South African College, 1829-1918* (1918) and Howard Phillips' *The University of Cape Town, 1918-1948: The formative years* (1993). The University's history is also discussed from various perspectives in Alan Lennox-Short and David Welsh's collection *UCT at 150: Reflections* (1979). For my purposes Sheila T van der Horst's chapter in this volume on "The Slow Growth of Democracy within the University", which argues that UCT was undergoing a process of democratisation in the late 1960s

[4] At the time of the case selection and research, public higher education institutions in South Africa were undergoing a process of mergers which unsettled governance arrangements in interesting ways, but would have made a study of this nature quite impossible in a merging institution (Hall *et al,* 2004b & Jansen, 2002).
[5] In addition, Haajirah Esau (1998) has compiled a photographic history of student activism at UCT.

and 1970s, and Hugh Amoore's chapter on "SRC & University", which gives an account of a significant crisis of student governance in 1966/67, are of particular importance. Recent official university publications such as *Taking Stock of Transformation at the University of Cape Town, 1996-1999* (UCT, 1999a) as well as scholarly reflections on the implications of the managerial reforms of the late 1990s for academic freedom (e.g. du Toit, 2000b) relate developments at UCT to the rise of managerialism in international higher education. More pragmatically, the selection of UCT also commended itself by the opportunities for effective access to key primary data and the cooperation of student leaders and university leaders as available and accessible interviewees.

1.6 Research Methods and Data Collection

Janice M. Morse *et al* emphasise the importance of ensuring rigour in qualitative research:

> *"Researchers should reclaim responsibility for reliability and validity by implementing verification strategies integral and self-correcting during the conduct of inquiry itself. [….] Without rigor, research is worthless, becomes fiction, and loses its utility" (Morse et al, 2002: 1-2).*

Thus, they argue for an application of various verification strategies during the process of research "to incrementally contribute to ensuring reliability and validity and, thus, the rigor of the study" (Morse *et al*, 2002: 9; *see also* Stake, 1995 & Yin, 2003). In the course of the research process, I employed a number of methods of verification including the use of multiple sources of evidence, the sequencing of data collection and analysis, the creation of a case study database, and the maintenance of a chain of evidence. In this section, I also reflect on my experience in the process of applying these methods.

1.6.1 Data Sources, Data Collection, and the Case Study Database

The use of different kinds and sources of data is a research strategy meant to ensure a descriptive account that is empirically rich, saturated with data, and that enables one to triangulate key observations as bases for interpretation (Stake, 1995: chap. 7 & Yin, 2003: 97-107). In Appendix A, I provide a data collection sheet for the UCT case study, which indicates not only the different sources and kinds of data but also their use in relation to different historical periods of the case study and with reference to the empirical dimensions of governance (enumerated in chap. 3). Moreover, the actual research involved an iterative process vacillating between the collection of data, data analysis, and collection of new data. In this respect, Morse *et al* argue that "*collecting and analysing data concurrently* forms a mutual interaction between what is known and what one needs to know. This pacing and the iterative interaction between data and analysis […] is the essence of attaining reliability and validity" (2002: 12-13 *emphasis in original*). The sequence of data collection and all substantive decisions in the course of the research process were recorded in

a research diary in the form of notes and memos that served to keep track of the development of my theoretical thinking and methodological choices.

In accordance with Robert K. Yin's guidelines (2003: 101-105), I organised and documented all collected data in a case study database. Thus, case study material, both in its raw form and processed, was kept separate from the actual case study report. This database is made up of four main data sets: (1) archival and official documentary records; (2) newspaper clippings; (3) interview material, and; (4) quantitative data sets. The set of archival and current official documentary records includes copies of official administrative and legal documents, laws, regulations, statutes and rule books applicable to the University, committee and commission reports (articulating an official university leadership perspective), and minutes and agendas of certain student governance bodies (articulating an official student perspective). The set of newspaper clippings includes mainly articles from the University's official student newspaper, i.e. *Varsity,* covering the years 1965-2006 as well as a few clippings from other newspapers. The third set includes interview material such as interview notes, schedules, original tape recordings, and the interview transcripts and *aide-mémoires* of the research interviews conducted for the study. The fourth set is a collection of quantitative datasets on the social composition of the university community and the composition of recognised student and staff bodies at the case university.

1.6.2 Interviewing and Subjectivity

The research interview serves as a key tool for complementing what can be observed directly by the researcher or has been documented previously with the observations and interpretations of others (Stake, 1995: 64; *see also* Kvale, 1996 & Wengraf, 2001). By means of semi-structured in-depth interviews more detailed and improved knowledge of the case may be gained, and it may be possible to access the "depth realities" of the case which may be substantially different from its "surface appearances" (Wengraf, 2001: 6). Accordingly, my objective in conducting nineteen semi-structured in-depth research interviews mainly with current and former student leaders and members of the university management was to gain more detailed knowledge and different insider perspectives and agent-relative interpretations of student politics in general, and formal student involvement in university governance in particular, at the case institution. My interview outline included broad interview questions (which I specified with sub-questions for each interviewee and tested in a pilot interview) covering a basic range of matters to be discussed in research interviews relevant to my knowledge base. In addition, in the process of interviewing I improvised many follow-up questions that further probed agent-specific perspectives and interpretations (Appendix B: Contact Sheet & Appendix C: Interview Outline).

The research interviews were conducted as face-to-face conversations between researcher and interviewees. Interviewees were selected with a view to their extensive experience in student governance at UCT and included past student leaders, current student leaders, members of the senior management and academic staff of the University. All except one interview were one-on-one

sessions; in one case, a married couple (who had both been UCT student leaders though at different times) was interviewed jointly. The selection of the first fifteen interviewing candidates targeted those with the most direct involvement in student politics and governance in the 1990s and 2000s. In the course of these interviews, I was then referred to other persons who would be able to give insight into one or another matter. Thus, snowball sampling added another four interviewees to the list (cf. References). The setting up and interviewing process followed a fairly standard process, whereby interviewees were contacted telephonically, informed of the purposes and the topics of the research, invited to participate and supplied with the interview outline, letter of support from the supervisor, and an excerpt from the university's handbook on research ethics concerning their rights as human subjects in a research project (Appendices C & D). All invited interviewees readily agreed to being interviewed. The actual interviewing sessions were held at a venue of the interviewee's choice and scheduled to last about 1 ½ hours. One interview required two sessions. Two interviews took considerably more time than allocated. The interviews commenced with a brief introduction by the interviewer reiterating the purposes and topics of the interview while pointing out matters related to research ethics, with an explicit request for consent and offer of anonymity (which was taken up by one interviewee). The interviewee was then asked to relate her/his former or current involvement with student politics. This introductory session typically served as icebreaker leading into one or other of the interviewing dimensions. All except two interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim by the researcher or an assistant. (The contents of the two interviews that were not tape-recorded was captured in interview notes and written up in *aide-mémoires*.) All draft transcripts were verified with reference to the original tapes by me.

All interview sessions were treated as private encounters, conversations between the interviewee and myself, conducted in the space of choice of the interviewee (often a 'neutral' seminar room on the University campus) and held in an amicable spirit. They were necessarily subject to the dynamics of 'inter-subjectivity'. Tom Wengraf defines inter-subjectivity as "a complex interplay between […] the interviewer and the interviewee" in terms of their respective predispositions in the process of interviewing (2001: 10). Among my strategies in this respect were that the avowed academic purposes of the interview were stressed involving a careful process of setting up each interview, informing each interviewee about the purposes of the research and matters of research ethics, and targeting specifically the official role of the interviewee in relation to the topic of research (i.e. as past or present student leader, university manager) and her/his personal expertise in this respect. In the course of an interview, several interviewees requested that one or more sensitive points should not be attributed directly to them in a research report. I consider this in my own estimation as an indicator of the success of having been able to conduct interviews in a 'safe environment'. I have, of course, consistently respected these requests for anonymity.[6]

[6] The notion of 'inter-subjectivity' also involves a recognition that interview material is mutually generated between interviewer and interviewee in the interactive moment of the specific situational context (Kvale, 1996). Thus, contributions attributed to a particular interview should be understood in this light.

As far as possible my prior knowledge of facts and initial conceptualisations and interpretations relevant to an interviewee's experience were checked with my interviewing partners in the course of the interview. The interviews thus involved a degree of "member checking", i.e. a process whereby a person involved in the issue under study is asked "to review the material [i.e. observations and incipient interpretations of the researcher] for accuracy and palatability" as well as to provide additional and alternative material (Stake, 1995: 115).[7] Thus, in some cases where an interviewee related her/his recollection of an incident (which I had studied beforehand), I would offer my observation and interpretation of this incident for consideration and could thus receive direct feedback. Some of this 'dialoguing' in the course of interviews filtered into the final case study report in that there are events and episodes which are "thickly described", i.e. described using multiple, agent-relative perceptions and experiences of a single event (Geertz, 1973, in Stake, 1995: 42). In addition, two member-checks in the conventional sense of the term - whereby the draft case study report was given to insiders for a round of comments - were also performed towards the very end of the writing-up process.

Throughout the processes of data collection and analysis, I maintained an attitude of suspicion - not only towards the data itself but maybe more so towards my reading and understanding of it in acknowledgement of my own subjectivity and potential biases. This is emphasised by the fact that I was personally involved, briefly but intensively, in South African and UCT student politics from 1999 to 2002. In 1999, I was head tutor and house committee member of a UCT student residence; I was elected Vice-President of the UCT SRC in the same year and along with that, I became a member of Senate and various university committees. I was also a member of the University's Student Parliament (until 2002); and in 2001 I was briefly a member of the National Executive Committee of the South African Universities Students' Representative Council (SAU-SRC). Moreover, throughout this time I was a member of the South African Students' Congress (SASCO) and later became a member of His People (HP), i.e. a campus church that had significant involvement in UCT student politics. My involvement in student politics ended as research leader and editor of the Student Governance Review (SGR) at UCT (2001-2002). By the time I embarked on this study, I had left active student politics as well as the UCT campus. While these direct experiences provided me with an initial spark of interest and certain insights, the research process altered my understanding of student politics and governance at UCT profoundly. Nonetheless, my prior personal involvement in a brief period of the case study history rather heightened the need to be critically self-conscious and suspicious of my own subjectivity and biases and thus for a rigorous application of the verification strategies discussed above.

[7] Stake's definition of member-checking is, however, not concerned with checking facts and discussing conceptualisations and interpretations *in interviewing sessions*; rather, his concern is with having a draft case study report read by an insider.

1.7 The Case Study Report

The result of the case study is not a conventional history of student politics at UCT; rather it is an analytical account of the changing participation of students in university governance. It should be clear that in this way the case study report significantly deviates from the established 'grand narrative of liberal student politics' at UCT under apartheid. Even though the report presented in chapter 4 is organised chronologically, it is strictly speaking not a history of student politics. Compared to more familiar accounts of UCT student politics, my account is characterised by quite different emphases and some notable omissions of key figures, events and developments. For instance, with respect to student activism at UCT in the 1960s and 1970s (on which there is a sizeable literature), I deal only cursorily with the history of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the great NUSAS dramas of the Adrian Leftwich and Jonty Driver generation, the radicalisation of NUSAS under Neville Curtis around 1970, the traumatic assault on UCT students on the steps of St George's Cathedral in Cape Town and its aftermath, the Schlebusch Commission or the NUSAS trial, even though these projected student politics at the University of Cape Town onto the centre stage of South African politics. In contrast, I stress what may be considered by some participants as rather mundane internal disputes between the SRC, the Vice-Chancellor and the Council of the University regarding the paternalist enforcement of social segregation in student affairs during the same period. It may likewise at first appear anomalous that I give significant attention to the emergence of Black Consciousness (BC) and the influence of Steve Biko in that these developments were actually based on other campuses and initially had little direct impact at UCT. This focus is required, however, as curtain raiser for understanding the racial polarisation of student politics on the UCT campus in the 1980s, its impact on student governance in the late 1980s and the consequent reverberations within university governance in the course of the 1990s. I give particular prominence and treat in minute detail the genesis and work of key commissions of enquiry into student governance at UCT and related events and processes leading up to major transitions in student and university governance. With reference to the 1990s, these include the events surrounding the historic protest march on Council of September 1, 1993, the establishment of the University Transformation Forum (UTF) and the Transformation Conferences of 1994 and 1996, the establishment of the UTF Executive Committee and its operation, the failed SRC election of 1995, and the ways in which the ensuing SRC crisis played out. *Inter alia,* I account for the transition from NUSAS to SASCO and eventually the demise of the traditional student political organisations at UCT, their intermediate replacement by charismatic student churches in the late 1990s, and eventually the rise of political party branches, especially the ANC-YL, as prominent players in student politics on the University campus in the early 2000s. I offer an initial interpretation of the emergence of an entirely new kind of 'entrepreneurial student activism' in the late 1990s related to the rise of managerialism in the University. I conclude my account with an analysis and interpretation of the outcomes of the managerial reforms of the late 1990s in terms of the impact of the rise (and containment) of managerialism on the legacy of university democratisation in university governance at UCT, and in

particular on student representation in university decision-making and the prospects for a re-emergence of ‘emancipatory student activism’.

The scope and focus of my treatment of the history of student politics at UCT – involving both well-researched periods and others which I am the first to explore – is therefore honed in a particular way by the aim to understand how the different implications of university democratisation and the rise of managerialism for student participation in university governance have been accommodated in a new and distinctive regime of student governance. Hence, the periodisation of my account highlights the three main transitions of the regime of student governance of the University of Cape Town, i.e. the first wave of university democratisation (late 1960s and 1970s), the second wave of university democratisation (late 1980s and 1990s), and the emergence of managerialism at UCT (late 1990s), which are framed by a background account of the ‘ancien régime’ of student governance and a first analysis and conceptualisation of student governance after the containment of the rise of managerialism at UCT.

CHAPTER 2: STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE: A LITERATURE SURVEY

2.1 Introduction: Students and University Democratisation

Most academic literature on student politics suggests that the formal participation of students in university governance is a relatively new development and it tends to portray such participation as the fruit of the recent student struggles of the 1960s. In contrast to this view, Harold Perkin shows that the first university, the University of Bologna born in 13th century Italy, provides an archetypical model of university governance in which students controlled the institution, including the organisation of their studies. This model of the "student university" gradually converged with the rival Parisian model of the "university of masters", in which the teaching masters controlled university affairs, so that by the 20th century the pre-modern experience of the student university had faded into distant memory (Perkin, 2006: 164-165; *see also* Verger, 1992).[8]

Prior to the student rebellions that swept many universities in Europe and North America in the late 1960s, students were largely objects of university governance. Only students in Latin American universities held a significant position in decision-making in the modern university. Starting in 1918 at the University of Cordoba in Argentina, a far-reaching student-led university reform had rapidly spread across the continent. According to Philip G. Altbach, "the 'reforma', as it is known in Spanish, established student participation in virtually all elements of academic decision-making, from an election of the rector to important curricular decisions" (2006: 336). However, outside of Latin American universities students do not appear to have played a prominent role in university governance by the mid-20th century. An instructive indication of the state of student governance leading up to the student rebellions in British universities is provided in Graeme C. Moodie and Rowland Eustace's seminal study *Power and Authority in British Universities* (1974).[9] Moodie and Eustace argue that since the 1940s there had been a gradual relaxation of the erstwhile rigid rules governing student conduct and discipline in British universities. Rules governing the private lives of students or at least their application, including dress codes on campus, rules on social and sexual relations among students and related matters previously considered as integral to sound university

[8] The universities of Paris and Bologna were the first permanent, corporate institutions uniquely combining higher learning, teaching and scholarship with a high degree of academic freedom. In the course of the thirteenth century the term *studium generale* came to be used widely to uniquely refer to institutions of higher education modelled on either the Parisan or Bolognese archetypes of *universitas studii* (Verger, 1992: 35-36). Higher education in Africa has various indigenous antecedents, as J.F. Ade Ajayi *et al* (1996) outline. The African university is, however, of distinctly colonial and even more so post-colonial origin (Mamdani, 2007: 256). South African public universities, such as the University of Cape Town, were all formally established by the state after the Union of South Africa of 1910 only. Many of them have roots in colleges of post-secondary education established by local civic or church initiative (Muller, 1991).

[9] To date there are no studies available that systematically relate the African experience with student participation in university decision-making to the international experience with university democratisation. Cursory references to (the African historical experience with) formal student participation in university decision-making (or the lack thereof) can be found in e.g. Nkomo (1983 & 1984), Maseko (1994), Ojo (1995), Ajayi *et al* (1996), Badat (1999) & Munene (2003).

education were gradually relaxed and, concurrently, a move occurred from student discipline administered by academics to the provision of professional services such as counselling and psychiatric services. The recognition of students as 'adults' implicit in this process had, however, not yet extended to student involvement in the legislative or judicial aspects of student conduct and discipline; neither was there formal student involvement in other spheres of university governance. Student involvement in key matters of university governance affecting students was, if anything, limited to informal consultation between the vice-chancellor and officials of the student union or members of a students' representative council. Student participation in university governance, or as Moodie and Eustace put it, "the issue of the content and sources of university decisions" (1974: 196), was thus among the grievances of students in the 1960s leading to the large-scale student protests.

Studies of the student rebellions in European and North American universities of the late 1960s show that student activism was spurred by a wide variety of local grievances, general ideological projects, and demands for institutional reform; some studies even describe the contemporaneous student struggles as evidence of a larger 'generational conflict' in the industrialised nations (e.g. Feuer, 1968, in Klineberg *et al*, 1979 & Lipset & Altbach, 1969).[10] Whatever the significance of these student protests for society they certainly had a significant impact on the structure of university governance. The university leadership in North America and Western Europe typically sought to negotiate with students and accommodate their demands as far as these were concerned with university matters. Such accommodation typically took the form of relaxing student rules that regulated the private lives of students (previously justified in terms of the *in loco parentis* rule) and of giving students an official voice in decision-making bodies. In British and American universities, the general tendency was to extend membership of governing bodies to students - first to governing bodies concerned with student welfare and eventually also to committees dealing with academic matters. In some cases, students even became represented in the highest decision-making bodies, e.g. academic Senate and lay Council, of universities (but without a large-scale remodelling of these structures), as a way of consulting with and formally involving students in decision-making (Epstein, 1974 & Moodie & Eustace, 1974). In contrast, in Continental European universities where students were joined by an alienated junior academic staff (i.e. in the German experience the academic *Mittelbau*) in their demands, the simultaneous inclusion of non-professorial academic staff and students in internal governance had distinctly more dramatic results (Mason, 1978).[11] In some sense, the student revolts thus resulted in a certain liberalisation of student governance and greater political equality among the members of the university. Considering the general thrust and incidence of related changes in university governance, we may well term the phenomenon 'a wave of university democratisation'.

[10] Klineberg *et al* (1979: Appendix 1) provide useful short accounts of the state of the student movement in 1969/70 in a number of countries across the globe.
[11] There are various factors which serve to explain the different outcomes. Key among them is that there are considerable differences between the British, American and Continental Western European models of higher education governance, involving, *inter alia,* different degrees of university autonomy (Clark, 1983). This survey is not *per se* concerned with this matter.

Contemporaneous academic literature hardly ever used the term ‘university democratisation’, however; and yet, the inclusion of students in university decision-making was typically considered in terms of different types of ‘democracy’ (e.g. Wolff, 1969; Thompson, 1972 & Moodie & Eustace, 1974). It was apparently through the translation of Jürgen Habermas’ essay *Universität in der Demokratie – Demokratisierung der Universität* (1971 [1967]) that the term ‘university democratisation’ entered English academic literature. Nowadays, university democratisation has come to refer not only to the Continental European experience but also to the less dramatic developments in the British and American universities as recent contributions show (Bundy, 2004 & de Boer & Stensaker, 2007). The notion of a ‘wave of university democratisation’ may thus be used by modification of Samuel P. Huntington’s general definition of a ‘wave of democratisation’ to refer to:

> *“a group of transitions from nondemocratic to democratic regimes [of university governance] that occur within a period of time and that significantly outnumber transitions in the opposite direction during that period of time. A wave also usually involves liberalization or partial democratization in political systems [of universities] that do not become fully democratic” (1991: 15 my modifications).*

Provided that I am specifically concerned with the participation of students in university governance, my focus will be on waves of university democratisation that involve transitions of student governance.

From this perspective, the wave of university democratisation of the late 1960s and early 1970s was neither necessarily the first such wave nor the last one; nor do the distinct institutional experiences of university democratisation have to be uniform across different institutional and national contexts (in terms of their origins, specific concerns and results). Experiences of university democratisation share that they involve in some important respects a transition towards more democratic university governance (whereby the relevant meaning of ‘democracy’ must be considered as contingent). Historically, the inclusion of students in university governance (and its democratic credentials) was certainly a contested matter whatever its context; academic debates on this issue thus generated many insightful strong and diverse arguments and counter-arguments. In the process of university democratisation, the role of students in university governance itself was significantly transformed in various ways that remain to be traced.

The first section of this chapter reviews and discusses the ways in which the case for student involvement in university governance has been made in academic literature. In the second section, I take note of some of the scholarly proposals on the extent of formal inclusion of students in university governance and the actual forms this eventually took, and in the third section I explore the more recent concern in relevant literature with the emergence of managerialism in universities,

arguing that this may provide a new research agenda for the study of student participation in university governance. The chapter thus provides a starting point for addressing the research problem.

2.2 On Justifying Student Participation in University Governance

The inclusion of students in the formal decision-making processes of universities is by no means uncontroversial, and the academic literature spends a great deal of effort in making a sound case for the formal inclusion of students in university decision-making. The student revolts of the late 1960s and the related processes of university democratisation generated the most fruitful academic literature in this regard. Recent studies of student activism and SRCs in South African universities and of student participation in university governance in Europe and North America similarly review the case for student participation in university governance.[12] Together these studies provide different grounds for and against student participation in university governance from a variety of perspectives: in terms of the contemporary origins of formal student involvement in university governance in student political activism; with respect to students' role and position in universities; in relation to democratic principles and the purposes of higher education in democratic societies; and on the grounds of the perceived positive consequences of student participation. This section reviews and discusses some of the ways in which the case for formal inclusion of students in university governance has been made.

2.2.1 The Origins of Formal Student Participation: Students as 'Stakeholders' and the Political Case for University Democratisation

Unsurprisingly, given the recent origins of university democratisation in the student protests and revolts of leading European and American universities, the political case for the inclusion of students in the formal decision-making processes of universities is typically made with reference to students' potential and ability to disrupt academic life. Various studies point out that violent student protests occurred more frequently where formal channels of communication and consultation were absent. Studies on student politics in South Africa such as those by Mokubung Nkomo (1984), Sipho S. Maseko (1994) and Saleem M. Badat (1999), show that the establishment and recognition of Students' Representative Councils in historically black universities in South Africa followed on extensive student agitation.[13] Typically, studies of student politics recommend the establishment of formal structures for communication and negotiation with student leaders as an appropriate response of university authorities to reduce disruptive student political activism on campus (e.g.

[12] In 1994, Adu Boahen remarked that "in Africa… studies [on student politics] are few and far between and have not gathered the necessary momentum" (1994: 9-10). Almost ten years later, Irungu Munene still agreed that the topic of student politics in Africa is "largely ignored in academic studies" (2003: 117). However, an earlier literature survey of mine, *Student Governance in Africa: Thematic Summary of Key Literature* (Luescher, 2005a), shows that there is a sizeable body of academic literature on student politics in Africa; the main problems are its inaccessibility and its almost exclusive focus on student activism (often studied as 'protest', 'unrest' or 'indiscipline'). Early studies of student politics in Africa (and in developing countries more broadly) date back to the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Lipset, 1965; Emmerson, 1968 & Klineberg *et al,* 1978).

[13] In the historically 'open universities' and in historically Afrikaans universities, the establishment of SRCs occurred in politically less charged environments and was not primarily a response to student activism.

Mathieu, 1996; Alence, 1999; Bergan, 2003; Munene, 2003 & Boland 2005). With a view to its origins in student protests and the crisis this poses for campus authority, university democratisation may therefore be considered a matter of *realpolitik,* holding out the promise of a more peaceful and orderly academic life (Olsen, 2007: 32; *see also* Epstein, 1974). Accordingly, Maria Menon recently argued that "student participation in decision making plays a role in the creation of an atmosphere of openness and trust in universities, leading to a positive organisational climate" (2005: 169).

The political case for university democratisation is tied up with the notion that students are internal 'stakeholders' or a politically significant 'constituency' of the university and the notion that these 'constituencies' or 'stakeholders' ought to be involved in governing the university.[14] According to Wally Morrow, the democratic credentials of governance by stakeholders arise from its origin in the critique of the unilateral "monolithic mode of governance" where a single group dominates decision-making (1998: 386). In the modern 'university of masters', the dominant group has been the professoriate. Understanding the university as an institution composed of competing, internal stakeholders all of which must be heard and accommodated precisely seeks to replace "antiquated formal hierarchies" and disperse power (Olsen, 2007: 32 & Morrow, 1998: 386-388).

Both moderate and radical proposals based on the political case for student participation in university governance have not gone unchallenged. According to Moodie and Eustace (1974: 201-202), contemporaneous opponents of the piecemeal extension of representation in university committee membership to students in British universities argued that, firstly, formal student participation in university governance was inappropriate and would simply waste everybody's time and, secondly, it would introduce an organised and permanent adversary into a system of university governance that was basically consensual, thus leading to private caucusing, a lack of public discussion and, eventually, to the creation of an inner circle. "Both these fears were reinforced by the students' political style, with its emphasis on mandating and reporting back, and (as it seemed to staff) its refusal to trust the students' own committee members, let alone any others" (1974: 202). Others argued that the supposed democratisation of the university was more illusory than real and that the co-optation of students onto university committees was merely "a device to introduce token students into a governing process run by others" (Mason, 1978: 310).

Denis Thompson (1972) provided a sophisticated analysis of the political functions and consequences of formally including students in university governance. Considering the principle classically stated by John Locke that legitimate power requires 'the consent of the governed' as

[14] Morrow (1998: 386) argues: "At the heart of this [stakeholder] theory stands the view that a complex society or institution is composed of competing groups, each with its own peculiar interests which need to be served in collective decisions. Each of these interest groups is called a 'stakeholder', … which needs to articulate its particular interests autonomously and then put them forward, usually as 'demands', which should be met in collective decisions. Where there are 'conflicts' between the demands of various interest groups, as there inevitably will be, then 'negotiation' needs to take place to find some kind of 'compromise' or 'consensus', which usually involves 'concessions' from at least some of the stakeholders".

grounds to establish students' right to participate in the governing of the university[15], Thompson argued that "the idea of consent only becomes important if the nature of the university implies that its decisions should receive the willing and rational assent of its members" (1972: 159-160). Would the formal inclusion of students in university governance contribute to rational discussion and the willing assent of its members to decisions? Thompson pointed out that "the exposure to the complexities of an issue, the recognition of the serious human consequences of decisions, and the development of personal commitments and loyalties that occur in joint participation [in a political process] frequently do have a tendency to deflate radical impulses" (1972: 161). Thus, formal student participation in university decision-making would provide, on the one hand, an alternative to tactics of coercion and disruption by students; on the other hand, it might also moderate the partisan views of other members of the university community and thus create less adversarial relationships on campus. Co-optation of students onto university committees was therefore a double-edged sword with a moderating effect on student activists as well as on the other role-players in decision-making, with benefits to all involved.

If Thompson's analysis provides a basis for some student involvement in university governance, more radical proposals of stakeholder politics may be seen as inherently problematic within a university context. Morrow identifies a number of general problems with governance by stakeholders, such as the difficulty of defining who the stakeholders are; problems arising from the emphasis on differences between stakeholders (producing a climate of hostility and distrust between them) and from assumptions of homogeneity within each stakeholder (leading to the exclusion of dissenting voices within stakeholder groups). Furthermore he views the mode of representation involved in stakeholder governance and the practice of conducting "negotiations with a view to forcing concessions … and winning 'victory' as fundamentally incompatible with rational discussion and democratic deliberation" (1998: 392). As far as stakeholder politics assumes that the institutional purpose is whatever serves the 'common interest' of stakeholders, it also apparently leaves "no logical space for the idea of constitutive institutions" (1998: 397).[16] For Morrow, the idea of constitutive institutions is, however, at the heart of the university as an institution that is fundamentally concerned with "nurturing the practices of the maintenance, distribution and generation of [higher] knowledge" (1998: 398).

In recent studies of student participation in university governance, some scholars imply that there is no longer any need to make a case for the formal inclusion of students in university governance because this is legally provided for (e.g. Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999: 9). This legalistic case for student involvement in university governance can be seen as a recent variation of the political case. From a

[15] Thompson responded to Robert P. Wolff's earlier argument that student membership of the university was practically involuntary because of the great value higher education carries in the labour market and in society. This, according to Wolff, established a democratic right for students to participate in decision-making in terms of the way Locke's principle of 'the consent of the governed' had come to be claimed by democrats (Wolff, 1969: 117-118 & Thompson, 1972: 158-159).

[16] Morrow defines 'constitutive institutions' as "institutions [which] are themselves a source of needs and interests" e.g. the Christian church in mediaeval Europe or, these days, a soccer federation (1998: 397; *see also* Olsen, 2007).

historical and realist perspective, this view may be somewhat politically naïve. It hints, however, at the problem posed to emancipatory political groups when accepting inclusion within a formal regime of representative-democratic governance.[17] On the one hand, the legal provision for student participation in university governance may be regarded as an achievement of students' political struggle in relation to the university. On the other hand, it also changes the very nature of the engagement: To the extent that student participation in university governance is legally provided for, it no longer needs to be a cause for political struggle. The paradox involved in the political case is that student representatives participating in formal settings may need the subversive, activist support of their constituency in order to be able to defend and possibly extend the gains made by previous student generations, whether or not these have been legally enshrined.[18] Furthermore, the legislative provisions for the inclusion of students in higher education decision-making typically cover only national and institution-wide decision-making but do not extend to other macro or micro levels of governance such as international agreements on higher education or the faculty[19], department and classroom levels (Bergan, 2003: 3; Persson, 2003: 6-8 & Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999: 9-11). Even Sjur Bergan's argument that contemporary students may be "banging in open doors" when asking for representation in decision-making on higher education matters still puts the onus on students to initiate and demand such representation as he concedes in the case of the Bologna Process (2003: 3).[20]

2.2.2 Students as 'Clients' and 'Consumers' of Higher Education Services: The Neo-liberal Consumerist Case for Student Inclusion in University Governance

As opposed to the political case for university democratisation of the late 1960s and early 1970s, more recently the case for student participation in university governance has been made with reference to the role and function of students as 'clients' and 'consumers' of higher education. Effectively this involves different conceptions of students as well as of the university. Like the pseudo-Marxist notions of students as 'proletarians' and 'knowledge workers' with the potential to be 'revolutionary agents' in which the '68ers indulged (and the Marxist critique of these notions which argues that students are actually 'products' in the education process) (Wolff, 1969: 44-47), the neo-liberal conception of students as 'clients' in vogue today also emphasises the political economy involved in student-university relations, only now the university is viewed as a 'service provider' in a contractual relationship with students and the student is viewed as 'client' or 'consumer' of educational services (Bergan, 2003: 10 & Boland, 2005: 207).

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[17] The difficulty that students face in emancipating themselves in the context of university governance is discussed, *inter alia,* in the closing sections of chapter 4.

[18] This lesson also arises from a reading of Harry de Boer and Bjørn Stensaker's (2007) study of the demise of the university as a representative democracy.

[19] In this study the term 'faculty' is used in two different ways: either to distinguish teaching academics from students and the administration (as common in North American literature) or to refer to an organisational subdivision of a university which conglomerates academic departments of related disciplines of learning (as common in British and South African literature).

[20] In 1999 Ministers responsible for higher education in 29 countries signed the *Bologna Declaration*, which aims to create a European Higher Education Area by 2010. Initially, student were not involved in the process until in 2001 the President of the National Union of Students in Europe protested and the Ministers affirmed the role of students in the process (Bergan, 2003: 3 & Persson, 2003: 3).

The consumerist case is that, as 'clients' or 'consumers' of the higher education services provided by universities, students are affected by decisions that are made on campus and therefore have a right to participate in the making of those decisions (Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999: 2 & Boland, 2005: 207 & McGarth 1970 in Menon, 2005: 169). Strictly speaking, this would limit student involvement in university governance to students' immediate and short-term interests. Significantly, though, the consumerist case has been extended to include longer-term perspectives. Some exponents of this view, such as Bergan, argue that students are 'clients' or 'consumers' of a special kind, since their interest in the provision of higher education services arguably extends beyond immediate concerns such as "affordable price and acceptable quality – according to the contract, in commercial terms" (2003: 10). They argue that student' demands to be included in decision-making rather than to choose the exit option of switching providers precisely indicates that students are an exceptional kind of client and that the university is an exceptional type of service provider.[21] This behaviour of students, they argue, is due to their long-term interest in the quality of the service, which extends well beyond personal 'consumption'.[22] This line of reasoning leads Boland and others towards the view that students' interest in the university may be of a *'civic'* rather than *'consumerist'* nature (Boland, 2005: 209; *see also* Bergan, 2003:10-11).

Common to both 'civic' and 'consumerist' arguments is therefore the claim that students have rights to participate in decision-making as a means to safeguard their interests - a liberal maxim first formulated by John Stuart Mill. Mill argued that "…the rights and interests of every and any person are only secure from being disregarded when the person is himself [sic!] able …to stand up for them" (Mill in Thompson, 1972: 158). In relation to student participation in university governance Thompson argued, however, that if seriously applied Mill's principle of affected interests has very different implications: "If the principle of affected interests by itself points toward any conclusion about university governance, it suggests control of the university by the state, which, by virtue of the wider scope of its authority, ought to be able to take into account more of the 'affected interests'" (1972: 158). He conceded, however, that the 'affected interests' of members merit some claim because members actively share in the pursuit of the university" (1972: 159).[23]

2.2.3 The Communitarian Case for University Democratisation: Students as 'Full Members of the University Community'

Robert P Wolff's critique of the liberal principle of affected interests as justification for the right of students to participate in governance leads him to discard it entirely as "incoherent", "incomplete" and "quite unworkable" in the university context. Nonetheless, it points him towards another

[21] With reference to Epstein's work, Henry Mason argued early on that "consumerism, [defined by Epstein as] "the unorganised aggregate power of individual student decisions with respect to enrolment in particular institutions, programs, and courses," has undoubtedly been a factor in university governance, but it can hardly be used for specific political purposes" (Mason, 1978: 310; *see also* Epstein, 1974).
[22] In Albert Hirschman's terms (1970), the behaviour of activist student leaders may thus be considered a case of "quality makers" voicing their interests.
[23] Steven Friedman and Omano Edigheji (2006) have recently grappled with the related problem of how to define the 'public' when speaking of the public accountability of (South African) universities. Among other things they argue that if 'public' is defined narrowly, it does *not* refer to government but rather to academic peers in the case of higher education institutions.

principle, namely that of student participation in decision-making justified by virtue of being 'a member of a community' (1969: 124-125). Indeed, the conception of students as 'full members of the academic community' carries much currency in studies that seek to make a case for student rights to participate in governance (Bergan, 2003: 11 & Persson, 2003: 3). In Wolff's idealised formulation, the university is "a *community of persons* united by collective understandings, by common *and communal* goals, by bonds of reciprocal obligation, and by a flow of sentiment which makes the preservation of the community an object of desire, not merely a matter of prudence or a command of duty" (Wolff, 1969: 127 *emphasis in original*). This communitarian conception of the university may be reinforced by more general democratic norms and values.

The case of Wolff and others for students' supposed full membership of the university community is widely challenged. Some stress that students are by definition and in practice only *transient* members of this community, whose commitment to the university's mission may be shallow. Students are not likely to be personally affected when decisions they have been party to take effect, since they will have left campus by then (Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999: 24). Other authors point out that characteristically the academic community is not egalitarian but structured by a fairly rigid professional guild hierarchy.[24] Students are at best 'novices' and 'junior members' of the university community (Moodie & Eustace, 1974: 201 & Morrow, 1998: 400; *see also* Clark, 1978).[25] Realistically students' claims to an equal voice and equal authority in the university community should also be tempered in view of their limited knowledge and experience and be weighed against the competencies of other groups within the university, in particular those of professorial and non-professorial academic staff as well as the professional competencies of the administration and management (Moodie & Eustace, 1974: 219 & 228-230; Mason, 1978: 309; Bergan, 2003: 5; de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 100-101; Wood, 1993, in Menon, 2005: 170 & Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999: 24).[26] This is sometimes referred to as "the principle that authority should reside with the more rather than the less expert and learned" (Moodie & Eustace, 1974: 201). Moreover, it is in view of the importance of peer-recognised expertise and competence in a university that Thompson argues that the Aristotelian claim that popular participation in government could be established on the basis of *the competence of ordinary citizens* is considerably less plausible in the context of the university community.[27] However, Thompson also argues that this does "not establish the desirability of exclusive faculty or administrative government of the university"; participation by all

[24] Morrow argues that *academic* governance shows remnants of guild-like organisation which makes the university to some extent an "enclave of a previous mode of social organisation". In pre-modern communities of this kind authority was not centred on "equal respect" but linked to "'honour' […] which has to be earned by demonstrating an appropriate degree of virtue, competence or excellence in some valued practice" (1998: 400-401). Thus, students as 'novices' in the academic practice have a limited rather than equal role in decision-making about academic work in particular and the university in general.

[25] Moodie and Eustace point out that in British universities the definition of 'full citizenship' of the academic community has traditionally been limited to the resident masters and fellows in the Oxbridge universities and to the professoriate elsewhere (1974: 222). The discussion further illustrates the modern predominance of the 'university of masters'.

[26] For a detailed analysis of different claims to university authority *see* Epstein (1974). Some of Epstein's work on managerialism is discussed later in this chapter.

[27] Thompson's argument against the Aristotelian principle is primarily based on his view that the university has limited and specific purposes making 'the competence of ordinary citizens' less relevant.

the major groups in governing the university has important benefits, such as an improvement of the quality of decisions. In the case of students, the potential educational benefit of participation in governance to students can also be seen as a means to pursue the educational purposes of the university (1972: 159-160; *see also* de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 100-101).

2.2.4 Political Socialisation as Ground for Student Involvement in University Governance: Students as 'Future Elites' and 'Citizens'?

In democratic societies, the purpose of public higher education typically is not limited to preparing students for specific roles in the labour market only. Over and above that, the function of higher education is to provide students with certain generic skills, opportunities for personal growth and development, and above all with the capacity of critical thinking and deliberating skills in preparation for active citizenship (Bergan, 2003: 11-12 & *White Paper*, 1997: 1.3). From this perspective, public universities are 'sites of democratic citizenship' and student participation in university governance function as a means by which to inculcate democratic values and exercise democratic practice (Boland, 2005; *see also* Bergan, 2003 & Kulati & Otieno, 2005).[28]

The implication of this argument for student involvement in university governance is that students are not primarily viewed as members of the university community; rather, students are viewed as members of the broader political community within which the university is embedded. Moreover, it implies that university governance should be consistent with governance in the wider political community. In democratic societies, students are therefore viewed as 'citizens' of the political community beyond the university, and the university may be seen as an instrument of the demos. This case is illustrated particularly well by Josephine Boland's argument that "higher education has an important role to play in the democratic socialisation process and [student] participation in shared governance presents an important opportunity to practice and nurture the habits of democratic life" (2005: 214).

While the current literature tends to treat this line of argument as uncontroversial, I must enter two caveats. Firstly, it is curious that most studies that make this argument fail to provide evidence that student participation in university governance actually achieves this virtuous end of 'democratic socialisation' and 'nurturing the habits of democratic life'. My scepticism arises less from the lack of evidence on actual outcomes and impact provided in relevant literature and more from its failure to examine university governance practices for their supposed democratic credentials. Secondly, if political socialisation provides a good case for formal student involvement that is appealing to democrats, this function may be equally appealing in less democratic societies to a ruling class that is intent on using educational institutions as instruments for cultural and political socialisation. In the South African context, the apartheid experiment with ethnic universities and the related conception of the university as a "*volksuniversiteit"* (i.e. the university embedded within, and an

[28] For a very insightful introduction into the topic in the context of American higher education, see *Higher Education and the Practice of Democratic Politics: A Political Education Reader* edited by Bernard Murchland (1991).

instrument to further the aims of, an ethnic community) provide model cases close to home where students were first and foremost conceived as members of the *volk* or 'tribe' to which the academic community was accountable (Degenaar, 1977). Thus, attempts to politically socialise students into 'the way we do things' do not necessarily result in the socialisation of 'constructively critical citizens'; they can undermine or even pervert the emancipatory potential of higher education unless the university itself is democratised (Habermas, 1971 [1967]).[29]

2.2.5 The Consequentialist Case: Benefits of Student Involvement in University Governance

The case for student involvement in university governance as a means to inculcate democratic norms and values in students as 'citizens' also carries strong consequentialist connotations. 'Active citizenship' is one among a number of potential 'benefits' of formal student participation in university governance mentioned in academic literature. Thompson (1972) points out that widening the circle of participants in university decision-making to include students may have positive educational effects in different respects. It is not only of benefit to students themselves but also likely to improve the quality of decisions and their willing and informed acceptance by the governed. Thus, the inclusion of students in university governance can contribute to the pursuit of the university's purposes (Thompson, 1972: 160-162; *see also* Epstein, 1974: 194 & de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 101). Benefits of student participation in university governance may therefore accrue not only to the participating students themselves, but also to a democratic society as citizenship education, to the university community as a better quality of decisions and to ensure a more peaceful campus environment.

2.3 Proposed and Actual Student Participation

The case for student participation in university governance in the academic literature needs to be complemented by an account of the forms proposed as well as those actually implemented for such participation. In this section I focus on research about the experience of the 1970s in the Northern hemisphere, when the ideal form of university governance involving students was variably conceived in terms of 'representative government' (Moodie & Eustace, 1974), 'representative democracy' (Thompson, 1972 & de Boer & Stensaker, 2007) or the democratic form of decision-making (Habermas, 1971 [1967]).[30] I consider the implication of various proposals by scholars for student participation in new forms of university governance, as well as the notions of 'representation' associated with these.

[29] Mokubung Nkomo's study of student political activism at African ethnic universities in South Africa in the 1970s and early 1980s demonstrates the case where a dominant ethnic group (then: Nationalistic Afrikaaners) imposed as part of their policy of 'grand apartheid' ethnically exclusive universities on other ethnic groups. Nkomo shows why this attempt at socializing students into a mode of compliance necessarily failed with establishing the various factors involved in the emergence of a student political "culture of resistance" in these universities (Nkomo, 1983 & 1984).

[30] Recent calls for South African universities to practice deliberative democracy (Coughlan *et al*, 2007) are somewhat reminiscent of this earlier ideal.

2.3.1 Proposals for Different Forms and Domains of Student Representation

Among the most general proposals for a reform of university governance and student involvement set forth by scholars in the wake of the 1960s student rebellion is Wolff's argument that "any system of university government is acceptable which serves the collective purposes of the community and arises from a collective agreement" (1969: 132). Yet, despite his general commitment to democracy (and to a communitarian conception of the university), Wolff rejects the egalitarian formula of 'one-man-one-vote' (demanded by students at the time), arguing that it is not the most appropriate rule to distribute authority in a university (1969: 132). In this respect, Wolff agrees with other scholars who reject any notion of egalitarian university governance in principle (Thompson, 1972: 163; Moodie & Eustace, 1974: 218-220; *see also* Mason, 1978: 310; Morrow, 1998: 401; Bergan, 2003: 13 & de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 103). The objectors typically point out that the principle of 'one-man-one-vote' in a university community "implies that there are no governmentally significant differences between any members of the university" (Moodie & Eustace, 1974: 219), whereas in practice distinctions between teacher and student, full-time academics and other professional and administrative staff, must be relevant for the organisation and governance of the university as are differences in levels of competence and professional authority (*see above*). The problem is therefore how to weight the relative significance of different functional groups, based on their respective rights and competencies, so as to arrive at a reasonable formula for student representation in university governance in general and the governance of the academic affairs of a university in particular.

A survey of the literature suggests three aspects of representation that need to be considered in proposals for appropriate forms of student involvement in university governance:

- The type of representative role relevant for student representation;
- How to weigh up the representation of different groups within the university against each other, and related to that;
- The differentiation of representation across distinct domains of governance.

Political theories of representation make a classic distinction, which goes back at least to Edmund Burke, between the trustee model and the delegate model of the representative. For Burke, the essence of representation was for the representative to "serve one's constituents by the exercise of 'mature judgement' and 'enlightened conscience'." On this view, the representative is a trustee who has discretionary authority to act in her/his best judgement on behalf of her/his principals or constituency. In contrast, in the delegate model propounded by Thomas Paine and others, the representative is a delegate who acts as "a conduit conveying the views of others, while having little or no capacity to exercise his or her own judgement or preferences" (Heywood, 2002: 225). In their proposals for different forms of student participation in university governance, Thompson, Morrow and others argue for a discretionary view of student representation on university governing bodies. Considering the alternative, they argue that having a representative merely as a delegate

would make fruitful rational deliberation difficult and render representative committees or councils quite useless (Thompson, 1972: 165; *see also* Moodie & Eustace, 1974: 202ff; Morrow, 1998: 392-393 & de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 100).

Furthermore, Thompson argues that there is "no precise formula for arriving at a satisfactory allocation of seats for all groups". Rather, "allocations should be determined with the purposes of the university in mind – which implies that groups whose activities are more centrally concerned with those purposes, such as faculty and students, should have greater representation […]" (1972: 165). Decisions on different kinds of university affairs may therefore involve a greater or lesser extent of representation for different groups depending on their relation to the purposes concerned. Hence the frequent argument in the literature that the dilution of "academic rule", i.e. primary jurisdiction of faculty over academic decisions, requires utmost restraint.[31] Thompson similarly argues that faculty should remain "the dominant authority in academic affairs" (1972: 165). He concedes that students should have some voice in curricular matters; however, student involvement in personnel appointments or promotions, that often involve sensitive and confidential matters, could politicise relationships between students and academic staff. In relation to decisions on appointments or promotions, Thompson therefore proposes that students should only be involved by means of consultation and course evaluations (1972: 165-167).

The literature on university governance thus distinguishes between different domains of governance, such as university governance in general and academic governance in particular, as well as that between *curricular* matters (or more generally academic affairs involving students) and *extra-curricular* matters of student affairs. Some authors further distinguish other domains where universities claim or exercise authority. For instance Wolff identifies the educational relationship between teacher and student, students' living arrangements, the university's external relations, student admission and certification, employment of academic staff and other personnel, and the collection and distribution of student fees and subsidies, as distinct domains of university decision-making all pertinent to student interests (1969: 96-110, especially 104 ff). An analysis of student participation in university governance will therefore require a differentiated conception of university governance in terms of those domains that are pertinent to students.

2.3.2 The Extent and Nature of Actual Student Participation

The course of the 'student revolution' and the consequent proposals for extending student participation and representation in university governance generated great interest among scholars in the late 1960s and early 1970s; they were considered to matter for democracy and other representative forms of government. However, the concrete results of the actual inclusion of students in university governance generated far less academic interest. This is surprising,

[31] The right of academics as a group to make decisions related to their work and work environment, termed 'academic rule' (or 'academic collegiality'), has been examined as an aspect of academic freedom in great detail in an article by Graeme Moodie (1996).

considering that the student demands actually yielded impressive changes in university governance.

In the American and British higher education systems, the student rebellions sounded the death knell for *in loco parentis* and, in the course of the 1970s, formal student involvement in university decision-making became an established feature of university governance. The strategy of extending the membership of university governing bodies to students appears to have been successful and improved university governance in American and British universities (e.g. Moodie & Eustace, 1974: 205-207). In the United States, students' right to participate in university governance was enshrined in a 'pact' between the student organisations and organisations of university professors and student development officers. After years of negotiation, the *Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students* was endorsed in 1968 by ten major associations in American higher education. The *Joint Statement* outlines the rights, freedoms and responsibilities of students in higher education including students' right to participate in institutional governance (Bryan & Mullendore, 1992).[32]

Conversely, the continental European experience of the post-1960s transformation of university governance was considerably more dramatic. As Harry de Boer and Bjørn Stensaker note:

> *"For example, in Germany the Ordinarienuniversität, governed by professors and the state, was transformed into the Gruppenuniversität, governed by representatives of the various university constituencies. In the period 1968-1976 new laws on university governance passed national parliaments, for example, in Belgium (1971), Denmark (1970), France (1968), Germany (1969-1973 and 1976), the Netherlands (1970), and Norway (1976). In the first half of the 1970s the University as a representative democracy was born and spread all over Western Europe" (de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 104).*

Henry L. Mason (1978) provides a contemporaneous account of the regime of governance in German and Dutch universities that emerged in the course of the 1970s and which he coins "triparity". 'Triparity' was characterised by significantly different governance structures and political dynamics compared to the previous dispensation. The *Ordinarienuniversität,* as it were, had been a "university of professors" even though it otherwise lacked institutional autonomy in basic respects. The professorial chair was the definitive seat of authority within the university and students and the non-professorial and junior academic staff (termed the academic *Mittelbau),* were largely the objects of university governance. By contrast the governance system of 'triparity' of the *Gruppenuniversität* introduced in the wake of the student rebellions meant that all the major internal constituencies, i.e. the professoriate, the academic *Mittelbau*, and students, were represented in equal numbers in most institutional governance organs. Thus, not only did students move from a

[32] For details *see* William A. Bryan and Richard H. Mullendore (1992: especially chaps. 1 & 5).

marginalised grouping, the *objects* of university governance, to being recognised as a main constituent participant in university governance, but also in the process, the nature of the university itself was transformed.

Mason's analysis of the actual operation of 'triparity' shows that where the tripartite governance system worked reasonably well, in the longer run the main beneficiary in terms of influence and power were not the students. Surprisingly, the main beneficiary turned out to be the university administration, i.e. the 'non-constituency' that emerged from the obscurity of civil service officialdom to take up the key role of mediator between the constituencies or *Gruppen*. Students only benefited from 'triparity' if they could sustain political mobilisation or maintain close links with off-campus political forces. In some universities, Mason found a variation of 'triparity' that he called "tripolarity". Universities with 'tripolarised' politics were characterised by vehement internal political struggles creating three 'poles' of strong political affiliation on campus, which cut across the different constituencies: an academic Left, Right, and Middle (Mason, 1978).

Mason's conclusions were highly critical of both 'triparity' and 'tripolarity'. In the case of 'tripolar' universities he argued that "the grafting of the off-campus society's political and ideological divisions onto the triparital structures of 'academic democracy' cannot be functional, let alone be justifiable in any sense" and that "its consequences may well be fatal to the values, goals, and relationships which have made the university one of the great human achievements of the ages" (1978: 325). He was also doubtful whether the experiment with 'triparity' would ever "develop into more than a transitional pattern of governance" (1978: 325).

On this latter point Mason was proved right. The extreme forms of 'representative democracy' that emerged in continental European universities after 1968 lasted little more than two decades. De Boer and Stensaker attribute the demise of the university as a representative democracy in the latter parts of the 1980s and early 1990s to both exogenous and endogenous factors. Among the exogenous factors were: "the fiscal crisis (since the late 1970s), internationalisation and globalisation, and the dominance of neo-liberal ideologies, including strong preferences for market-oriented values and behaviours" (de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 105). Endogenous factors related to the "perceived shortcomings of the democratic university itself" and included the excessive politicisation of the academic environment, the weakening of academic control of teaching and learning to the detriment of academic standards, the emergence of subtle and informal decision-making outside the official representative governing bodies (as some scholars had anticipated), and the disappointing results of the university as representative democracy in terms of actually bringing about more broad-based participation or making the universities more responsive to societal needs (de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 105-108). In subsequent decades incremental changes in university governance gradually compounded this "weakening of 'workplace' democracy within the University" and thus contributed to the emergence of more "managerial-run universities" (de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 108).

The demise of the university as a representative democracy through the post-1990 higher education reforms in Europe did not mean that staff and students no longer had a voice in university decision-making. A cross-national survey of student participation in the governance of European higher education by the Council of Europe shows that legal provisions for formal student involvement in European public higher education governance at national, institutional and, to a lesser extent, at sub-institutional levels remain close to universal (Persson, 2003 & Bergan, 2003). The Council of Europe's survey also indicates that student influence in university decision-making remains considerable. It is perceived by various role-players in higher education as strongest at institutional and faculty levels and weakest at national level. Students in European universities are particularly influential in the areas of social issues including student affairs and on educational and pedagogical issues, but their influence is considered weak or absent in matters of university finances, employment of teaching staff, and degree and admission requirements (Persson, 2003: 9-10 & 17).

Intriguingly, current studies of student involvement in university governance without fail recommend an extension of students' authority in university decision-making and typically do so by advocating for students to have more seats on governing bodies. The student dissatisfaction with their perceived power and influence appears to be the main basis of these recommendations (Persson, 2003: 40-41; *see also* Bergan, 2003: 14-16). Recent in-depth case studies of student participation in university governance suggest, however, that it is not so much the *extent* of representation but rather the perceived *effectiveness* of representation which determines satisfaction with political participation. The same studies also indicate that the effectiveness of representation is actually related closely to the extent of bureaucratic and other support (e.g. training) that student leaders receive in order to fulfil their representative mandate.[33] Thus, these studies typically recommend *more support rather than more seats* as a way to increase the influence and authority of students in university governance (Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999: 21; Menon, 2005: 179 & Koen *et al*, 2006: 55 & 62-66).

2.4 Managerialism in Universities: A New Research Agenda for Student Politics?

Current literature concerned with student governance broadly covers three topical areas: student political activism; student participation in university governance; and higher education governance and management. Since the heyday of student political activism in European and American

[33] Comparative studies of faculty participation in university decision-making (in England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden) have shown that those academics who were most dissatisfied with their influence on policy processes were the very ones participating in decision-making (Geurts & Maassen, 1996 & 2005, in de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 108). De Boer and Stensaker argue that faculty dissatisfaction with their involvement may be related to "the increased 'bureaucratisation' [that] accompanied the 'democratisation' of universities", and to the "bureaucratic 'side-effects' of participation" rather than to the extent of representation or the democratic process itself (2007: 116; Daalder, 1982, in de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 116). Their findings are analogous to those of in-depth studies on student representation.

universities of the late 1960s and the wave of university democratisation that followed in its wake, scholarly interest in student politics has somewhat declined and also changed in focus. Studies of student activism and of university governance are today largely distinct fields of academic enquiry.

There are still a significant number of studies on student political activism concerned with trends in the political interests and behaviour of students. Thus, Philip G. Altbach provides a careful synthesis of studies of student activism throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s. Altbach's account shows a sophisticated understanding of the characteristics of student activism in developed and developing countries but falls short of an overall theoretical explanation. Altbach and others point to a number of new trends in American student politics after the post-sixties anticlimax, including a resurgence of conservative attitudes among students in the 1970s; greater interest in religion and a scramble for upward social mobility; the anti-apartheid movement of the mid-1980s; the emergence of identity politics on campuses (e.g. women's and feminist movements; black student organisations; gay rights movements); and eventually the growth of environmentalism and anti-globalisation movements (Altbach, 1991 & Rhoads, 1998). In Africa, studies of student activism account for changes during and after students' participation in the anti-colonial liberation movements and during and after the struggle against apartheid in South Africa (Boahen, 1994; Badat, 1999; Munene, 2003 & Luescher, 2005a). In many African countries university students continued to be a significant political group in the post-colonial decades and, *inter alia,* contributed to the post-Cold War 'second liberation' of Africa in the early 1990s (Mazrui, 1995). Moreover, African student protests against austerity measures in the wake of structural adjustment programmes in the 1990s have been hailed by Silvia Federici and others as evidence of an emerging new pan-African student movement (Federici *et al*, 2000 & Naidoo, 2006).

Whereas contemporary studies of student activism make only marginal reference to formal student participation in university governance, there are a small but growing number of single case studies focused particularly on student participation in university governance (e.g. Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999; Tavernier, 2004; Boland, 2005 & Menon, 2005). Charlton Koen *et al*'s survey of SRCs and SRC elections at twenty-one public universities from 2002-2004 must take pride of place among South African studies (2006). These studies can be seen as a sub-set of the ever-increasing number of studies of higher education governance in various national and institutional contexts.

Comparative studies of 'shifts' in higher education governance during the closing decades of the 20th century indicate an interesting new development. Martin Hall and others have argued that there is evidence of a gradual international convergence of system-level modes of governance spurred by governments adopting "quasi-market approaches to the allocation of resources, including incentive and performance funding, and competitive allocation of research funding and tuition fees" to universities (Hall *et al*, 2002: 13). Along with the quasi-marketisation of massified higher education, universities began to pursue new avenues to generate revenue and to take on characteristics of market-oriented universities. In a widely referred study, Burton Clark described

the “entrepreneurial university” in 1998 as a new market-oriented type of university, which was characterised by a “strengthened steering core”, an “enhanced developmental periphery”, a “stimulated academic heartland”, “entrepreneurial culture” and a “discretionary funding base” (1998: 5-7, 137-144). For Clark, “the entrepreneurial response has become a growing necessity for all those universities that want to be a viable, competitive part of the rapidly emerging international world of learning” (2001: 11). Indeed, the emergence of market-oriented universities of one kind or another has been observed worldwide, and Makerere University is probably the most widely cited African case (Mamdani, 2007). Significantly, the extent to which the marketisation of higher education also involves governance changes in universities has sparked wide-ranging interest and debate (Clark, 2001 & Bundy, 2004). Clark argued that the “entrepreneurial response” of universities involved that “the administrative backbone fused new managerial values with traditional academic ones” (1998: 137). In the South African context, Nico Cloete and Richard Fehnel observed that universities which behaved in “domain-enterprising” ways were also characterised by a managerial leadership style which sought to “reconfigur[e] the institution to become more competitive and market-oriented through the vigorous adaptation of corporate management principles and techniques to the higher education setting” (2002: 389).[34]

The term ‘managerialism’ has been widely used but also strongly contested in the academic debates on recent developments in university governance. Managerialism is succinctly defined as a set of beliefs or an ideology that legitimises the authority of university executives as professional managers (Epstein, 1974 & Bundy, 2004); it typically involves the application of leadership styles and management approaches developed in the business world to the academic context of the university. According to Alberto Amaral, Oliver Fulton and Ingvild Larsen, “the UK is probably the Western European country where managerialism has emerged in its most virulent form” (2003: 281). The emergence of managerialism in British higher education in the course of the 1980s and its subsequent persistence in state-sector and institutional governance has been described as an entirely new phase of higher education governance, following the earlier phases of ‘donnish dominance’ (1920s-1950s) and the post-60s ‘democratic phase’ (Scott in NCHE, 1996: 198 & Bundy, 2004: 165-166). In light of the widespread use of the term ‘managerialism’, Meek (2003) warns that this does not imply that ‘managerialism’ means the same thing across different contexts. On the one hand, the use of the term by the defenders of academic freedom and collegial self-government has earned it an increasingly pejorative connotation that seems difficult to escape; conversely, others insist that the presumed ‘managerialisation of decision-making’ amounts to little more than ‘good management practices’. On the other hand, the managerial modernisation of higher education can also be understood in terms of the wider public sector reform championed by New Public Management (NPM) principles (Meek, 2003: 8-10). Indeed, ‘New Public Management’ and ‘managerialism’ are two competing concepts, both of which are used in relation to public management reforms. They mainly differ in that NPM theorists view public sector reforms in terms

[34] Meek (2003) and Amaral *et al* (2003) caution, however, that despite cross-national similarities there is as yet no multinational convergence at systemic level, and despite isomorphism at institutional level, there is no evidence that the current changes will result in less institutional diversity.

of a new administrative orthodoxy (linked to public choice theory), while theorists using 'managerialism' treat the same reforms as politically and ideologically controversial (Deem & Brehony, 2005: 219-221). For the purpose of this study, I require an analysis of the ongoing management reforms typically associated with managerialism as a distinctive approach to university governance in particular and in terms of relations of power and domination more generally. In short, an adequate theoretical conceptualisation of managerialism is required.

An instructive (and seminal) conceptualisation of 'managerialism' in terms of relations of power within a university was provided in Leon Epstein's work *Governing the University* (1974). Epstein's discussion of managerialism was predominantly concerned with identifying features that *contain* managerial authority in university governance: professorial tenure and discipline-based peer review as the guarantors of individual scholarly and peer-group autonomy. Epstein remarked on the paradoxical character of the traditional practice of 'administrative amateurism', which preferred established scholars to professional managers in positions of senior leadership in the university and was concerned to limit the size of the administration so as to ensure the primacy of academic values in university governance (1974: 102-104 & 112). This preference for amateurism in the administration of universities was also underpinned by the rejection by academics of the managerial claim to professional expertise (1974: 110). Hence, "in the highly professionalized organisation that is a university, this alone means that [university administrators'] very authority is always more or less precarious" (Lunsford, 1968, in Epstein, 1974: 110). It was precisely for these reasons that the shift towards a recognised need to have professional managers in senior positions of leadership in the university and, more generally, the introduction of the different styles and approaches of professional management represented a qualitative change in university governance. Epstein defined managerialism as university administrators' source of authority independent from that which they may derive from the authority of Council (or a Board of Trustees) and that of Senate (or Academic Board) (1974: 99).[35] In Epstein's conception, managerial authority arises from "the public belief that administrators *should* have some university policy-making responsibility", from administrators' expertise and their specialised "access to information", and "their dual responsibilities to external and internal constituents" which involves that university administrators "…often act creatively both to mediate and to formulate institutional policies" (1974: 100). Epstein distinguished managerialism as a source of authority from trusteeship, academic collegiality (or 'professorialism' in Epstein's terms), the collective bargaining power of unionised academics, as well as from the individual consumer power and the organised power of students.

While providing a prescient early appreciation of the character and relevance of managerialism to university governance Epstein was by no means uncritical of it. Epstein's most important critique of managerialism was that it involves the *erroneous* belief that universities could be managed as "a hierarchical system of authority in which each administrator is responsible to his superior and eventually to the [university] president, who in turn is responsible to the lay board" (1974: 100).

[35] Epstein's definition of 'managerialism' was used in Mason's (1978) study of 'triparital governance' referred to earlier.

While the notion of hierarchical governance may apply to the line-management of support services, Epstein argued that it is out of place in decision-making concerned with the academic core business of the university where the university administration is meant to *facilitate* rather than to *manage* the educational enterprise (1974: 101). A second questionable managerial belief was the idea that university administrators "decide and act in the best interest of the institution". Epstein argued that the validity of this belief is generally denied by full-time academics (1974: 111). In contrast to more recent definitions, Epstein's conceptualisation of managerialism is therefore not explicitly pejorative; and yet, by identifying the managerial practices that tend to produce academic antipathy, Epstein anticipated later definitions that elevate managerialism to the status of an invasive alien ideology (e.g. Trow, 1994).

The identification of distinctive features (or management practices) associated with managerialism is a core concern in current literature. Colin J. Bundy's summary of "the managerial tools [and] trends adopted by British universities in the 1980s" is particularly instructive:

- *"the ubiquitous technique of management was the strategic plan, an instrument of self-analysis, goal-setting, and basis for resource allocation;*
- *the establishment of new organs of decision-making, prototypically a new committee that brought together the university executive, key administrators and senior academics;*
- *a shift towards fewer levels of decision-making, streamlined committee systems, flatter administrative structures; inextricably linked with this was a centripetal tendency towards stronger leadership powers at the centre;*
- *an adoption of decentralized budgeting variously styled as lump-sum, cost-centre or responsibility centre budgeting;*
- *closer collaboration with industry and commerce: more contract research, product development, and science parks;*
- *technology as more integral tool of management, with the related development of Management Information Systems;*
- *a commitment to explicit training for administrators and managers." (Bundy, 2004: 167)*

While the specific features vary across different contexts, they will likely be characterised by an emphasis on "the primacy of management above all other activities"; "monitoring employee performance"; "publicly auditing quality of service delivery"; "outsourcing"; the pursuit of "efficiency and effectiveness" in service delivery; "importing ideas and practices from the private world of business"; "performance management" and performance accountability; and so forth (Deem & Brehony, 2005: 220). In South African studies, conceptualisations derived from the British

experience often serve as a starting point to assess the extent to which local university governance has already become 'managerialised'; findings typically indicate, however, that the local experience is somewhat exceptional due to the challenges posed by apartheid era isolation, the combined influence of calls for post-apartheid democratisation, a new national regulatory framework, and a neo-liberal macro-economic framework (Cloete & Kulati, 2003; *see also* Kulati & Moja, 2002 & Bundy, 2005).

Lastly, a conceptualisation of managerialism in terms of relations of power and domination within universities presumably also requires that the relevant agents and interest groups be identified. However, since Epstein's early work curiously little attention has been paid to this matter. Epstein (1974) carefully distinguished between (the authority of) trustees, academic administrators, full-time teacher-scholars, unionised staff, and students. Today, the line is often drawn between senior management on the one side, and academics on the other, without interrogating these categories further. The work of Rosemary Deem and others is among the few in which the impact of managerialism is conceptualised in relation to the groups or constituencies constituting the university community in general, and the academic profession in particular. In this respect, Deem and Brehony argue:

> *"The increased prominence of academics in management roles has … introduced a stronger divide between manager-academics and academics not in management roles … despite the fact that manager-academics have actually mostly previously worked as academics (and many continue to do so in an albeit more restricted manner) (Deem & Brehony, 2005: 226)."* [36]

The implication of the rise of managerialism in higher education for the academic profession and for the tradition of academic collegiality in university governance is treated in current literature as a key issue. The related impact of the managerialist challenge on the authority of other members of the university in university decision-making is a largely unexplored topic.

For my purposes, it is especially striking that most current studies on change in university governance – and studies on the rise of managerialism in universities in particular - exclude from their purview concomitant changes in the participation of students in university decision-making. De Boer and Stensaker's argument that the demise of the *Gruppenuniversität* was, *inter alia,* connected to "reforms 'inspired' by the New Public Management" (2007: 114) represents a cryptic but highly suggestive contribution in this respect. Since the studies of university democratisation of

[36] The term 'manager-academics' refers to "academics who take on management roles in higher education institutions, whether temporarily or permanently" as a means to distinguish them from full-time teaching/research academics not in management roles and from professional career managers (Deem & Brehony, 2005: fn4). "Management roles range from traditional heads of department (albeit with an enhanced role for performance management and quality control of teaching and research) through faculty deans (once a symbolic role, now often with a considerable amount of financial responsibility for faculty departments) to members of senior management teams such as Pro-Vice Chancellors and Vice Chancellors who determine the strategic direction of their institutions" (Deem & Brehony, 2005: 226).

the late 1960s and 1970s, on which much of my discussion in this chapter was based, there has been little effort to systematically study the way formal student participation in university governance (or student politics in general) is implicated in shifts in university governance. And yet, there are good reasons to interrogate this topic afresh as the discussion of different justifications for the formal involvement of students in university governance has shown.

Hence, this study seeks to contribute to this literature in general by re-visiting the topic of student participation in university governance. I will develop a theoretical framework and conduct an empirical investigation concerning critical changes in the university governance – including those of university democratisation and the rise of managerialism – in order to explore their impact on the participation of students in university governance in a South African university.

In this chapter, I have shown that the case for formal student involvement in university governance is not as clear-cut as it might *prima facie* appear; there are good reasons for and against formal student participation in university governance. In the context of an ongoing implementation of reforms in higher education – which have been especially far-reaching in post-apartheid South Africa – studying student politics as an aspect of change in university governance provides a fresh opportunity to interrogate the case for student involvement in decision-making and its actual form under emerging and new conditions. Conversely, it also provides a different perspective on the ongoing university reforms. For my present purposes, the significance of different justifications for student involvement in university governance in relation to changes in university governance over time provides a starting point for addressing the research problem and research questions of this study. In the next chapter, I propose a new approach to the study of student politics termed the 'student governance approach', which I develop on the basis of an existing general theoretical conceptualisation of governance. It involves a theoretical conceptualisation of different regimes and regime transitions of student governance drawing on the discussion in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3: A GOVERNANCE APPROACH TO STUDENT POLITICS

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present a proposal for a governance approach to the study of student politics. In accordance with my objective to develop a general theoretical conceptualisation of different regimes and transitions of student governance, I examine the concept of 'governance' and propose a way of adapting and operationalising Hyden's theoretical conceptualisation of 'governance' for a study of student politics. The first section of the chapter provides an overview of how 'governance' has been conceptualised in political studies and related academic fields and notes a number of commonalities that these conceptualisations share across disciplines. This preliminary discussion draws extensively on literature surveys conducted by Kees van Kersbergen and Frans van Waarden (2004) and Anne Mette Kjær (2004) amongst others. It shows that 'governance' has specific descriptive meanings as well as a number of typical theoretical implications.

The second section of the chapter introduces the 'governance approach' developed and elaborated by Goran Hyden (1992, 1993, 1999 & 2000). Hyden conceptualises 'governance' in terms of an analytical framework that provides a new approach for studying comparative politics and political development in transitional polities. His approach is particularly well suited for studying regime changes that do not necessarily involve a transition to democracy. The key features of Hyden's analytical framework are presented and discussed in this section.

In the third part, Hyden's governance approach is adapted and operationalised for the study of student participation in university governance. In particular, I propose four different regime types of student governance (embedded within different ideal-types of university governance and 'visions' of the university) that are associated with different conceptions of 'student'. I conclude by proposing empirical indicators for an application of the governance approach to the study of student politics.

3.1.1 Governance and the Study of Politics

'Governance' is not a term that is widely used in ordinary language. More common are other family members of the verb 'to govern', such as 'government', 'governor' and 'governed', 'governable' and 'ungovernable'. When compared to a close synonym like 'ruling', it emerges that 'governing' is distinct from 'ruling' in that 'governing' (or 'governance') commonly implies the legitimacy of the governors, whereas 'ruling' does not (*Merriam-Webster's*, 1984: 379). The affinity between 'governance' and 'legitimacy' is an important feature of the use of the term in various academic disciplines. The dictionary definition of 'governance' also points to a number of ways in which the term has come to be used as "the action, manner, or fact of governing" which is synonymous with 'government'; the quality of "controlling or regulating influence; control; mastery"; and "the function

or power of governing; authority to govern" (SOHE, 2002). It therefore indicates that in ordinary language "governance" is often used as synonymous with 'government' as well as to refer to particular qualities and modes of governing, or the ability to govern. These connotations and common uses are also relevant to the conceptualisation of 'governance' in more theoretical literature.

A number of scholars have made efforts to review the usage of 'governance' in various academic disciplines (e.g. Mignot-Gérard, 2003; Kjær, 2004 & van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004). Kees van Kersbergen and Frans van Waarden reviewed the meaning of 'governance' in studies across a wide range of disciplines including economics, business studies and commerce, organisational studies, public administration, sociology, political economy, international relations, comparative public policy analysis and comparative politics. They found that governance research originated in a common concern with "…the destabilisation of the traditional governing mechanisms and the advancement of new arrangements of governance" in a variety of contexts (2004: 143-144). Despite these common origins, the authors found at least nine different ways in which 'governance' is used in academic literature. Furthermore, they found that each discipline tends to underpin its particular conception of 'governance' with particular discipline-related theories and methodologies (2004: 143-144). The following clusters of usage are identified:

- *'Good governance'* as a normative approach to public sector reforms: This approach to governance stresses "the political, administrative and economic values of legitimacy and efficiency". In some instances, it is studied by comparing best practices in key areas of public management (van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004: 145).
- In both the public and private sectors, *'good governance'* is used as a watchword to introduce various ethical principles into management and administration. In the private sector, these principles are typically discussed in relation to codes of 'good corporate governance' involving greater accountability of, and transparency in, corporate management.[37] In the public sector, the elaboration of codes of good governance is found primarily in New Public Management literature and associated with public sector reform (van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004: 147-148).
- Studies of 'governance' concerned with '*governing without government'* in the context of international relations: In this sense, 'governance' refers to activities of purposive rule in the absence of hierarchy (Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992, in van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004: 145).
- Studies of '*governance without government'* with reference to self-organising local communities, e.g. in the customary usage of common pastures. These studies focus on the conditions that facilitate such arrangements and make them effective, efficient and stable. The

[37] In South Africa, Mervyn King's work as chair of the Committee on Corporate Governance has been path-breaking in this respect. A popular summary of his governance code has been published as *The Corporate Citizen* (2006).

approach is prominently associated with the work of Elinor Ostrom (van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004: 146; *see* Ostrom, 1990).

- In economics, 'governance' is used as a concept to study the operation of the market mechanism and market institutions. In comparative political economy, a focus on mechanisms of exchange produced various further uses of 'governance' (van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004: 146-7).
- A cluster of three related approaches stress 'multipolar' and 'pluricentric' or 'network' forms of governance. A first usage originated in the study of corporatist networks and can be found in the study of public organisations and public-private partnerships, the emergence of the evaluative state[38] and the proliferation of quasi-non-government organisations. A second usage of 'network governance' is particularly concerned with the study and theorising of multilevel governance e.g. in studies of the European Union. A third usage of 'network governance' occurs in the study of organisational forms in the private sector (van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004: 148-151).

For my purposes, van Kersbergen and van Waarden's work provides a useful starting point. Firstly, based on their analysis and synthesis of various usages of 'governance', the authors propose a definition of 'governance' conveying what they claim is the common core of most present governance studies. They define the shared object of these studies as that of the "forms and mechanisms…by which institutional and organisational societal sectors and spheres are governed" (2004: 143). Secondly, in relation to this definition, the authors propose a suggestive, if somewhat reductive agenda for future research. Cross-disciplinary inquiries, they suggest, should focus on *shifts in governance* and its effects in terms of "the governability, accountability, responsiveness and legitimacy of governance institutions" (2004: 143). The notion of 'shifts in governance' indicates an implicit link of a 'governance' approach to the study of (regime) transitions.

In a similar study, Anne Mette Kjær (2004) reviews the usage of 'governance' in political studies literature. She finds that the use of the term 'governance' increased exponentially in the last decade and that this was associated with a number of different innovative approaches in political studies sub-disciplines (2004: 1-2). Kjær notes that as a concept in political studies 'governance' was used in the 1980s *inter alia* to expand the notion of 'government' to include non-governmental actors in political analysis. She agrees with many of the findings of van Kersbergen/van Waarden, including their description of the common concern of most governance studies with 'governance shifts' and their advocacy of a research agenda grounded more explicitly in the new institutionalism (Kjær 2004: 10 & 12-15 & van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004: 152-160 & 165). Kjær also notices the prevalence of concerns for legitimacy, accountability and governability in governance-related studies (2004: 8 & 11-12).

[38] For an insightful analysis of this phenomenon in higher education, *see* Guy Neave (1998).

However, Kjær's working definition of 'governance' differs significantly from that proposed by van Kersbergen and van Waarden in that she does not specifically focus the use of the term on forms or mechanisms of governing. Rather, Kjær defines 'governance' broadly as the activity of rule-making - *"the setting, application, and enforcement of the rules of the [political] game"* – as distinct from routine processes of decision-making (2004: 12). This definition involves a theoretical distinction between the systemic level of the 'regime' as the overall system of rules and particular processes of decision-making along with the assumption that constitutive processes of rule-making require broader and deeper political legitimisation than ordinary processes of decision-making in order for the system of rules overall (i.e. the regime) to be stable.

The theoretical distinction between ordinary decision-making processes and processes of governance at the regime level of politics is one of the characteristics of Goran Hyden's theoretical conceptualisation of 'governance'. Hyden is among the main theorists of 'governance' discussed by Kjær (2004: 4, 5-7 & 163-166). His theoretical conceptualisation involves a distinction between political economy, concerned with "distributive politics", and governance, which is concerned with "constitutive politics":

> *"…it is possible to distinguish between a distributive and a constitutive side of politics. The former addresses the perennial question of "who gets what, when, and how?" This approach to the study of politics is generally referred to as political economy because it focuses on how public goods are allocated in society. The latter addresses the question of "who sets what rules, when, and how?" Instead of focusing on the state, it centres on regime issues or the rules of the "political game." This is what we call here governance" (Hoon & Hyden, n.d.: 13).*

In this sense, Hyden's governance approach can be understood as the study of that aspect of politics that is concerned with setting and maintaining the fundamental, constitutive rules of the 'political game' in a society (Hyden, 1999: 183-184). A governance approach therefore focuses the attention on the rule-making underlying the decision-making processes by which resources are authoritatively allocated. This distinction between constitutive rule-making and particular processes of decision-making is primarily an analytic one. Thus, analytically governance ought to be treated separately from policy-making, administration and management. Empirically, however, they are interconnected to the extent that a single actor or governing body may be engaged in all these related activities (Hyden, 1999: 186–187). The conceptual distinction between 'governance', 'policy-making', 'public administration', and 'management', and their respective institutional foci and analytic levels, is summarised in table 1. The institutional focus of a governance approach to the study of politics is therefore on the fundamental system of rules that governs decision-making in a polity, i.e. the regime of governance. Thus, it could be said that governance analysis is concerned with 'meta-politics' (Hyden, 1999: 185).

Table 1 Conceptual Distinction of 'Governance'

Analytic Level	Institutional Focus	Concept	Activity
Meta	Regime	Governance	Politics
Macro	State	Policy-making	Policy
Meso	Sector	Administration	Programme
Micro	Project	Management	Project

(Sources: Hyden, 1999: 180-182; Hyden, 2000: 10 & Hoon & Hyden, n.d.: 12)

An empirical study of 'governance' could therefore focus on a distinctive set of features of politics. Foremost, various authors argue that in the study of governance the emphasis is on bi-lateral and multi-lateral aspects of politics (Hyden, 1992: 7 & Kooiman, 1993: 4). Similarly, in van Kersbergen/van Waarden's terms, governance analysis focuses on "pluricentric" rather than "unicentric" aspects of ruling. A governance approach is therefore often conceived as the study of the "relations between relatively autonomous but interdependent actors" with a focus on reciprocal relations in political processes (2004: 151). Political participation and representivity[39] are therefore important concerns in governance analysis. What distinguishing characteristics of political actors are relevant in a particular political setting is subject to governance analysis. A second and related focus of governance studies is on the systemic impact of political institutions. In politics, where particular changes are primarily caused by the interactions of different political actors and actor groups (often with a view to changing power relations), political institutions have the potential of formalising and stabilising cooperation but also to become targets of political mobilisation, particularly in a context of ossified relations of power. Thus, on the one hand, governance studies investigate the way in which power relations are affected by institutional means. On the other hand, it also involves investigating the way societal groups affect changes in the political order by voicing demands for constitutional reform and engaging in various forms of political activism (Hyden, 1992: 7 & 1999: 179ff; *see also* van Kersbergen & van Waarden: 2004: 151-152). Lastly, there is frequently a normative element built into a governance approach springing from the affinity of 'governance' with 'legitimate rule' in many typical uses. This is especially evident in studies of 'good governance', 'corporate governance', 'NPM' and 'multilevel governance'.

3.2 Hyden's Approach to Governance in Transitional Societies

Hyden's governance approach was developed specifically for the comparative study of development and regime change in the Third World (Hyden, 1992, 1993, 1999 & 2000). As an Africanist scholar and political scientist, Hyden was originally motivated by the widespread processes of political liberalisation and democratisation on the African continent starting in 1989 – processes that had been described at the time as Africa's 'second liberation' - to develop an

[39] In this study, I use the term 'representivity' to refer generally to the property or quality of being representative. 'Representivity' is therefore similar to 'representativeness' and Sidney Verba *et al*'s notion of 'representativity' which refers to "the extent to which participants [in a political process] reflect the politically relevant characteristics of those they claim to represent" (1995: 161).

alternative theoretical approach to 'democratic theory' in order to study the regime transitions.[40] Hyden's approach is meant to be less normatively loaded than democracy studies as an approach to comparative politics in transitional societies (Hyden, 1992: 5). It provides a more holistic approach to the comparative study of politics and development by offering a theoretical framework to examine concrete regime transitions in terms of a range of ideal-typical regimes of governance that may or may not involve transitions to more democratic forms of governance.

3.2.1 Governance as Regime Management

Hyden uses the concept 'governance' descriptively to refer to the activity of establishing, maintaining and changing regimes (1992: 7 & 1999: 185). A regime is defined as "a set of fundamental rules about the organisation of the political realm. […] Such rules translate into constitutions, laws, customs, administrative regulations, and international agreements, all of which in one way or the other provide the framework for the formulation and implementation of policy decisions" (1999: 185; *see also* Hyden, 1992: 6-7 & Heywood, 2002: 26). A regime of governance is therefore conceived essentially in terms of the constitutive realm of fundamental rule-making underlying ordinary processes of decision-making involved in distributive politics. Thus, a regime "is not a set of political actors"; rather, it concerns the rules of the political game which "determine who has access to political power" and "through which channels and with which resources [the relevant political actors] actively seek political positions" (Hyden, 1992: 6). Differences in the nature of the rules of the political game thus determine different *types* of regimes. In this sense, 'governance' is concerned with 'constitutional politics'; it is a founding aspect underlying routine politics in any political system (Hyden, 1999: 185-186).

Hyden's conception of 'governance' was initially developed as an approach to study "the complexity of regime change" which he observed in post-Cold War African politics (1999: 183). Governance studies should study regime change in a way that "transcends the more narrow conception of 'regime transitions', or the even more specific process of democratization" and recognises that "the politics surrounding the rules of the political game is an ongoing phenomenon" (1999: 183-184). From the governance perspective, regime change can be gradual and incremental and/or go hand in hand with considerable social and political upheaval. Regime change "impl[ies] more or less far-reaching shifts in the basic rules of how society conducts its public affairs or how governors and governed relate to each other" (1992: 15). Regime change may amount to the transition from one type of regime to another, whereby different types of regimes are determined by differences in the nature of the rules of the political game. Manfred Schmidt argues in his definition of regime change that "regime change is completed once the rules of the new regime are accepted by the most important individual and collective actors and the new order can be accounted for as consolidated in the sense that its procedures and normative foundations are politically and culturally deeply entrenched" (1995: 819 *my translation*). It follows that regime

[40] Nonetheless, Jeff Haynes argued in an early review of Hyden's first publication of the governance approach that "governance is synonymous with democracy, although it may not be essential for a government which demonstrates a reasonable degree of ability to be democratic in a *fully* pluralist sense" (Haynes, 1991: 537).

change cannot simply be read off a formal constitutional framework; rather, as Schmidt implies, substantive regime change involves the emergence and entrenchment of a new political culture which, in time, must be evident in the beliefs and practices of the most important constituencies and political actors. Thus, governance studies should deliberately focus not only on processes of democratisation and regime transitions, but on the continuous politics of political development and regime change more broadly. Hence, Hyden proposes a matrix of ideal-typical regime types (*see* fig. 2) as a heuristic tool for comparing regimes and tracing regime change that involves 'generic' types of regimes but also accommodates different variations of democratic regimes.

Processes of regime change may also be uneven and involve the adoption of new constitutive rules as well as the persistence of old ones across different levels and spheres of politics. Hyden originally elaborated his conception of 'governance' in relation to national politics, i.e. a particular level and sphere of politics. Political systems are typically complex and regime change may involve the reconstitution of the political order in varying degrees across the different levels and spheres of governance. As Mahmood Mamdani (1996) showed in his seminal analysis of post-colonial African politics, the transition from one regime to another may result in state bifurcation whereby old rules prevail in one sphere and new rules become established in another. In his analysis, the bifurcation of the post-colonial state involved two different regimes constituting a person either as 'citizen' or as 'subject', by race or ethnicity, with substantive implications for both governor and governed as well as for political stability and development. Regime change may therefore involve the simultaneous persistence and dissolution of old rules while some new rules may fail to penetrate various political, economic and social spheres. Accordingly, Hyden recognises the importance of political legacies for understanding the governance challenges which a country faces and the need to study the function and significance of both "explicit or implicit", "formal or informal" rules in the constitution of political regimes at different levels of political interaction (1992: 6; *see also* Hyden, 1999: 186 & 2000: 12). In 1999, he specifically proposed that "the notion of constitutional rules … is applicable to local, national or international levels. They can be studied in the context of a community, an organisation or a nation" (1999: 186).

3.2.2 Analytic Dimensions of Governance and the Qualities of Governance

Hyden's governance approach analytically distinguishes between a structural dimension of governance and an actor dimension. In general, the structural dimension is concerned with the analysis of the underlying constraints to political action in a particular society, while the actor dimension is concerned with the analysis of the dynamic power relations involved in a regime of governance. Hyden's conception of the structural dimension of the governance realm can be traced back to older debates about *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies in Heywood, 2002: 172) or 'community' vs. 'society'. I understand Hyden to say that this classic dichotomy of two arch-types of politics - politics in a pre-modern 'community' and that in a modern industrial and urban 'society' - provides two juxtaposed points on a dimensional range of structurally significant regime characteristics, and concomitantly, of the structural conditionalities of regime change. To elucidate

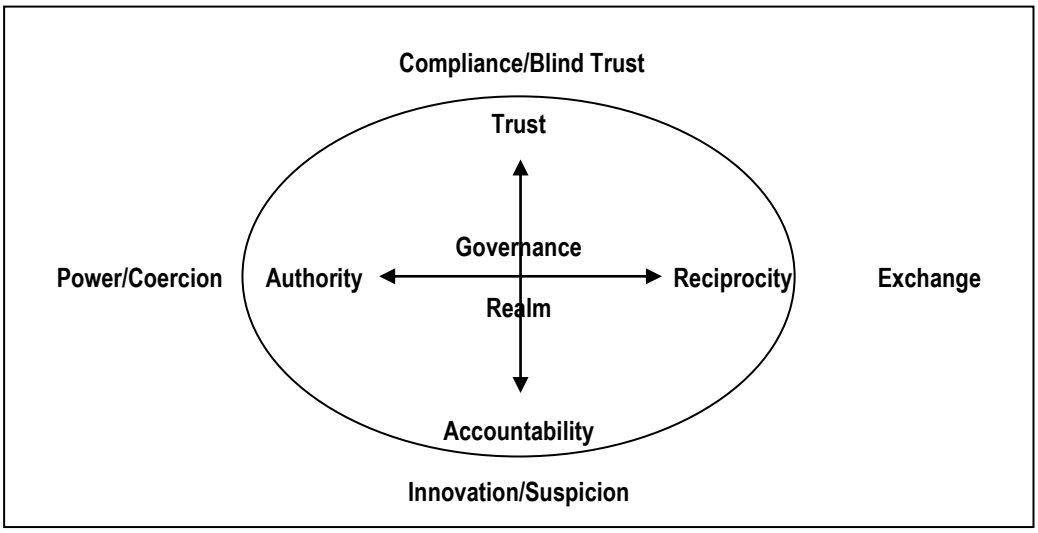
his conception of the structural dimension, Hyden distinguishes between ascriptive (or 'god-given') social structures, which are seen as traditional and primordial; and modern or associative civil structures, which are brought about by authority or contract. The former structures prevail in traditional kinship, ethnic and religious communities (and similar social groups) and their legitimacy is affirmed by an affective, interpersonal trust inherent in communitarian bonds. Hyden argues that such traditional rules and institutions based on ascriptive structures do not lend themselves to easy alteration and tend to command strict compliance. Thus, "compliance and trust are integral parts of god-given structures", and compliance with extant rules rather than innovation is the key governance characteristic.[41] In contrast, civil (or 'man-made') structures prevail in modern society where relations are not status- but contract-based. Hyden argues that the legitimacy of rules based on associative structures derives primarily from accountability (rather than trust); due to their adaptability, however, they require constant reaffirmation (1992: 11-12). Thus, Hyden argues that in modern society accountability becomes particularly important to ensure that "leaders using [man-made civic] structures … respond to rank-and-file members". Now governance, conceived as "regime management with a view to generate legitimacy for the political system", combines accountability and trust in a complementary way: "the two concepts [i.e. trust and accountability], are not contradictory but complementary. Trust without accountability is blind trust. Accountability without trust gives rise to suspicion of inquisition" (1992: 11).

Within the actor dimension, the focus is on the extent of consensus (and/or lack of consensus) on the basic rules that govern the exercise of political power. The actor dimension ranges from perfectly asymmetrical power relations between rulers and subjects characterised by power and coercion to perfectly symmetrical relations between equal citizens that involve freely entered transactions of mutually rewarding exchange. For the analysis of the actor dimension of governance, Hyden proposes two intermediate concepts: authority and reciprocity. Authority involves the voluntary acceptance of asymmetrical power relations, which legitimises the inherent power asymmetry (1992: 10). Reciprocity is Hyden's most important conceptual contribution to the study of governance (Bratton & Rothchild, 1992: 271). As Kjær put it succinctly, reciprocity characterises "the form of social interaction that generates new forms of consensus about basic rules of politics" (2004: 164). It implies a covenant-like agreement between persons involved in an enduring and mutually rewarding relationship. Unlike exchange, a reciprocal relationship does not involve an immediate return but rather the expectation that in the future others will do likewise (Hyden, 1992: 9-10 & 1993: 268). Authority and reciprocity thus denote "…a middle ground, where politics is a positive-sum game; where reciprocal behaviour and legitimate relations of power between governors and governed prevail; and where everybody is a winner not only in the short run but also in the long run" (1992: 10).

[41] Hyden's conception of 'trust' is multi-faceted and requires some elaboration. Generally, Hyden defines trust as "a normative consensus on the limits of action present in a political community" (1992: 12). Thus, while discussion here would suggest that Hyden's conception of trust (as a property inherent in communitarian bonds of kinship and ethnic and religious communities) is narrow and exclusive, it is actually more inclusive than that. Hence, trust can be generated by voluntary interaction across social cleavages such as ethnicity, race, religion, and class *(see below).*

An analysis of governance can proceed in relation to these two analytical dimensions, using authority and reciprocity (i.e. the horizontal axis in fig. 1), and trust and accountability (i.e. the vertical axis) as analytic dimensions of the realm of governance.

Figure 1 Analytic Dimensions of Governance



Adapted from Hyden, 1992: 13

As represented in figure 1, the *realm of governance* is that aspect of politics that is characterised by regime structures based on trust and accountability, and power relations characterised by authority and reciprocity. In addition to their value as purely analytic concepts, authority and reciprocity, trust and accountability are also conceived as the *qualities of governance* important to 'good politics', and thus provide conceptual boundaries of the governance realm. In contrast, coercion and exchange, blind trust/compliance and suspicion/innovation represent respectively the flipsides of these conceptual coins. 'Bad politics' associated with these characteristics depreciate the legitimacy of the political order.

Despite Hyden's avowed general theoretical objectives, his notion of a *governance realm* therefore has strong normative connotations. Earlier applications and discussions of the approach read Hyden's notion of the *governance realm* in various ways. Barbara Wake Carroll and Terrance Carroll, who applied Hyden's approach to the comparative analysis of politics in Botswana and Mauritius, went so far as to say that Hyden's definition "apparently confound[s] 'governance' *per se* with 'good governance'" (Carroll & Carroll, 1997: 468-469). In contrast, Joel Barkan read Hyden's notion more descriptively to say that "the existence of a governance realm depends on a regime's adherence to a predictable and legitimate set of procedures that regulate the exercise of political authority and the competition between claimants for state resources" (1992: 167). Michael Bratton and Donald Rothchild's discussion of Hyden's approach noted that the governance realm in fact represents "a catalogue of different ways in which power is legitimated" (1992: 270). Some

preceding applications have therefore interpreted Hyden's notion of a governance realm in a normative way, while others have focused on the theoretical linkages between the analytic qualities of governance and related them to the broader concern of regime stability. This latter point requires some elaboration.

Hyden hypothesised that "the more regime management is characterised by the qualities associated with the governance realm, the more it generates legitimacy for the political system …" (1992: 12). Conversely, politics that is *not* characterised by the qualities of the governance realm, i.e. politics characterised by coercion, exchange, suspicion/innovation or blind trust/compliance, may produce a legitimacy deficit. Legitimacy may thus be conceived as ultimately "the dependent variable produced by effective governance" (1992: 7). Conversely, a legitimacy deficit leads to regime instability because under such circumstances, citizens may either opt out of politics or mobilise against the prevailing order (1992: 7-8). A regime that enjoys little legitimacy may therefore be prone not only to ineffectiveness (due to a lack of voluntary compliance) but also to instability, thus creating the preconditions for more radical regime change.

3.2.3 Regime Types and Related Characteristics

Hyden distinguishes between four ideal-typical regimes of governance. Respectively he calls these different types *libertarian*, *corporatist*, *communitarian*, and *statist* regimes (1992: 16-20). Each regime type is based on a different "primary mechanism for resource allocation" (Hyden, 1992: 16) and characterised by rules involving differences in political culture, including respectively different conceptions of governor and governed and regime orientations towards rights and duties.[42] The classification includes tentative propositions of likely causes of governance crises for each type (based on structural problems inherent in a regime type) that are subject to empirical testing.

Firstly, *libertarian* (or market-oriented) regimes follow the utilitarian logic of market exchange. Individual citizens perceive themselves as autonomous actors and the polity of libertarian regimes is often institutionally fragmented but very responsive to local level citizens' demands. At higher levels of politics, however, the aggregation of citizens' preferences may constrain the ability of political leaders to make authoritative decisions and politics tends to become discredited and displaced by decisions based on cost-benefit analysis. Market-oriented regimes characteristically have little political activism, as citizen interest in politics tends to wane in this regime type (Hyden, 1992: 17-19). In a later addition, Hyden argues that this regime type shows an orientation towards prioritising rights and freedoms of citizens. The correlative sense of duty, however, is weak or absent (1993: 267).

Secondly, in *statist* (or state-based) regimes, politics is characterised by a predominance of the authority of the state (as the institutionalised structure of domination) and its political leadership. Power is concentrated in the state and, accordingly, citizen participation in politics is weak with little

[42] The general regime orientation towards rights and duties is a later addition to the regime typology by Hyden (1993: 268).

scope for, or evidence of, formal political participation. Statist regimes typically neglect citizens' political rights and rather emphasise the duty of the individual to the state. The monopolisation of power by the state has an alienating effect on citizens. Due to the lack of citizen control, the political leadership in this regime type may also become increasingly unresponsive to citizen demands. The lack of affirmation of 'man-made' structures can precipitate political activism organised along ethnic or religious bonds, thus creating the potential for a fragmentation of the polity and associated regime change (Hyden, 1992: 19 & 1993: 267-268).

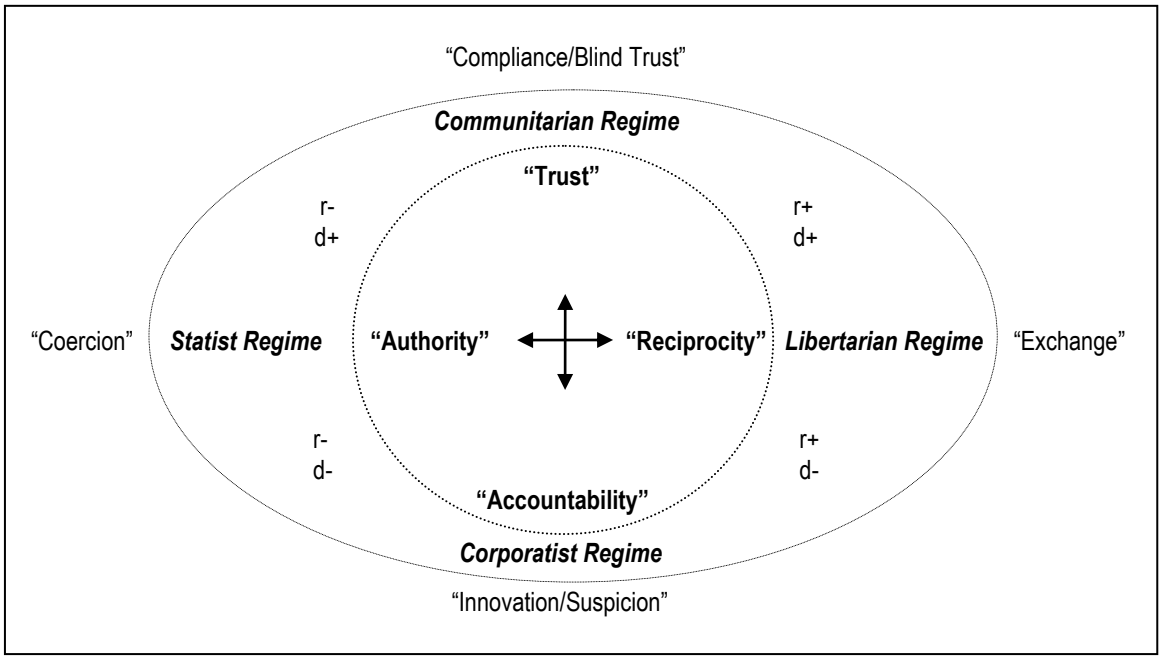
Thirdly, associational (or *corporatist*) regimes are characterised by forms of concerted negotiation and compromise between the elites of various interest organisations and government. The predominant quality of governance in this regime type is therefore accountability; yet, it is not accountability to citizens directly but accountability mediated by representatives to different associational groups in society. A likely cause of governance crisis in corporatist regimes is their tendency towards the politics of patronage, which develops in citizens a sense of entitlement based on membership of associational groups. In lean times, when benefits to organisation members may dry up, citizens may become disgruntled and this type of regime can become unstable. Thus, under these conditions, this regime type may become vulnerable to political activism. Associational (or corporatist) regimes tend to de-emphasise citizen duties (Hyden, 1992: 19 & 1993: 268).

Lastly, *communitarian* regimes follow the logic of community interests and loyalties. The regime is deeply embedded in primordial structures of society; thus, politics tends to lack autonomy from communal groups. Communitarian regimes are trust-based in a narrow ascriptive sense of the term and the political culture in such regimes typically emphasises compliance of the governed, often referring to tradition, customs, religion, etc. The notion of a civic public realm and formal associational life is weak. Communitarian regimes tend to emphasise duties at the expense of political rights. Hyden also highlights the significance of the 'cultural fit' between rulers and ruled, highlighting that the rules of the political game in this regime type are often informal. A typical cause of regime instability (associated with political activism) in communitarian regimes is the difficulty of reconciling incompatible community interests (Hyden, 1992: 17 & 1993: 268).

Figure 2 illustrates the relation between the different regime types to each other within a matrix. In accordance with my reading of Hyden, I also indicate what I consider as the predominant rule of legitimation (or quality of governance) with which each of the different regime types respectively coincides to a large extent. Thus, communitarian regimes show strong evidence of a political culture emphasising compliance with existing conventions and the regime tends to be legitimated by trust and a comparable corresponding absence of accountability; corporatist regimes are particularly characterised by a sprawl of accountability mechanisms; libertarian regimes favour reciprocal power relations but may become dominated by utilitarian values at the expense of other values and community interests; while statist regime show evidence of characteristically asymmetrical power relations that may deteriorate into authoritarianism. It may appear as striking

that the matrix of regime types does not explicitly include democracy as one of the regime types. However, I read Hyden to say that certain variations in regime types may also coincide with different versions of 'democracy'.

Figure 2 Matrix of Regime Types



Adapted from: Hyden, 1992 & 1993. Key: r = rights; d = duties; = + strong; - = weak)

3.2.4 Empirical Indicators of Governance

The litmus test of governance is the regime crisis, when new demands or problems create the conditions for a change in the relationship between governors and governed involving a change in the rules of the political game. Accordingly, Hyden proposes that "the study of governance, then, involves the identification of the conditions that facilitate good governance and, by implication, effective problem solving" (1992: 15). The qualities of governance – authority and reciprocity, accountability and trust - provide the basis for the operationalisation of the governance approach. Hyden clarifies their conceptualisation for the purpose of operationalisation in the following way:

- *Authority stresses "the significance of effective political leadership" in terms of (i) effectively solving problems, and (ii) carrying out decisions in an acceptable manner. Conversely, the exercise of coercive power leads to a withdrawal of citizens from the public realm. "Indicators of authority, therefore, consist of compliance[43] with not only given policies but also the process by which they are arrived at, that is, the extent to which leaders respect the rules or change them in ways that are acceptable to the governed" (Hyden, 1992: 14).*

[43] Authority involves *a voluntary acceptance of asymmetrical power relations* by both 'governors' and 'governed'. The indicator proposed here refers to a compliance with (or acceptance of) the limits of power by both the 'governors' and the 'governed'.

- *Reciprocity as a quality of social interaction involves that "reciprocal action – as opposed to mere exchange relations – tends to have the effect of generating new forms of consensus about the basic rules of politics […] enabling the political community to transcend existing boundaries of trust. An indicator of reciprocity in politics is the extent to which individuals are free to form associations to defend and promote their interests in the public realm" (Hyden, 1992: 12-14).*
- *"Accountability refers to the effectiveness with which the governed can exercise influence over their governors. This variable becomes politically significant particularly in societies that are socially and economically differentiated. […] While trust and reciprocity typically generate the conditions in which rules of accountability get accepted, these rules take on a role of their own by filling a vacuum that neither of the two variables fills. Indicators of accountability consist of various forms of holding elected and appointed officials responsible for their decisions and actions" (Hyden, 1992: 14).*
- *"Trust refers to a normative consensus on the limits of action present in a political community. The most important thing about this variable is that it is not based on an expectation of its justification (March & Olsen, 1989: 27). Indicators of trust in a political community are the extent to which individuals and groups in society cooperate in associations that cut across basic divisions such as ethnicity, race, religion, and class" (Hyden, 1992: 12).*

Hyden then proposes that an empirical governance study can proceed along three 'empirical dimensions' and related empirical indicators. These dimension are: (1) citizen influence and oversight; (2) responsive and responsible leadership; and (3) social reciprocities. Hyden states that these dimensions and the related empirical indicators are open to amendment and need to be adapted and concretised to fit a particular context. The empirical indicators he proposes in each empirical dimension of governance can be summarised as follows in table 2 (1992: 15-16).

Hyden proposes that the relation between regime type (as dependent variable) and qualities of governance (as independent variables) may be hypothesised using the proposed empirical indicators. His illustrative operationalisation involves a table where the strengths and weaknesses of each regime type with respect to a particular empirical indicator are hypothesised on a scale from one to three (1992: table 1.1).[44]

[44] Space does not permit an elaboration of Hyden's illustrative example of operationalising the governance approach. The original proposal can be found in Hyden, 1992: 18.

Table 2 Empirical Dimensions and Indicators

Dimension	Indicator
Citizen influence and oversight	"the means by which individual citizens can participate in the political processes and thereby express their preference about public policy" (means of preference aggregation)
	"how well these preferences are aggregated for effective policymaking" (degree of political participation)
	"what means exist of holding governors accountable for their decisions and actions" (methods of public accountability)
Responsive and responsible leadership	"the attitudes of political leaders toward their role as public trustees"; "their orientation toward the sanctity of the civic public realm" (degree of respect for the public realm)
	"readiness to share information with citizens" (degree of openness of public policymaking)
	"adherence to the rule of law" (degree of adherence to rule of law)
Social Reciprocities	"the extent to which citizens or groups of citizens treat each other in equal fashion" (degree of political equality)
	"how far such groups demonstrate tolerance for each other in the pursuit of politics" (degree of intergroup tolerance)
	"how far voluntary associations are capable of transcending the boundaries of such primary social organisation as kinship, ethnicity, or race" (degree of inclusiveness in associational membership).

Source: Based on Hyden, 1992: 15-16

So far, none of the empirical applications of Hyden's governance approach has involved applying this theory in its entirety. The application closest to Hyden's proposal has been by Carroll and Carroll (1997), who proposed various modifications emanating from their comparative study of governance in Botswana and Mauritius. Other applications have been typically single case studies, which tended to use Hyden's complex conceptualisation very loosely and discarded the theoretical relations between the qualities of the governance realm, the regime typology and the empirical indicators altogether often only retaining the notion of a 'governance realm' as a conceptual-analytical framework (*see especially* various chapters in Hyden & Bratton, 1992 & Hyden *et al*, 2000). Others have studied governance in relation to a modified form of the proposed empirical dimensions and contextual factors without, however, making explicit reference to different regime types (e.g. Hyden & Venter, 2001).

The reason why Hyden's governance approach has not been applied in its entirety may be found in what Bratton and Rothchild already in the first discussion of Hyden's proposals call "the heavy weight of numerous intellectual agendas" which it is asked to bear.

> *"At one and the same time governance is supposed to be an analytic framework, a description of the substance of legitimate politics, and a desirable political value. This list does not even include governance as an instrument of public affairs management or a gauge of political development. In our view, no single concept can be all things to all people." (Bratton & Rothchild, 1992: 267)*

For these reasons Bratton and Rothchild (1992) propose a more focused agenda of research on governance, which aims to identify accommodative patters of state-society relations that enhance

regime legitimacy en route to democracy, focussing analytically on human agency (agents, resources and strategies) and structural enablers and constraints.

In the following section, I show how I have adapted Hyden's governance approach to the study of student politics. A feature of my adaptation is that I explicitly link the four qualities of governance to the four regime types of Hyden's framework by postulating a quality of governance as the 'predominant rule of governance' for each regime type. This takes the place of specific testable hypotheses. I believe that this link is implicit in Hyden's framework, which is something I noted already with reference to figure 2. My most important adaptations of Hyden's framework for the study of student politics are, firstly, a different set of ideal-typical regimes of student governance (nested in different regimes of university governance and 'visions' of the university). Part of the characterisation of these different regime types are propositions concerning possible regime crises and transitions relevant to each type, which could be developed into specific hypotheses. Secondly, I adapt the empirical indicators for a study of student politics in the context of university governance. Lastly, I briefly return to some of the matters raised in the first section of this chapter on the normative aspect of governance and propose a way in which this may be brought to bear in a study of student politics as governance.

3.3 The Student Governance Approach

In the introductory chapter, I referred to two archetypes of the place of students in university governance that originate from the two first full universities of 13th century Europe. Harold Perkin (2006) distinguishes between the "university of masters" and the "university of students" which were respectively represented by the University in Paris and the Bologna University. The 'university of masters' was essentially a corporate form of the guild of professing masters (teachers) who shared control over the university (as an institution) with a student rector. In the rival model of the 'student university', the student guilds that had been organised for mutual welfare and protection of students formed the core of the university and controlled the external relations of the university, its finances, student and staff discipline, and the provision of teaching (including professors' salaries and working conditions), falling only short of controlling the curriculum (2006: 164-165). In these two historical arch-types of university governance, students therefore took predominantly the roles of 'governed' and 'governors' respectively. In contemporary universities, the place of students in university governance continues to change along with changing notions of the purposes of the university, involving different conceptions of 'student'. A closer analysis of different conceptions of 'student' involved in different models of university governance may thus provide a way of adapting Hyden's theory of governance to the study of student politics.

Firstly, I propose that the notion of 'student' in relation to *any* regime of governance of a university has two complementary senses. On the one hand, 'student' can refer to *an (active) political agent* involved in student governance and politics. This sense of 'student' thus suggests a meaning of

'student governance' as the participation of students in university governance. This is the primary descriptive sense in which 'student governance' is used in the present study.[45] On the other hand, the notion of 'student' also refers to *a (passive) subject* of university governance, i.e. a person who is subject to a regime of student governance. The latter sense defines the student as a person who, by registering for a particular course of education at a university, voluntarily subjects herself or himself to the rules that apply to students. In this sense 'student governance' therefore descriptively also refers to governing students (as subjects).

These two basic senses of 'student' and 'student governance' have important implications for studying student politics in the context of university governance. The student as ('governed') *subject of a regime of governance* focuses the attention on the character and scope of the regime of student governance, or, in other words, the nature and extent to which a student is subject to a system of rules that specifically applies to students. If university governance refers broadly to decision-making related to rules governing any and all aspects of the university, student governance can be seen as the establishment, enforcement and changing of rules that specifically apply to students. The notion of a *student domain* may be useful to refer as shorthand to all those aspects of the university community that are subject to student rules.

The converse sense of student as ('governing') *active political actor* focuses the attention on the ways in which students actively participate in governance by means of formal student involvement in university governance as well as by informal means. The notion of a 'regime of student governance' in this active sense is much narrower, applying only to the inclusion of students in university decision-making. In this sense, a 'regime of student governance' is a constituent part of a regime of university governance. In particular, it refers to the set of (formal/informal) rules on decision-making in the university that coincides with the student domain.

Now, the extent and nature of the involvement of students as political actors in various aspects of university governance, and the implicit conceptions of 'student' concerned, provide a means to distinguish between different modern-day regimes of student governance. My general argument is that the meaning of 'student involvement' in university governance varies along with different conceptions of the notion of 'student'. Student involvement in university governance is not just a matter of the involvement of those formally registered as students of the university. Rather, it varies along with the *grounds* of their involvement, i.e. whether students are involved in university governance as '*clients'*, or as '*constitutive members'* and so forth as discussed in chapter 2. Thus, students may be involved formally in university governance as '*users'* or '*consumers'* of specific services provided by the university, i.e. as *'clients'* of the university as a service provider. Alternatively, students may be involved in university governance as '*constitutive members'* and '*stakeholders'* of a democratically governed university community. Students may also be conceived as '*apprentices'* within an academic community that is organised and governed reminiscent of a

[45] This is also the way in which 'student governance' is used by student development officers in South African higher education (Interview with Edwina Goliath, 28 March 2005).

traditional guild organisation, or more broadly, as '*minors'* within broader society and so students may be restricted or all together excluded from formally participating in most aspects of university governance. The way in which these alternative notions of 'student' correspond to different ideal-type regimes of university governance and 'visions' of the university is discussed in detail below.

The *formal* involvement of students in university governance represents one dimension of a more complex picture of different ways in which students actually participate in university governance in practice. Politics typically has its *informal* dimension too which involves, from the point of view of the governing, a range of very subtle forms of controlling, enabling or disabling the involvement of the 'governed' in decision-making and, from the point of view of the governed, various forms of resistance, liberation and emancipation (e.g. Scott, 1990). I usually refer to *informal* student political activity as student activism.[46] The main point here is that student activism in relation to the university authorities (as well as voluntary non-participation of students) mean different things in different regime contexts. The *informal* dimension of student politics needs to be taken into account if the aim is to establish a fairly holistic picture of the nature of *operative* regimes of student governance obtaining in practice (rather than only officially sanctioned ones).

A differentiated empirical analysis of a regime of student governance may also involve an analytic distinction between different spheres or 'domains' of university governance. I have already proposed above the notion of a *student domain* conceived as that domain of rules that apply specifically to students. Robert P. Wolff (1969) outlines a number of different domains of functions or activities that he considers important for student involvement in governance (*see above* chap. 2). Significantly, Wolff arrives at different conclusions as to the role students can play in actively participating in decision-making by examining different domains. Accordingly, I propose that a closer analysis of the provisions for student participation in different domains of governance of the university may provide a differentiated perspective of a regime of student governance involving different conceptions of 'student' involved in different domains of governance. Inconsistencies of student involvement across different domains may be evidence of an uneven regime that comprises residual old and new rules and thus harbours the possibility of future regime instability and regime change.

Lastly, literature on student activism indicates that students' relation to a university may have some inherent characteristics that permeate all regime types, such as the transient nature of a student's presence in a university, considerations of competency and expertise, the fact that student activism comes in waves, and other features of student politics discussed in the literature (Altbach, 1991 &

[46] In the literature on student politics, student activism is usually defined as a variety of political activity of students that is typically oppositional in nature (Altbach, 1991: 248 & Munene, 2003: 117). Irungu Munene and other writers on student politics in Africa suggests that the absence or inadequacy of student involvement in university decision-making is a cause of student activism, thus juxtaposing formal involvement and activism as complementary political activities (Munene, 2003: 121; *see also* Ojo, 1995 & Badat, 1999). In chapter 2 I have briefly referred to the complex – or even paradoxical – relationship between (formal) student representation in university decision-making and (informal) student activism.

Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999). These generic features of 'students' may give rise to certain common features of student politics found across otherwise different regime types of student governance.

3.3.1 Visions of the University and Models of University Governance

There is no shortage of extant typologies or different models of the university and of university governance in the literature. Analysts have described different types of universities and different types of university governance as well as shifts from one type to another involving different types of authority at different levels and in different domains of university governance in ideal as well as concrete terms. For instance, Grant Harman distinguishes four main models of university governance that come mainly out of American scholarship: (a) "the *collegial model* - emphasises non-hierarchical cooperative decision-making, and a significant degree of self-determination by academic staff"; (b) "the *bureaucratic model* – emphasises legal-rational authority and formal hierarchies"; (c) "the *professional model* - emphasises the authority of experts and the importance of horizontally differentiated units linked in loose confederations"; and (d) "the *political model* – conceptualises governance in terms of political conflict among interest groups with competing views and values" (Harman in Clark & Neave, 1992: 1282).

With reference to the British experience, Peter Scott (1995) distinguishes different phases in university governance. The *"donnish phase"* was characterised by a system of governance where the professorial chair represented the definitive seat of academic authority. The 'donnish' system might be extended through a 'collegial' system of governance to the faculty and university levels of organisation, or it might be subject to strong state and bureaucratic authority as evident in the continental European mode of university governance for much of the 20th century (cf. Clark, 1978: 166). The *"democratic phase"* was characterised by a system of collegial-democratic governance at all levels of university governance and included non-professorial academics, students, as well as other members of the extended university community in a constituency-based system of representative university governance. A democratic phase of university governance was initiated in the aftermath of the 1960s student rebellions in many universities in Europe and North America. Since the 1980s, higher education has seen the emergence of a *"managerial phase"* where academic teachers and researchers are accountable for their performance to line-managers within the university (Scott, 1995, in NCHE, 1996: 198; *see also* Bundy, 2004: 165-166).

Most recently, Johan P. Olsen (2005 & 2007) elaborated four highly suggestive "visions of the university". These are: the university as "*a self-governing community of scholars*" which is characterised by shared norms and objectives among key actors and governed by internal factors; the university as "*an instrument for national purposes*", where in a context of shared norms and objectives external factors dominate the operations and dynamics of the university; the university as *"a representative democracy"*, where internal factors and conflicting norms and objectives amongst key actors dominate the governance of the university; and the university as *"a service enterprise embedded in competitive markets"*, which is characterised by conflicting norms and

objectives among key actors and a predominance of external factors in the governance of the operations and dynamics of the university.

For my purposes, the limitation of extant typologies of universities and university governance is that the place of students in university decision-making seldom figures as a topic for discussion, except in the case of the 'democratic' model. Thus, the key question remains: *What general theoretical conceptualisation of different regimes and transitions of university governance, including those of university democratisation and the managerial revolution, can be developed relevant to student inclusion in university governance?*

3.3.2 Regimes of Student Governance

I propose that a typology of four ideal-typical regimes of student governance nested in different regime types of university governance and amplified in terms of 'visions' of the university can be constructed on the basis of different conceptions of 'student' (such as those involved in different justifications for student participation in university governance). Furthermore, I argue that these four types are related to Hyden's proposed four regime types based on their respective predominant rules of legitimation. The typology is presented summarily in table 3, which is followed by a more detailed characterisation of each type that draws extensively on Olsen (2005 & 2007), Wolff (1969), and other literature on higher education governance and student participation therein.

Table 3 Four Regime Types of Student Governance

University Vision	Associated Regime Type	Source of Legitimacy	Regime Orientation	Definition of Governors	Conception of Students	Mode of Student Politics
The Community of Scholars	Donnish-professional	Authority (based on academic expertise and commitment)	Mainly internal to peers and discipline	Academic community stratified by rank and office	Minors and junior members in the academic community	Very limited formal student participation; student political activism is largely absent
The Prestigious National University	Bureaucratic-nationalistic	Trust (and compliance with external guidelines)	Mainly external to national or community interests	Senior bureaucrats and complicit academics	Beneficiaries and future elite of the community/ nation	Limited formal participation of students; officially sanctioned forms of student activism
The Stakeholder University	Corporatist-democratic	Accountability (to key internal groups)	Mainly internal to constituency interests	Constituency representatives	A constituent group within the university	Extensive political involvement of student leadership; high levels of student activism
The Market-Oriented University	Managerial-professional	Reciprocity (based on a long-term view of value for money)	Mainly external to the market	Senior managers	Clients and users	Formal provisions for participation focused on service delivery and student rights; very limited political activism; political apathy

3.3.2.1 The Community of Scholars

The traditional vision of the university as a *community of scholars* is in terms of governance institutionalised around the disciplinary chair-based authority of professors which extends in

diverse practices of "academic rule"[47] to the governance of the core academic business of the university as well as related matters especially through the constitution of the academic Senate. Hierarchies of academic seniority and rank define hierarchies of authority; conversely, only strict academic authority determines hierarchies of seniority and rank. In the community of scholars, the university administration is deliberately staffed with 'amateurs' and kept small and subordinate to the professoriate. The university's Board of Trustees or Council acts as a buffer between the academic community and its external environment, thus keeping the community of scholars autonomous in its internal self-governance. Internally, the academic community is highly stratified with students conceived as 'apprentice-scholars' and 'junior members of the community'. Student membership of the academic community is effectively inaugurated only with the first graduation (Wolff, 1969: 3-8; Clark, 1978: 165-166 & Olsen, 2007: 29-31).

Traditionally the educational purposes of the community of scholars include not only the intellectual formation of resident students but also their moral education. Hence, in this vision academic authority typically extends to the student domain and over students' private affairs. In the academic process, students as 'novices' or 'apprentices' are subject to the instruction and academic authority of the professor; in their private lives students as 'minors' are subject to the university's moral instruction and responsibility *in loco parentis* (e.g. Ojo, 1995 & Altbach, 2005, in du Toit, 2007: 46).

In terms of this vision of the university, student demands to participate in decision-making processes within the university - if they arise - are disqualified by students' inherent lack of academic expertise and maturity. The regime of governance of the community of scholars is an "aristocracy of competence" (Wolff, 1969: 114) and student participation in university governance is contrary to the principle of professional competence and academic authority.

The ideal-typical vision of the university as a community of scholars has the following key characteristics as a regime of student governance:

- The regime of student governance is legitimated with reference to authority derived from academic competence, rank and office. Claims for granting students the right to participate in university governance and co-determine aspects of the learning environment are typically denied due to their inherent lack of professional competence, academic expertise, and maturity. Student rights and privileges are limited; duties are stressed. Student political activism is largely absent.
- Students are governed in the student domain as 'juniors' and 'minors' and the scope of the student domain intrudes into the private sphere of students. Policing of 'private sinning' is common. This is justified in relation to the *in loco parentis* principle.

[47] As noted above, Graeme Moodie defines academic rule variably as "a species of self-government", "professional self-regulation", "representative government", and rule of the most competent by virtue of expertise and commitments (Moodie, 1996: 143-145). In Moodie's understanding, academic rule is one of three elements of the complex ideal of academic freedom, the other two being "scholarly freedom", i.e. the freedom of individual academics to pursue academic activity within conducive conditions, and "university autonomy" (1996: 137-143 & 147-149). I tend to use 'academic rule' interchangeably with the notion of '(academic) collegiality'.

- Emphasis is on students' moral and intellectual formation. The regime of student governance tends to have a homogenising influence on the student body.

3.3.2.2 The Prestigious National University

Compliance with national directives is the source of legitimacy of governance in the prestigious national university. On this ideal-type vision the university has the specific purpose to act as an instrument for the nation and training ground for the future cultural, political and professional elite of the nation.[48] The rationale of the university is defined not by a critical and disinterested distance from the national development project but rather by a whole-hearted embracing of its ideological character and programme and of the university's role as an instrument towards its achievement. Thus, the prestigious national university is part of a range of instruments to be coordinated and directed by the nation-state. As an integral part of the national development project, it is embedded in its political and cultural dynamics (e.g. Degenaar, 1977; Wandira, 1977: 84-90; Lulat, 2003: 19-20 & Olsen, 2007: 31).

Considerable variations in the fashioning of the alignment between university and nation-state may be evident; yet on this ideal-type vision of the university, the regime of governance of the prestigious national university is based on the logic of trust and it seeks to replicate closely the dominant organisational forms of governance in the nation. Accordingly, the academic faculty and the university administration are to be appointed by and answerable to the nation-state and may be formally part of the national civil service to cement that link. Formally constituted university governing bodies serve to ensure the university's compliance with national directives. At an informal level, the prestigious national university involves a communitarian-type regime of governance in which trust in the leadership of the institution is inspired by its close ties with, and allegiance to, the dominant national elite.

Students of the prestigious national university are supposed to comply voluntarily and uncritically with received rules administered in a traditional manner. Successful university education guarantees upward social mobility. Student leaders (especially those from elite backgrounds) may be co-opted to a limited number of governance forums; yet, real decision-making happens elsewhere. The purpose of student participation in such bodies is to socialise students into the way 'we' do things. Thus, student life is embedded in national life, which embraces every aspect of the person. A student is first a member of the nation before s/he is a student! The lack of autonomy of the university from the nation further impedes the establishment of a vibrant independent student culture. Students are encouraged to involve themselves in national youth organisations (including officially sanctioned political organisations), many of which operate branches on campus.

[48] The nation is only one of a range of real or imagined communities of different kinds (e.g. ethnic or cultural group, religious group) which could establish universities along similar lines. In that sense this account could also apply to confessional universities (Wolff, 1969: 129) or universities claimed by a specific ethnic group (Mazrui, 1995: 179) including the extreme case of the '*volksuniversiteite'* in South Africa under apartheid (Degenaar, 1977), provided that references to 'nation' be replaced by religious or ethnic community.

The communitarian-type regime of governance of the prestigious national university derives its legitimacy mostly from trust (based on ascriptive likeness) and compliance. As a regime of student governance, it has the following key characteristics:

- Deference to, and trust in, political elders ensure compliance with their directives. Governance is structurally embedded in the particular cultural traditions and political dynamics of the nation-state that gave rise to it and funds it. Vital decisions affecting the university are made by, or in accord with, the national leadership.
- Students are conceived as the future elite of the nation. As the intended beneficiaries of national higher education, they can participate in limited forums of governance as a means to socialise them into the dominant political culture. Loyalty is imperative, dissent and opposition are ridiculed, ostracised, or punished. Those students who can lay claim to intimate relationships with the national leadership may achieve special influence.
- The student body of the prestigious national university is assumed to be homogenous and the rules of governing the student domain have strong paternalist tendencies. Student activism is limited, albeit certain student groupings or national youth movements with a close relationship with national leadership orchestrate officially sanctioned forms of activism. University oversight of student affairs is justified with reference to the *in loco parentis* rule whereby 'elders' take on the responsibility of guiding students towards their future role in the nation.

3.3.2.3 The Stakeholder University

The ideal-type model of the stakeholder university envisions the university as composed of, and accountable to, a range of relevant internal university constituencies including academic staff, students, non-academic staff, management and unions. The governance regime of the stakeholder university derives its legitimacy from accountability to these various internal constituencies.[49] Accordingly, governance in the stakeholder university is characterised by the participation of the representatives of these various stakeholders. Academic, non-academic staff and students all seek to participate and predominate in a culture of decision-making that is characterised by negotiation and bargaining (e.g. de Boer & Stensaker, 2007 & Olsen, 2007: 32).

Wally Morrow (1998) has shown that the first problem of governance in this regime type is to define who qualifies as stakeholder and who does not. This difficulty can be an advantage in that it makes governance flexible, innovative and adaptable to a changing political landscape. Conversely, it may also be a source of constant suspicion and distrust between different groups who seek to have a predominant voice.

[49] The notion of 'stakeholder' employed here draws on Morrow's work (1998) on stakeholder political theory which conceives of stakeholders as self-defining and organised *political* interest groups. Morrow applies this notion within the context of internal university governance and the governance of academic affairs especially to academic and non-academic staff and student organisations. Provided that the focus here is on stakeholder-democratic *student* governance (amplified in terms of the vision of a 'stakeholder university'), the role of internal constituencies and internal stakeholders is emphasised. This does not preclude, however, the involvement of external stakeholders, such as alumni or government, in various domains of university governance.

The stakeholder model of university governance actively facilitates various forms of student representation and participation in university decision-making. To the extent that students are recognised as a key constituent group of the university, student leaders and representatives are entitled to participate in almost every forum, board, and committee of university governance as equal members, and the university leadership as the executive branch of this democracy becomes accountable to students amongst others. The corporatist orientation of the stakeholder university provides extensive scope for student self-government in the extra-curricular student domain. Moreover, the importance that is afforded to the involvement of student representatives has a number of structuring effects on the organisation of student politics. Firstly, the stakeholder university is characterised by a highly politicised student body. There is fierce political competition between different student groups to obtain a leadership mandate from the student body. Secondly, students in general tend to have a high sense of entitlement, and the official student representatives enjoy many perks and incentives. This can deteriorate and take on the character of patron-client relationships between university leaders and student leaders at one level, and student leaders and key members of the student body at another level. Thirdly, student government (i.e. the officially established bodies to facilitate student participation in university governance) is highly centralised to ensure the coordination of student groupings and organisations in a union-like fashion.

Key characteristics of the regime of student governance associated with the ideal-typical stakeholder university include the following:

- The predominant source of regime legitimacy is accountability to stakeholders based on a notion of the university as an institution constituted by various constituencies. Negotiations and bargaining between the representatives of different stakeholders in formal settings dominate the decision-making culture.
- The student body is viewed as a constituency of the university, and representative student leaders are entitled to participate in all aspects of governance as equal members. Student leadership and representation involves aggregating student demands as mandates and conveying these mandates as demands into various governing forums.
- The scope of student self-governance in the student domain can extend into students' private lives and activities. The regime of student governance tends to emphasise the collective identity of students as a distinctive group of the university.
- The university's student organisations (student sororities/fraternities, cultural and religious societies, sport clubs, etc.) include a disproportionate number of student political organisations which compete amongst each other to obtain the leadership mandate from the student body, making for high levels of student political activism.

3.3.2.4 The Market-Oriented University

The ideal-type of a market-oriented university envisions the university as a commercial educational service provider that competes in the local (and global) higher education market. Scholarly

traditions, academic hierarchies and discipline-based organisation are replaced by a corporate mission that commits the university to entrepreneurialism and identifies the market-niche for the higher educational and research services that the university competitively provides. The teaching services and research services and outputs are conceived as commodities to be branded with the reputation of the university and marketed to appeal to the specific demands of the particular client segments that the institution targets (e.g. Clark, 1998; Cloete & Fehnel, 2002: 387 & Olsen, 2007: 32-33; *see also* Wolff, 1969: 28-42).

The market-oriented university must be attuned to the market's perception of value for money for its products, i.e. a perception linked to the university's reputation and global ranking (Salerno, 2007: 122-123). Governance of the market-oriented university needs above all to be able to respond swiftly and effectively to new demands in the market. Accordingly, the university needs to be run on the principles of efficient management like any business operation. Senior professional managers form the core of the university and ensure institutional survival and growth in an environment of competition and great flux; other staff, both academic and administrative, are accountable to senior management for their performance via line managers. Managers are primarily concerned with ensuring the efficiency and effectiveness of the various academic processes, hire and fire, and thus adjust the productivity of the university and marketability of its products to ensure the financial viability or even profitability of the enterprise and a favourable market position. Traditional governing bodies of the university such as a University Council or a Senate are done away with or re-modelled to serve as trial audiences for product innovations proposed by the management and as advisory bodies *inter alia* to provide feedback on service levels and customer satisfaction.

The executive management of the market-oriented university functions as the equivalent of a board of directors, and directs an appointed senior management with a staff complement engaged in various educational core and non-core services. Academic programme managers are in charge of teaching provision and coordinate the deployment of contracted teachers. Within this management structure, there is no significant role or place for traditional discipline-based departments; teaching is programme-related and research is project-based. Teachers and researchers are predominantly contract-based employees with only a small proportion of accomplished full-time academics as members of educational programme or research-oriented institutes which have a life span as long as their financial viability extends. There is no need for any real sense of an academic community. The university is conceived as a firm, the relationship of academic staff to the institution and their working conditions are determined by the employment contract.

In line with this ideal type vision of the market-oriented university students, like other clients, view the university as a service provider. Students seek credentials ahead of entering the labour market or qualifying for a professional career and therefore any social or political activism on the part of students is alien to this orientation and a distraction, lest it is motivated by the incentive of adding to

the value of such credentials. Accordingly student involvement in university governance, even where there exists extensive formal provision for this, tends in practice to be limited in its concerns. The student body is a heterogeneous aggregate of individuals and highly fragmented.

Key characteristics of the regime of student governance associated with the vision of the market-oriented university follow from its general managerialist orientation:

- Students freely submit to the rules of the university as long as it is able to effectively perform its immediate contractual duties and create the impression that it offers value for money in a longer term perspective (especially in terms of reputation/prestige). Thus, reciprocity is the predominant rule of legitimation of the regime of student governance of the market-oriented university.
- Any aspect of student life that is not specified in the service agreement or contractual relationship between the individual student and the institution can be considered part of students' private lives and is therefore outside the scope of the student domain.
- Students are valued as key clients of the university and on that basis student leaders may be invited to participate in various settings as trial audiences and to provide user feedback to management.
- There is no sense of a student community; rather, the student body is a heterogeneous aggregate of individual students who seek to be credentialed for their future beyond university education. Student clubs and societies (where they exist) are typically part of the university's service palette. Student voluntarism in extra-curricular activity is typically lacking, active involvement must be motivated by incentives such as additional credentials or material benefits. Student political activism is very limited and ad hoc; students are typically politically apathetic.

3.3.3 Tentative Propositions for Regime Crises and Transitions

On the basis of the classification of different ideal-typical regimes of student governance, I can outline some tentative propositions subject to empirical testing of likely causes of governance crises for each type. These preliminary propositions are based on a critical assessment of internal tensions and tendencies to instability. Thus, in the *community of scholars*, the professorial claims to predominant governing authority may under certain conditions come up against internal and external resistance. Considering that the entire regime of university governance is legitimised by favourable perceptions of academic authority and, by extension, professorial ability to govern the affairs of the university competently, negative perceptions of the academic quality of the institution or governance problems directly undermine the professoriate's claim to such competency. The community of scholars is likely to encounter demands for the recognition of sources of legitimate power other than academic authority. As the university grows in size and complexity, the administration needs to be increasingly staffed by professional managers. They too may in time assert their own professional competency in critical areas of institutional governance, thus leading to a gradual bureaucratisation and eventually a *managerialisation* of university governance.

Conversely, non-professorial members of the academic community and students may challenge professorial hegemony and the professoriate's claims to academic rule in an emancipatory movement against the rigidities of the academic hierarchy, the inequities of professorial patronage and oppressiveness of professorial patriarchy. The result may be an internal *liberalisation* and *democratisation* of university governance in terms of a transition towards greater accountability and an extension of the conception of what constitutes the academic community (Moodie & Eustace, 1974: chapters IX & X; de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 101-104 & Olsen, 2007: 35).

Due to its close integration with the nation, the fate of the *prestigious national university* is closely linked with the fate of the nation (or community) and regime change may thus be precipitated by external developments. If university education should fail to guarantee upward social mobility, the incongruity between student expectation of an elite position in society and their perception of the likeliness of actualising this expectation may become a source of constant student discontent and activism leading to regime instability and eventually to regime-level intervention (Mathieu, 1996). Moreover, regime instability may arise from fast-paced societal transformation that may manifest as a 'cultural gap' or 'generational conflict' between students and faculty (and administration) (Klineberg *et al*, 1979 & Nkomo, 1983 & 1984). Regime transitions typically involve orienting governance towards generating new forms of trust and accountability.

Given that the practice of governance of the *stakeholder university* involves a multitude of stakeholder groups and tends to be time-consuming and overly politicised, effective governance requires a strong corporate centre. From the student perspective, the workability of governance by stakeholders depends on the resourcefulness of student leaders, strong administrative support, and sustained mass student involvement. Either there is a highly committed and effective student leadership support system or student leadership will lack the time, capacity and resources to participate effectively in the extensive and time-consuming governance system. A gradual regime transition may be precipitated by the rise of an informal elite group of power brokers drawn especially from the professoriate or management who may use institutional resources for establishing and maintaining a system of patron-client relations. Thus, a transition towards more bureaucratic or academic rule may ensue at the expense of organised student power (Mason, 1978). Alternatively, student leaders may also by-pass the route of formal governing bodies, as mass action may be far more effective than time-consuming boardroom negotiations with academics, management and other constituencies. Especially once a pattern has been established that concessions can be forced by means of popular protests, governance by means of formal institutions may be in permanent crisis leading to outside intervention (Alence, 1999 & de Boer & Stensaker, 2007: 104-109).

Governance in the *market-oriented university* faces a different problem. Unless the market-oriented university has a sizable endowment, loyal student catchment, and established reputation, it may not be able to weather the caprices of the market and any shift in public opinion or taste may be

disastrous for its financial sustainability and survival. Yet, apart from the impact of such external shocks, the market-oriented university is also prone to internal problems which arise from what James Hollis poetically calls "the effacement of the soul" of the university. Through downsizing, outsourcing, and casualising, the university is deprived of its roots as a community of learning with consequent loss of morale. Managerial considerations overburden the educational relationship between teacher and student, which becomes lifeless and mechanical (Hollis, 1998: 103-104).[50] Since its relationship with academics, students, state, and businesses is primarily contractual rather than affective or substantive, the market-oriented university may thus also be prone to academic staff unionisation and strike action as well as to excessive service demands from individual students and other clients. Dissatisfaction with specific management actions may lead to calls for fee strikes or consumer boycotts in an attempt by student leaders to instigate consumer activism. Sustaining the university as a viable and vibrant centre of teaching and research may, however, require a wider reform that involves that "new forms of academic-administrative relations have to be worked out" (Clark, 2004: 173) leading to a certain *restoration of academic rule*.

The implication of these preliminary propositions concerning regime stability and likely regime transitions is the recognition that regime instability may arise from inherent internal tensions and tendencies as well as from changing external conditions implicated in each respective type. Moreover, it shows that the role of students in the establishment and maintenance of a particular regime is highly contingent.

By means of summary, it may be important to briefly highlight and characterise the different regime transitions identified so far:

- A transition towards the regime of governance of a prestigious national university may be conceived as *university nationalisation* or *socialisation;*
- A governance shift towards a market-oriented university will typically involve a rise of managerialism and can be conceived as *university managerialisation*;
- *University democratisation* is theoretically understood as a shift towards the regime of governance of a stakeholder university, and;
- A transition towards the regime of governance of the traditional community of scholars may be conceived as a *restoration of donnish rule*.

My theoretical conceptualisation of the relationship between the four 'visions' of the university and related regimes of governance and transitions from one regime type to another are summarised in figure 3.

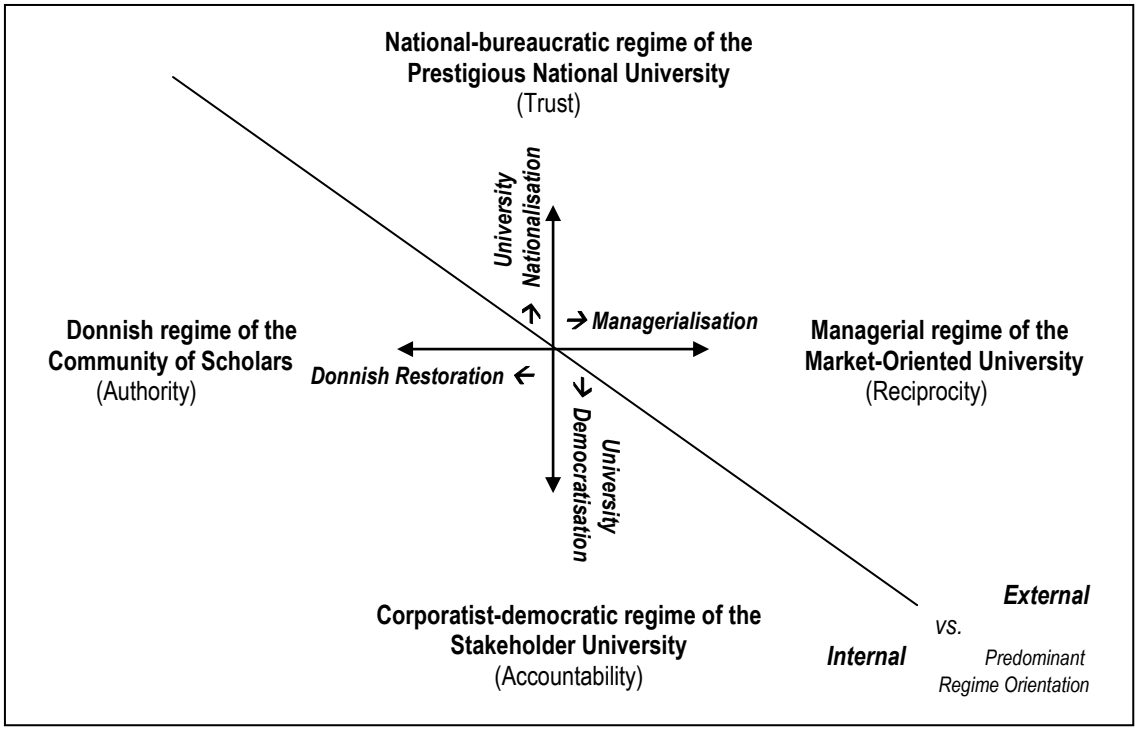
3.3.4 The Typology of Student Governance and Good Student Governance

Above I have outlined four 'visions' of the university and characteristics of associated ideal-typical regimes of governance which I developed on the basis of different conceptions of 'student' and

[50] In contrast, Burton Clark dismisses 'soul talk' as a valid counter-argument to university entrepreneurialism arguing that "those who summon souls for 'the university' need to consider undesirable essences that should be eliminated" (2004: fn 4).

their implications for student governance. Figure 3 proposes a position for each of the four visions and related regime types corresponding to their respective predominant rule of legitimation (or quality of governance in terms of Hyden's analytical framework) – i.e. accountability, authority, trust, and reciprocity – on a matrix of regime types. Thus, based on the correspondence of the 'predominant rules of legitimation' between the four regime types of student governance and Hyden's general regime typology, I propose to nest my typology in Hyden's general theoretical framework. The typology in figure 3 further indicates my theoretical conceptualisation of different regime transitions; it also includes a diagonal axis indicating a dividing line between respectively different predominant regime orientations either towards internal structural features or external structural features and power dynamics (Olsen, 2007).

Figure 3 Visions of the University and Regimes and Regime Transitions of Student Governance



The purpose of this typology (and the related characteristics of each type) is to map the relationships between different regimes and regime transitions of student governance (and their implications for student involvement in university governance) in theoretical terms. Moreover, it serves to apply Hyden's governance approach to the context of student politics. In an empirical investigation, the typology can serve as a heuristic device, assisting us to look in an organised way at the variety of concrete, operational regimes of student governance that manifests *inter alia* in the different ways in which students participate in university governance. As an abstraction from reality, the model naturally runs the risk of over-simplifying the complexity of empirical situations. Thus, whether it is able to cope with all historical situations will be subject to empirical testing.

Studying student politics as governance also offers the possibility for a normative analysis. As noted above, Hyden's notion of a governance realm (and the converse notion of 'bad politics' and related regime characteristics) can serve this purpose. Thus, if 'bad politics' is associated with regimes characterised by a predominance of the 'bad' properties of 'coercion', 'exchange', 'suspicion', and 'blind trust/compliance', good governance conversely involves the conscious pursuit of a combination of *the qualities of the governance realm,* i.e. trust, authority, accountability and reciprocity, appropriate to the university which is to be governed. Considering Bratton and Rothchild's insight that the qualities of the governance realm in fact represent "a catalogue of different ways in which power is legitimated" (1992: 270), this implies conversely that a valid normative analysis of politics as good governance should involve a critique of domination appropriate to its context.

3.3.5 Empirical Dimensions of Student Governance

Empirical studies of student politics typically focus either on (informal) student activism or on (formal) student participation in university governance; an analysis of student politics as governance, however, requires a scope of enquiry that involves elements of both. I propose that the empirical investigation should focus on indicators that bear a relationship with authority, reciprocity, accountability and trust (and the adverse properties of coercive power, exchange, suspicion and blind trust/compliance) in keeping with Hyden's original framework. The following adaptations and additions to Hyden's empirical dimensions are proposed for a study of student governance:

3.3.5.1 Student Influence and Oversight in University Governance

An empirical study of student governance could investigate the extent of student influence and oversight in university governance by considering the following indicators of formal student participation:

(1) Formal means by which students can participate in the political processes and thereby express their preference about higher education policy;
(2) Formal methods by which students can hold university leadership accountable, and;
(3) The extent of political participation of the student body at large in matters of university governance.

The indicators of this dimension deal with the formal institutional framework of student involvement in governance and provide a picture of the formal avenues through which students can hold the university leadership accountable and exert influence and oversight in various domains of university governance. (It must be kept in mind that the relevant conception of 'university leadership' is contingent and may include students.) It may also involve an analysis of the effectiveness of the given institutional framework for student influence and oversight. In addition, the investigation should be concerned with possible domains from which students are excluded from formal participation (and possibly the reasons for this exclusion). The third indicator relates to

relevant data for assessing the extent to which ordinary students show interest in, and make use of, the opportunities to participate formally in university governance.

3.3.5.2 Responsive and Responsible University Leadership

This empirical dimension is concerned with the responsiveness of university leaders as 'governors' to students as the 'governed' and university's leadership as stewards of good governance (whereby different regimes involve different predominant groups from which the university leadership is drawn). The following indicators could be used for this empirical dimension:

(1) University leaders' attitude towards student participation in university governance and student rights;
(2) The extent of openness and responsiveness of policy-making to students' preferences, and;
(3) University leaders' adherence to the official regime of governance.

These indicators are primarily concerned with investigating the acceptance by university leadership of the limits of their power and of the meaningful involvement of students in university governance.

3.3.5.3 Informal Student Activism

An empirical investigation of student governance should include an analysis of the informal aspects of student politics especially in opposition to university authorities (and national government if it concerns matters of higher education). In this regard, I propose the following indicators:

(1) Student leaders' disposition towards university authorities (including informal protocols of student politics that are hidden from the public);
(2) Incidence of student political activism related to university matters (and in relation to other matters pertinent to higher education politics more broadly), and;
(3) Student leaders' perceptions of the benefit of participation in university governance.

The first indicator deals with matters of trust and distrust, suspicion and compliance as they can be identified in the off-stage discourse and the informal (or hidden) protocols of student leaders.[51] The second indicator relates to students' coercive power and focuses on incidents of student activism, the way students draw attention to preferences and grievances that are not processed by the formal regime of university governance to their satisfaction. The third indicator may be somewhat counter-intuitive. I propose to look *inter alia* at the kind of (material?) benefits individual student leaders expect and/or receive by being politically active – as activists or formal representatives in university governance, as an indicator of exchange.

3.3.5.4 Social Reciprocities in Student Governance

The fourth empirical dimension deals with the nature and political significance of social differentiation and cleavages amongst the members of the university. Specific empirical indicators related to this dimension could include:

[51] "Infrapolitics" and "hidden protocols" (as well as the related notion of "hidden transcripts") have been proposed by James C. Scott (1990) as concepts to study the political conduct of subordinate groups. My reference to these terms here is in a very loose sense.

(1) Extent of political equality between and within different university constituencies;
(2) Extent of political tolerance between different social and functional groups in the pursuit of higher education politics, and;
(3) Representivity in the memberships of associational bodies, university leadership and student leadership.

Indicators in this dimension focus on socio-political differentiation in the university community and its significance in the pursuit of university governance and student politics. Politically significant demographic characteristics can include age, gender, race, ethnicity/language, nationality, and class. As noted in chapter 2, in a university the 'functional' differentiation and related hierarchies (e.g. professoriate, *Mittelbau,* students, management) may be especially important. This empirical dimension serves as indicator for trust and reciprocity in a regime of governance.

In summary, I therefore propose that the empirical study of student governance could be conducted by looking at four empirical dimensions of student politics: i) the university population as a whole and the nature and political significance of differentiation within the membership of the university; ii) the formal regime of university governance and provisions for student participation in decision-making; iii) the disposition of university leadership towards the formal regime and student participation in particular; conversely the disposition of student leadership towards the formal regime and university leadership; and iv) the related informal practices of governance. In addition, an empirical study must pay due attention to the macro-political context within which an institution operates.

How now should we conceive of the relation between the 'student governance approach' and an empirical study of student politics? On the one hand, the framework proposed here has the potential to become a testable preliminary theory. It is possible to generate specific hypotheses for the relationship between the empirical dimensions proposed above and my regime typology (similar to Hyden's proposal) or, alternatively, develop hypotheses based on my tentative propositions for regime crises and transitions and then develop specific empirical indicators (as outlined above). Either type of hypotheses could be tested by material surveyed at one or a number of cases. Conversely, the framework could be applied in a much weaker sense whereby any part of it can serve one or another purpose in an empirical study, as various applications of Hyden's governance approach have illustrated to date.

In the following chapter, I take the interpretive route, a middle way between an application of the 'student governance approach' as a testable theory and a weak and partial application, as I employ it as a general conceptual-analytical framework that provides me with tools at the level of classification and systematic analysis. The place of *a priori* specified hypotheses is taken in my application by the creative process of interpretation. The interpretive task involved in my application primarily concerns making judgements in terms of agreements and disagreements between the abstract regime characteristics of my regime typology and concrete evidence generated by my

collection of data in relation to the empirical dimensions specified above, and interpreting the meaning of shifts in governance over time in terms of my regime typology (i.e. how such shifts should be conceptualised and whether they amount to a new regime). In the process, I therefore 'test' the usefulness of my regime typology for understanding different operative regimes and transitions of university governance obtaining in practice.

3.4 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have proposed a general theoretical conceptualisation of different regimes and regime transitions of student governance relevant to student participation in university governance. Overall, the outcome of my work could be described as a "preliminary descriptive theory" involving a set of conceptual-analytic and heuristic tools, theoretical propositions, and empirical indicators (Yin, 2003: 29-30). In particular, it involves a typology of different regimes of student governance amplified in terms of different regimes of university governance and 'visions' of the university. The resulting 'visions' of the university are: *the Community of Scholars, the Prestigious National University, the Stakeholder University, and the Market-Oriented University*. Moreover, I have proposed a theoretical conceptualisation of regime transitions as shifts towards a particular ideal-type of regime, in terms of a *restoration of donnish rule, university democratisation, managerialisation,* and *nationalisation*. This typology and the related conceptualisations are nested in, and provide the means for, an adaptation of Hyden's governance approach. Overall, my adaptation of Hyden – termed the 'student governance approach' - involves a typology of regimes of student governance, each of which is characterised in terms of a predominant quality of governance, regime orientation, definition of governors, conception of 'student' and mode of student politics involved. This characterisation of ideal-type regimes further issued in a number of tentative propositions with respect to regime transitions, student politics and activism. Finally, I also adapted Hyden's set of empirical dimensions and indicators for a study of student politics as governance.

In the next chapter, I report on an empirical study of student politics and governance at the University of Cape Town in which I have applied the 'student governance approach' in ways outlined in chapter 1 and above.

CHAPTER 4: STUDENT POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE AT UCT: A CASE STUDY AS ANALYTICAL HISTORY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates student politics at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in relation to changes in the regime of university governance. My main interest is to understand the student political dynamics involved in university democratisation and the rise of managerialism, and the impact of these transitions on formal student participation in university governance. In chapter 3, I proposed a conceptual-analytical framework for the study of student politics involving four ideal-types of regimes of student governance. The different ideal-type regimes were characterised, *inter alia,* in terms of predominant qualities of governance, as well as different conceptions of governors and of students. This typology was amplified in terms of regimes of university governance and 'visions' of the university and embedded within an overall 'governance approach' involving an analytical dimension and certain normative considerations. Among the empirical dimensions of this framework, I considered student activism, formal student involvement in university decision-making, the relationship between student leaders and university leaders, as well as characteristics of the university community and the macro-political context within which the university operates. In this chapter, I investigate student politics and governance at the University of Cape Town as a case study in applying the governance approach. Honed by this agenda, my account offers an analytical history of student politics. In that, it departs significantly from the familiar 'grand narrative of liberal student politics' under apartheid. Compared to conventional historical perspectives my analytical history involves a peculiar focus and some notable emphases and omissions (some of which I have referred to in chap. 1). My treatment of student politics at UCT should thus not be confused with a historical account of student activism. Rather, it is an attempt to utilise an in-depth longitudinal single case study for understanding the implications of changes in university governance for student participation in university governance.

The case study report offered in this chapter is structured chronologically to provide an overview of the change trajectory of student politics and governance at UCT. Throughout my account of changes in the student body and the wider university community will be related to significant macro-political developments (e.g. national politics). In the first section, I provide a birds-eye view of the earliest regime of student governance at UCT and a brief account of some of the early concerns of the Students' Representative Council (SRC) at the time. I argue that the University's *ancien régime* of governance can be understood in terms of my regime typology as a hybrid type, closest to governance in a community of scholars in that the professoriate was at the centre of decision-making affecting students, while at the same time the university was also deeply embedded in, and subject to, the cultural and political dynamics of white South Africa. In these early years, there was little or no provision for student participation in university governance (or that

of any other internal group except the professoriate for that matter). In the post-World War II years, when the UCT student body was increasingly composed of adult students, demands for formal representation of students in university governing bodies, especially in the powerful Senate, increased. Under the vice-chancellorship of Dr TB Davie, student activism was activated by an external 'shock': the threat (and later the imposition) of academic segregation as part of the Nationalist government's apartheid policy. Thus activated, student activism became quickly radicalised; together with an abrupt about-face in the attitude of Principal Dr JP Duminy towards student political involvement and a failed attempt by the university authorities to impose an unwanted constitutional change on the SRC, this jointly set the local background for the first wave of university democratisation at UCT.

In the second section of the case study report, I discuss the first wave of university democratisation at UCT. Mounting student objections against the imposed SRC Constitution of 1966 and various outdated student rules (in a context of new developments in student governance internationally) provided the new Vice-Chancellor Sir Richard Luyt the opportunity to shape a distinctly different regime of student governance. Students now came to be recognised officially as young adults with certain political rights including that of formally participating in most spheres of university decision-making. This transition to a democratic-collegial regime of governance where elected student representatives alongside those of non-professorial academic staff were represented in an extended system of governing bodies was in line with concurrent developments in higher education in Europe and North America. Sir Richard Luyt's reforms of the 1970s were consolidated by the early 1980s.

The third section of the report deals with certain key developments in student politics and governance during the turbulent 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, coinciding largely with Dr Stuart Saunders' term as VC. I argue that the democratisation of university governance introduced and consolidated under Luyt established some key characteristics of good governance. Hence, this regime could be sustained despite high levels of student activism precipitated by external macro-political developments throughout much of the 1980s. During the last years of the decade, however, a racial polarisation in the increasingly diverse student population of the University, and black student activism in particular, led to the temporary emergence of racially distinct structures of student governance – i.e. a 'racial parallelism' in student governance - on campus. The parallel structures that emerged in the residences and sport sectors were gradually disbanded after the merger at national and campus levels of the white National Union of Students (NUSAS) with the black South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO) to form a non-racial student body, the South African Students' Congress (SASCO), and particularly following the installation of the first black SRC President at UCT. I argue that non-racial unity in student politics set the stage for students to challenge the university authorities in 1993 to follow suit and to embark on an institution-wide process of transformation and democratisation. The ensuing transitional process issued in the establishment of a University Transformation Forum (UTF) and related bodies. My

analysis finds that the parallel transitional regime of governance centred on the UTF Executive Committee included key characteristics of the ideal-type of a stakeholder-democratic university. The outcome of this second wave of democratisation at UCT was, however, not a stakeholder university – instead, key outcomes of the second wave of university democratisation at UCT, in particular the increasing significance of *demographic* representivity in university governance, correspond rather to a corrective 'regime nationalisation' in theoretical terms. I end this section with an assessment of the demise of student leadership in the transformation process (with special reference to the SRC election debacle of 1995) and an appreciation of the lasting legacy of the UTF's operations and achievements.

The fourth section starts with an account of some of the radical changes at UCT during the brief term of Dr Mamphela Ramphele as VC in the second half of the 1990s. I term this period that of an emergence of managerialism at UCT. In terms of my theoretical conceptualisations, it was characterised by a shift towards a more market-oriented university implicated in the implementation of a wide-ranging package of managerial reforms and restructuring, and issuing in various features characteristic of managerialism emerging at UCT. While marginalising the role and contributions of student leadership in university governance, the managerial modernisation of the late 1990s also produced a number of tangible benefits for students as 'clients' and changes in the student body. These changes compounded with the demise of SASCO's dominance in the SRC, led to a series of SRCs that were composed of independents, 'born-agains', and international students, who came to terms with the emergence of managerialism at UCT by engaging in their own version of a depoliticised 'entrepreneurial student activism'. At the same time, the University decided to embark on an official review of its management and governance structures in order to consolidate the recent managerial reforms in a new integrated organisational structure of decision-making.

The final section of the chapter discusses the impact of the managerial modernisation along with the rise of managerialism on academic rule and the legacies of the two successive waves of university democratisation at UCT. I argue that in the course of the vice-chancellorship of Prof Njabulo Ndebele, a hybrid regime of university governance characterised by an expertise-pact between senior academics, manager-academics and professional managers (all conceived as 'professional experts') was consolidated. My analysis shows that this retained key elements of the legacy of the two waves of university democratisation in that the strategic version of collegial-managerial governance at UCT still provided extensively for formal student representation in university governance. However, while the extent of formal student involvement did not change, its nature and significance altered profoundly. My account in this section ends with an analysis of the implications of the 'academic-managerial expertise pact' for student politics and university governance, both in terms of a depoliticisation of formal student representation and a re-emergence of emancipatory student activism at the University of Cape Town. In concluding, I will also briefly consider the main findings of the study in view of a conception of 'good' student governance relevant to a university in a democratising society.

4.2 The Early Years of Student Governance and Politics

The University of Cape Town is South Africa's oldest and arguably most prestigious university. Its origins can be traced back to the South African College (SAC), a proprietary college established upon the initiative of reverends of various Christian churches and wealthy citizens of Cape Town in 1829. After the Union of South Africa was established in 1910, the South African College and its close neighbour, the Victoria College in Stellenbosch, were granted full charters by the Union government and thus became the first fully-fledged teaching and examining universities of South Africa. The University of Cape Town officially started operating as a university in 1918 and subsequently developed rapidly with substantial private endowments. In 1928, the University moved to its present main campus on the Groote Schuur estate, overlooking the affluent Southern suburbs of Cape Town (Muller, 1991: 411-412; Phillips, 1993: chap. 1).

In keeping with the purpose of the College to educate the sons of the English and Dutch colonial elite, the composition of SAC's student body was patently white and male in its early years. Student numbers had grown unevenly since its founding from 115 in 1829 to 478 in 1917 (Ritchie, 1918: 848). From the outset (and upon suggestion of the Cape Governor), the College provided scholarships to a limited number of indigent and orphaned students (Ritchie, 1918: 33ff). The College was opened to women students in 1886 (first on an experimental basis, and in the following year for all courses), which was uncommon at the time (UCT, 2005b: ii). Religious instruction was explicitly precluded from the College in 1830, after this issue had almost shipwrecked the young SAC. There was also no overt rule reserving the College to whites only. Rather, as William Ritchie notes, the College was officially open to all "without distinction of colour or creed", as long as they had the necessary qualifications (1918: 56ff). In practice, the question over the admission of black students cropped up only occasionally, however, and according to Ritchie "the cases where applications have been made for the admission of coloured students to the College or school have always been a source of considerable embarrassment to the Council" (1918: 640). Yet, there was no formal prohibition and, on occasion, Coloured students were admitted. When in 1915 for the first time an African student (the son of an African traditional leader) who had passed the matriculation examination applied for admission, the applicant was friendly turned away, however (Ritchie, 1918: 640-641).

4.2.1 The 'Ancien Régime' of Student Governance

The Students' Representative Council (SRC) of UCT was a successor to the SRC of SAC, which had been founded in 1906. The formation of the SAC SRC by the students had been heartily welcomed by the Senate at the time. Senate hoped that the SRC would serve as a means to strengthen and express the corporate feeling of the College's students, which "were beginning to regard themselves as real university students, rather than older school boys" (Ritchie, 1918: 500). When in 1918 the SAC SRC became the first SRC of UCT it consisted of twenty students elected

by different constituencies (or sectors) in the student body, including the faculties, sport clubs, societies, residences and women students (Phillips, 1993: 130). This system of constituency-based elections was only replaced with an undivided electorate in 1937 (Phillips, 1993: 197). The constitution required that the SRC Executive of six members included a woman. (While this seems extraordinarily progressive for its time, it did not imply, however, that women at SAC/UCT were socially emancipated.) The responsibilities of the early SRCs were mostly related to students' recreational activities. Clubs and societies were subject to its authority and it was responsible for campus-wide social events for student, of which sport events and dances were the most popular. The SRC had as one of its special duties control over student publications. It was financed by a general student levy, portions of which the SRC could allocate to societies and, via the Student Finance Committee, to finance student sports (Phillips, 1993: 130).

There was no provision for student participation in the University's two highest decision-making bodies, Council and Senate, or in any of their committees. The SRC sought representation especially in the powerful Senate as well as in Senate committees that had oversight over students' academic affairs and certain extra-curricular and residence matters. From 1926, Senate permitted its committees "to formally consult the S.R.C. on such issues as the latter felt student opinion should be heard" (Phillips, 1993: 130). However, Senate refused the SRC attendance of its meetings or access to its agenda. Howard Phillips argues that this attitude to student involvement in governance was typical for its time in that "the role of students in university decision-making was to be no more than advisory" (1993: 130).

The formation of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) in Bloemfontein in 1924 on the initiative of Leo Marquard was an important indication of a broadening of the scope of political interest among South African students and UCT students in particular. At the time, NUSAS was founded to forge student unity between Afrikaans and English-speaking white students. The SRCs of all universities and university colleges affiliated to NUSAS, except for Fort Hare which (being the only black higher education institution in the country) had not been invited to the founding conference so as not to alienate the Afrikaans institutions. For the first two decades of its existence NUSAS did not have a distinct student political agenda (other than that of forging unity among students); rather, as a non-political body its aims were primarily to provide for the educational and social interests of students and to stay clear of the potentially divisive religious and political issues between Afrikaans and English students (Burrows, 2003: 9 & Phillips, 1993: 129). At UCT, NUSAS garnered some support by providing various tangible benefits for students, including tours and discounts, and by representing South African students nationally and internationally (Phillips, 1993: 129).

The late 1920s and early 1930s were years when an emergent Afrikaner nationalism began to flex its political muscle in the South African Union. In relation to NUSAS, this resulted in the breakaway of Afrikaner students who felt that in order to attain full cultural and political recognition, they had to

establish a separate body. Thus, students from the universities of the Free State, Potchefstroom and Pretoria broke away from the NUSAS in 1933 to form the *Afrikaanse Nasionale Studente Bond*. Stellenbosch retained its membership of NUSAS until 1935 when it also withdrew over the proposed affiliation of Fort Hare. Fort Hare was allowed to join NUSAS as a full member only in 1945 and the SRC of the black University of Natal Medical School was also allowed to affiliate in the 1940s (NUSAS, 1976: 1; Phillips, 1993: 198-199; Burrows, 2003: 9 & Simpson, 2006: 1).

The first years of the 1930s were also the years of the Great Depression; UCT came under great financial strain during this time as well, which did not leave the SRC unscathed. In 1931, the SRC lost the right to allocate funds autonomously through its Student Funding Committee. In the course of the 1930s, the SRC lost more of its powers, such as the right to have the final say over the contents of student publications and the appointment of their editors. Senate also began to restrict student dances on campus while continuing its refusal to invite the SRC Executive to its meetings. From 1938 onwards, however, student representatives were allowed to appear before Faculty Boards to discuss matters that related to them. Moreover, at a personal level, the relations between successive SRCs and the university authorities, and particularly relations with the University's longstanding first Principal and Vice-Chancellor, Sir John Carruthers Beattie (1918-1938), were reputed to be cordial (Phillips, 1993: 197).

In the context of the early years of UCT as a fully-fledged university, the regime of student governance was not so much focused on students as a constituency as on their parents, who had handed their sons and daughters into the care of the professors, residence wardens, and administrators. Students' rejection of being treated as 'minors' is on record. The SRC President of 1932, B.A. Farell, is cited in *Varsity* as arguing that "the phrase *in loco parentis* … is an intolerable mechanism designed to produce rigid but artificial conformity to norms of conduct determined and imposed by a generation largely out of touch and out of sympathy with our own" ("Res. Visiting -…", 1971). The professorial Senate[52] not only had authority over the academic affairs of the University but also over student affairs, student rules and discipline. Hence, the SRC's limited authority, which was confined largely to the domain of extra-curricular sporting, literary and recreational activity of students, was subject to oversight by Senate (Diemont Commission, 1966: 2). Formal involvement of students in university decision-making (other than the organisation of an SRC) was virtually absent. There were complaints procedures open to individual students and their parents and, distinctly so, to the SRC. In the University's student residences, a system of benevolent patriarchy (or in the case of women's residences, matriarchy) ruled with the warden, who was typically a senior member of the faculty, as the head of the residence with wide-ranging authority over residents. The establishment of a house committee of student residents was at the discretion of the warden (UCT, 1971: 59-70).

[52] The original Senate of 1918 was essentially a meeting of the University's professors with the Principal/Vice-Chancellor who acted as chairperson. The original Senate included two members of Council as the only two non-professorial members. This composition remained intact until 1959 and even then altered only slightly with the inclusion of deputy principals (UCT, 1971).

This ‘ancien régime’ of student governance at UCT may be characterised as a hybrid type. On the one hand, it was reminiscent of the ideal-type of a traditional collegial regime of academic governance and recognisably donnish (albeit subtly dominated by the Principal and key professors) (Phillips, 1993: 61, 134 & 138). On the other hand the cosmopolitanism of the University’s mostly British-born and -educated elite was constrained by the cultural dynamics, social conventions and values of white South Africa (Welsh, 1979: 25) – to the extent on infringing on academic freedom (as we will see below). Student governance as a whole was subject to conventions and dynamics that were particular to, and embedded in, local political and social dynamics. The balance was maintained by a Council that included representatives of key internal and external constituencies[53] which was in the last instance in charge of all decisions on planning and budgeting as well as staff appointments, including that of academic staff (Phillips, 1993: 133). From the early 1940s, developments internal and external to the university community came to gradually change and challenge this ‘ancien régime’ of student governance.

4.2.2 Academic Freedom, Segregation, and the Activation of Student Politics

World War II brought changes in the relationship between students and university authorities during the term of Dr AW Falconer as the University’s second Vice-Chancellor (1938-1947). With the influx of mature adult students, i.e. returning servicemen from the War, relations between consecutive SRCs and the university authorities began to sour. In an effort to improve the situation, Senate made a number of concessions to the SRC. From 1943 the SRC was allowed to nominate a Senate member, i.e. a professor, as its ‘watchdog’ in order “to ensure that the SRC would be consulted on any matter relating to students”. In the same year, Council agreed to a similar arrangement (Phillips, 1993: 244-245 & UCT, 2005b: iv). Nonetheless, Council and Senate and their respective committees and offices through which the University was governed, continued to exclude students from membership, with only a few exceptions, well into the 1960s.

According to Fiona Burrows (2003), the “catalyst” for increased student activism arose from the dramatic changes in the national political scene in the wake of World War II. Following the accession of the National Party (NP) to power in 1948 with its contested policy of ‘apartheid’, the new Afrikaner-dominated government systematically proceeded to formalise existing segregationist practices and to extend racial segregation by law into various spheres of public and private life, including higher education. This was perceived as a vital threat to the institutional autonomy of UCT and Wits as formally ‘open universities’. While the student bodies of both these universities had always been overwhelmingly white, they had officially upheld a policy of granting admission to students based on academic merit only. UCT’s third Vice-Chancellor, Dr Thomas Benjamin Davie

[53] Council was originally composed of the Principal *ex officio*, five members appointed by the Governor-General, six members elected by the convocation (which included not only graduates and diplomates of UCT but also past students of SAC, SAC School and Diocesan College and graduates of the University of the Cape of Good Hope), three professors chosen by Senate, two members chosen by the Cape Town City Council, three members chosen by past students, life governors and donors, and one additional member. The 1959 *Universities Act* only added two members chosen from the Board of Governors of the UCT Foundation and the deputy principals to Council membership (UCT, 1971 & Phillips, 1993: 133-134).

(1948-1955), took a leading role in articulating principled objections to academic segregation as a threat to academic freedom, supported in joint public statements by the Senates of both 'open universities'. For their part student leaders and the SRC also joined in these public protests against the imposition of apartheid on the university. Thus, the threat of academic segregation provided the catalyst for the emergence of student political activism at UCT, as it did in the other white English-medium South African universities (Burrows, 2003: 12).

In due course student participation in these anti-apartheid protests provided a significant indication of the changing conception of 'student' in the University. Initially, the form of student political activism protesting the threat of academic segregation at UCT was embedded within the political activism of the academic community as a whole. Effectively this amounted to a conservative response that focused on the maintenance, and later the restoration, of academic freedom. Student leadership generally concurred with the political sentiments of the university authorities and the mostly overseas-trained faculty of the 'open universities'; they identified themselves as members of the academic community and were equally intent on maintaining what were considered as the fundamental rights of the academic guild. Still, from an early stage the role of students in the emergent anti-apartheid protests was considerable. According to UCT's student newspaper *Varsity,* VC Falconer made the first official declaration of the University's stance against the enforcement of the colour bar on campus in 1946 following a meeting of Senate with a student delegation.[54] In the latter half of the 1950s, students actively joined in protests against the *Extension of University Education Bill* that provided for academic segregation. They took part in the Academic Freedom March of 7 June 1957, where in formal, solemn procession, students walked behind Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Registrar, members of Council, members of Senate and the teaching staff, as the most junior members of the University, all in full academic dress, from the foot of Adderley Street up Wale Street and Queen Victoria Street to Hiddingh Hall, the University's city campus ("The First Great…", 2004).

As the procession of 1957 illustrates, student activism at this stage was not that of an emancipatory movement; rather, students marched as members of a faction of the ruling class to defend its privileges and autonomy from encroachment by an illiberal government. The official position of the 'open universities' as formulated in their definition of academic freedom (*see below*) was narrowly concerned with non-interference by government in university autonomy. Substantial matters of students' academic freedom involved in the classic notion of *Lernfreiheit* which is focused on the right of admission of students and student mobility and, in the South African context would precisely address the matter of black student admission and questions of race-relations on campus hardly arouse and were sidelined by the dominant interests and social conventions of contemporaneous white South Africa. Hence it is little surprising that most black students at UCT

[54] According to *Varsity*, VC Falconer said of the meeting between Senate and student delegation: "It was generally agreed that no colour bar was applied by the University authorities within the University … as regards the position of social functions … it was decided that it would be best not to lay down any hard and fast rule in this respect" ("Social Practice...", 1965).

abstained from actively participating in the university's defence of academic freedom (Rubin in Burrows, 2003: 21).

In his account of the university politics under apartheid British academic Graeme Moodie comments that the 'open universities' were not primarily opposed to the imposition of academic segregation on the basis of their abhorrence of segregation in general; he points out that the premier political mouthpiece of the white English community, the United Party, stressed during the National Assembly debate on academic segregation in 1959 that "to legislate for separation […] was unnecessary because the universities, if left to make their own decisions, could safely be relied on not to sacrifice their predominantly (or wholly) white character" (1994: 6).

The 'open universities' themselves argued that they neither aspired to be white universities nor to become black universities. Rather, they wished to be *diverse* institutions – not only racially, but also in terms of political affiliation, religion, and class (*The Open Universities*, 1957: 4-5 & 21; *see also* Shear, 1996: chap. 1). In practice, however, this was still a distant aspiration. The academic 'colour-blindness' at the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town was closely circumscribed. In 1959, on the eve of the enforcement of segregation on higher education, UCT numbered about 5000 students in total. The proportion of black students was just over 12 percent of the student body, including 461 Coloured students, 133 Indian students and 39 African students, the rest being white students (Ajayi *et al*, 1996: 71). Moreover, black students' experience of studying at UCT was not at all one of equality. Social segregation and exclusion was practiced widely on campus (including whites-only residences, sport clubs, student societies and many social events), even though the SRC had gradually moved towards a policy of social integration on campus starting in the mid-1940s (*see below*). David Welsh charitably argues that the restraints in admission of black students and social segregation on campus essentially involved a compromise of the liberal values of the English-medium universities: "They participated in what might be described as a world-wide university culture which laid emphasis on the desirability of diversity and cosmopolitanism in the composition of the university; but South African circumstances dictated that there be bounds to this diversity and cosmopolitanism" (Welsh, 1979: 25).

The 'open universities" defence of academic freedom was therefore not principally an opposition to segregation. Academic freedom, for the 'open universities', essentially involved the absence of government interference in the affairs of the university. UCT Vice-Chancellor Dr TB Davie formulated it most famously as the right of a university *"to determine for itself on academic grounds who may teach, what may be taught, how it shall be taught, and who may be admitted to study"* (*The Open Universities*, 1957: 11-12). In other words, the 'open universities' were concerned with that component of academic freedom which is best called institutional autonomy (Moodie, 1996: 130-132).

However, academic freedom as institutional autonomy (in the teaching function of the university) was not the only way in which academic freedom could be conceived in relation to the threat of legally enforced academic segregation. As Moodie points out, academic freedom also classically implies *Lernfreiheit,* i.e. "the freedom of students to study where [and what] they chose" (1996: 137). This point had been made generally in the Freedom Charter of 1955 - "the doors of learning shall be open!" - and by liberal students in NUSAS policy pronouncements against apartheid in higher education in the 1950s (Moodie, 1994: 9). The 'open universities' did contemplate the issue of student rights briefly in the course of the elaboration of their position:

> *"A university's freedom to communicate knowledge to others connotes by implication the freedom of others, such as students, to receive the information imparted. [Therefore], the concept of academic freedom can be expanded to include the freedom of the student to study, and hence the establishment of the academic facilities to enable him [or her] to do so" (The Open Universities, 1957: 9).*

During the debate of the 1959 bills on academic segregation in parliament, a few opposition members also considered the implications of segregation in higher education from the perspective of student rights. According to Moodie, "two members (A. Bloomberg and J.H. Russell) emphasised the right of individual students to choose their universities", which would be compromised in the event of the bills being passed (1994: 6). Quite exceptionally they were directly concerned with student rights, especially the rights of black students, but also more generally, with academic mobility. Despite these instances, Moodie concludes that a principled concern with academic freedom as the freedom of students was not only almost completely absent in debates around the racial admission criteria; for the liberal establishment it was also "too radical a position" to contemplate (1994: 9). Thus, the 'open universities" opposition to apartheid was not in any serious way concerned with student rights either; rather it was about maintaining the authority of the university to autonomously define its admission and related policies. The 1950s drew to a close with the *Extension of University Education Bill* being passed in the House of Assembly despite the opposition.[55]

Despite its apparent failure, and even though student rights were not its central concern, student participation in the campaign of the 'open universities' against academic segregation in the 1950s was highly significant for the development of student governance at UCT. Student participation in the campaign established students' credentials as *bona fide* members of the academic community in a political sense. Moreover, an academy that understood itself to be in loco parentis could not have conducted its public campaigns with this kind of student involvement – *pas devant les enfants* would have been the correct response. In terms of my regime typology, the 'ancien régime' of student governance had undergone a gradual *liberalisation*. Yet, students had cut their political

[55] For a more detailed treatment of UCT student participation in the protests against academic segregation and the academic freedom campaign *see*, for example, Burrows (2003, especially chap. 2).

teeth not only as junior members of the academic community; they could henceforth also be conceived as an effective group of civil society in opposition to the government's policy of apartheid. In these ways, the incremental changes in the regime of student governance coincided with a change in the scope of student politics at UCT, which now extended beyond its original domain of intra-mural extra-curricular student affairs and reached as an early form of anti-apartheid student activism into the realm of national and higher education politics. The erstwhile limited and introverted focus of student concerns was giving way to a principled, extroverted, activist approach. Moreover, the particular issue of concern with which UCT students were inducted into political activism brought them to identify with the core values of the academic community (whether or not including student rights) and to assert their identity as students and citizens in national politics. It is therefore not altogether surprising that in the early 1960s two strands of liberal student activism can be discerned: One was directed explicitly against the Nationalist government and its apartheid politics and soon abandoned peaceful protest and non-violence, and the other focused on a further liberalisation of student life on campus, for instance in relation to matters of 'sexual integration' (as the struggle for, *inter alia,* visitation rights in residences was referred to), the racial desegregation of student life, and restrictive rules such as dress codes. Both strands, however, came up against the conservative politics of containment of Council and the University's fourth VC and Principal, Dr Jooste Petrus Duminy (1958-1967) bringing the gradual liberalisation of the 'ancien régime' of student governance to a grinding, albeit only temporary, halt.

4.2.3 'Social Integration' and the Diemont Commission: The End of *Laissez-Faire*

Having lost the battle against the imposition of academic segregation and in the face of post-Sharpeville government repression and the banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the incarceration of the likes of Nelson Mandela, the majority of UCT students turned away from involvement in politics. Only a small though visible group of student leaders, using the SRCs of UCT and Wits and their national organisation, NUSAS, as vehicles, tried to maintain the momentum of anti-apartheid activism by focusing student attention on the issue of social segregation on campus and the conditions at the newly established university colleges for black students (Burrows, 2003: 47-48). This was the background to the radicalisation of a small group of liberals consisting mainly of contemporaneous and former student leaders from UCT, Wits and NUSAS in the early 1960s.

Student leaders like Neville Rubin (SRC President 1956/57 and NUSAS President) and Adrian Leftwich (SRC member 1958/59; NUSAS President 1961&1962) became involved in a small clandestine organisation known as the National Committee for Liberation (NCL, later renamed the African Resistance Movement/ARM). ARM's opposition to the NP government and its policies involved more radical means, including sabotage acts in the form of bomb attacks against

government installations such as railway lines and electricity pylons between 1962 and 1964. They were caught, tried and convicted in the course of 1964 (Burrows, 2003: 44-46).[56]

The ARM trial was a huge embarrassment to UCT and Wits as it demonstrated that the convicted students had used the campuses of these two universities as bases for their clandestine operations (Burrows, 2003: 47). In the wake of these revelations, the more radical liberals in student leadership lost support on the liberal campuses and in 1964 all the English-medium campuses elected conservative SRCs (NUSAS, 1976: 2). In retrospect *Varsity* also described a shift in the attitude of UCT authorities towards the student leadership:

> *"Until 1964 the theme of [Vice-Chancellor] Dr. Duminy's speeches remained the un-Christian nature of race discrimination. " Would Jesus accept a job denied to another man because of his colour?" he courageously asked a Pretoria audience. After 1964 a great divide of bitter disillusionment can be sensed. Speech after speech attacks "militant" "activist" students. Political activities are denounced, ways sought of nullifying the democratically chosen wishes of students towards Nusas. Graduation ceremonies became abused [as] a platform for the Principal to make speeches attacking the SRC and student leadership." ("The Blessings of...", 1972)*

At the same time as national politics strained the relationship between student leadership and VC Duminy, the SRC's policy of 'social integration' on campus initiated in the post-World War II years further incensed internal relations between the university authorities and the SRC. While the main battle against the imposition of academic segregation by the government had been lost in 1959, this did neither mean that black students disappeared from UCT nor did it bring about a break in the internal trend in student relations towards 'social integration'. The simmering conflict between SRC and university authorities reached its nadir in 1966.

UCT's open admission policy had meant that a growing number of Coloured students were studying on campus since the 1920s (and in 1941 a Coloured student was elected onto the SRC). In addition, the admission of African students commenced in the 1940s (Welsh, 1979: 24). In 1954, black enrolments at UCT stood at roughly 5 percent of the total student body, with 163 Coloured students, 81 Indian students, and 27 African students (Holloway Commission, 1955: 5). As noted above, by 1959 UCT numbered about 5000 students and the proportion of black students had risen

[56] The ARM involved a paradigmatic shift in liberal opposition to apartheid, albeit within given limitations. On the one hand, the contemplation and eventual use of violent methods of protest involved a transgression of the principled boundaries of liberal constitutional politics. In this, the ARM activists' turn to political violence in opposition to the NP government was analogous to the founding of the ANC liberation army Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). On the other hand, in limiting their protest to sabotage and strictly avoiding violence against persons, this amounted to a symbolic campaign only. For a comprehensive treatment of the National Committee for Liberation/African Resistance Movement, *see* Andries du Toit's (1990) Master's thesis *The National Committee for Liberation (ARM), 1960-1964*.

to over 12 percent (Ajayi *et al*, 1996: 71).[57] Lecturing and other academic activities had been open to all UCT students, irrespective of race (except in the Medical School). The issue of 'social integration' primarily concerned students' social lives and recreational activities. Customarily these had been effectively segregated in keeping with the social conventions of white South Africa until 1945, when a gradual process of social integration commenced.[58] Significantly, in the 1950s the SRC started to take a principled public stand on the issue. In 1951, the SRC passed the Open Membership Clause which meant that no student club or society was entitled to limit its membership to any particular group, and in 1953 the SRC accepted that black students could participate in the RAG procession and build their own float, and resolved "that unless rendered impossible by the Group Areas Act, this SRC requests the University authorities to place high on the priority list the building of certain residences open to all students, for such students as wish to make use of them" ("Social Practice...", 1965). In 1954, following an earlier resolution of NUSAS, the SRC issued a statement by which it recognised the legal right of all students under the UCT Charter to the use of university facilities and amenities regardless of race and declared its intention to uphold and defend this right (Amoore, 1979: 160).[59] This trend, which VC Davie called "a natural evolutionary process [which should] neither [be] impeded nor enforced by external influences", came to an abrupt end in 1958 when the new VC, JP Duminy, ruled against a multi-racial dance that had been held in Jameson Hall followed by a decision of Council "that in all non-academic or social affairs, the University should abide by the customs and conventions of the community in which it exists" ("Social Practice...", 1965). Sporadically, SRCs reiterated their commitment to social integration on campus. Thus, in 1961 the SRC passed a resolution stating, "that it is the duty of all clubs, councils and societies on the campus, wishing to hold any social function, to ensure that such an event is open to all students of the University, failing which they are not to be held at all" (SRC in Burrows, 2003: 41).

In articulating this increasingly principled stance against racial segregation in student life the SRC was clearly on a collision course with Council and Principal Duminy. After the damning revelations

[57] It remains to be ascertained whether the substantial increase in black student enrolments between 1954 and 1959, coinciding with the main period of public protest against the imposition of academic segregation, was related to the 'principled issues' being protested.

[58] In the post-World War II years, the SRC had developed an increasingly liberal stance on the question of the social practice of racial discrimination against black students at UCT, allowing limited elements of 'social integration' between black and white students to take place. According to *Varsity:* "In 1944, the SRC of the University of Cape Town passed a resolution stating "That Non-European students are not allowed to attend dances or socials or participate in sport at UCT" – and a note in the SRC minutes of the time records that a member of the SRC objected to a Non-European having coffee with the rest of the Council at coffee-break […]. In fact, during the period of 1940-1945 there was little, if any integration at UCT […]. The year 1945 heralded a new SRC, and the beginnings of a truly liberal tradition in thinking at the University. All previous SRC policy on social practice was rescinded, and in 1946, following a meeting between the Senate and a student delegation, the Principal, Mr A.W. Falconer, issued a statement that is regarded today as the first official declaration along humanitarian lines. He said of the meeting: "It was generally agreed that no colour bar was applied by the University authorities within the University … as regards the position of social functions … it was decided that it would not be best to lay down any hard and fast rule in this respect"" ("Social Practice...", 1965).

[59] "The SRC recognised that the legal position under the Charter of the University is that upon membership each student acquires the full privileges of membership of the university and the right to avail himself [or herself] of all its facilities; consequently the SRC is obliged to respect and defend the legal right of any student to exercise his [or her] privileges and make use of all the university amenities" (SRC cited in Amoore, 1979: 160; *see also* "No More Campus Dances...", 1965).

of the ARM trial, Duminy's attitude hardened. In retrospect, *Varsity* assessed Duminy's term after 1964 as a time of "autocratic rigidity", characterised by "suspicion", "deadlock" and "secrecy" with a "great divide", "bad faith" and a "credibility gap" between his administration and the SRC ("The Blessings of...", 1972). In his attitude, Duminy was supported by an equally conservative Council, which explicitly prohibited the use of campus premises or the use of the University's name for racially mixed dances in 1964. This Council decision sparked a mass meeting of 1,200 students that rejected the Council's policy and supported the SRC's position ("Social Practice...", 1965 & Burrows, 2003: 41-42). The issue eventually came to a head when the SRC's espousal of the principle of multi-racialism in student life brought the University in conflict with national government. Dr Duminy's patience with the "lunatic liberals" in the SRC had run out (Duminy, 1966, in Burrows, 2003: 55 & Burrows, 2003: 50-52). Hugh Amoore recalls the specific developments leading up to this point as follows:

> *"A group of UCT students wished to form a student society devoted to propagating the apartheid ideal. This alone might have been permitted by the SRC of the time, but the group insisted that their society be for white students only. When the SRC refused, and were backed by the university council, the then Minister of Education, Arts and Science threatened to place legislation on the statute books which would frustrate the SRC" (Amoore, 1979: 160).*

Confronted with the prospect of yet another infringement of the University's autonomy by government (and of more bad publicity in the white population), Duminy went with the earlier advice of one of his former fellow students at SAC who had advised him in a letter that "the wings of students should certainly be clipped severely" (von Holdt, 1963, in Burrows, 2003: 56).

4.2.3.1 The Work of the Diemont Commission and the Imposed Constitution

At its meeting on 2 March 1966, Council resolved to appoint a commission which would "study the present constitution of the Student's [sic] Representative Council with a view to its possible revision and improvement, and should it think fit to make recommendations accordingly'" (Diemont Commission, 1966: 1). The Council Commission (known as the "Diemont Commission" after its chairperson, Mr Justice Diemont) proceeded to study the constitution of the SRC and to draft a new constitution that would bring 'moderation' to the SRC, focus its attention away from politically contentious issues, and allow for racially exclusive societies (Amoore, 1979: 160 & Burrows, 2003: 51-52). It consisted of nine members: two external members of Council including its chairperson, Mr Justice Diemont, and Mr Justice Corbett (who was to play a significant role only a few years later), the Vice-Chancellor and Principal, four professors, and two SRC members. It conducted its work over a period of eight months and concluded by recommending to Council a new SRC constitution (Diemont Commission, 1966: 1).

The proceedings and outcome of the Diemont Commission were highly contested by the SRC and viewed with great suspicion by the student body.[60] The President of the SRC (1966/67), Ian Hume, expressed his dismay at the proceedings of the Diemont Commission in a memorandum to Council: "[T]he SRC are unable, unfortunately, to conclude this Memorandum without bringing the attention of Council to the fact that we regretfully have had to object to the manner in which the Chairman of the Commission executed some of the proceedings. […] [T]here has been an unfortunate tendency in some cases to denigrate the SRC and this attitude is reflected in some of the clauses of the final Draft [of the new SRC Constitution]" (Hume, 1966: 11). The report by the chairperson of the Commission also referred to unresolved issues between the students and the other members of the Commission (Diemont Commission, 1966).

The reality was that the contending parties, with representatives of the university authorities and the SRC on opposing ends, approached the matter of 'what powers and privileges, and what rights and duties could be given to the SRC' from very different perspectives. The SRC President of 1966/67, Ian Hume, argued in his minority report that the SRC had been "originally thought up and put together by the students themselves in 1906" as a means to safeguard students' interests beyond sports (1966: 9). Students' decision to take the original SRC Constitution to the Senate for ratification had not been out of obligation but in consideration that "the decisions of the [SRC] recognised by the Senate would carry more weight than [those of] an unrecognised body" (*SAC Magazine*, July 1906, cited by Hume, 1966: 9). Hume thus argued that the SRC Constitution essentially belonged to the students and the imposition of a constitution that did not have the support of the SRC would violate "the basic reciprocity of the SRC standing" (1966: 9). The majority report by the chairperson, in contrast, proceeded from a very different premise. It argued that all legislation applicable to the University vested general control over all affairs and functions in the Council of the University and closely circumscribed the extent to which the Council may delegate any of its powers or functions. Since the UCT SRC had no independent legal basis, the Commission argued that the SRC could only have such powers and duties as Council conferred on it, and they would have to be very limited (1966: 2). That this legalistic interpretation patently contradicted the Commission's own stated preference for unwritten constitutions is besides the point (Diemont Commission, 1966: 2); it provided the Commission with enough justification to remove all uncertainty that the SRC was subject to the authority of Council in all respects and that Council could therefore change its constitution as it saw fit.

On the face of it, the draft Diemont SRC Constitution in many respects appeared an improvement on the haphazard and confusing document that had evolved over the preceding sixty years; in its substantive content, however, it was a deeply reactionary and paternalist document, seeking to muzzle the SRC by placing it under the supervision of Council and the Principal. For instance, the

[60] The Editor of *Varsity* warned that the Diemont Commission posed a "serious threat to SRC" and that it was "likely to recommend to the Council that the powers of the students' governing body be curtailed drastically" ("Editorial: Serious Threat…", 1966). Given that the Commission met *in camera,* speculation was rife on the content of its recommendations to Council ("Editorial: Serious Threat…", 1966 & "SRC Commission has…, 1966).

Commission recommended that the SRC Constitution should not make provision for the SRC to act as the voice of the student body to the general public because "it is not the function of the SRC to make press statements ..." (1966: 4). As to its oversight of student organisations and authority over students, the Diemont Constitution stripped the SRC of virtually all disciplinary powers (such as being able to summons errant student leaders and discipline them or to expel non-performing SRC members). Furthermore, the composition of the SRC was expressly changed to limit the SRC to intra-mural concerns. The Diemont constitution proposed that the SRC again consist of 20 members, of which ten would be elected from a campus-wide general ballot and the other ten serve as faculty representatives elected by the student body of their respective faculty (Diemont Commission, 1966: 5). Council then adopted this constitution without the endorsement of the SRC, only taking into account some minor changes and recommendations by the Senate's General Purposes Committee (GPC).

As a result of the Diemont Commission's work, the SRC had become a body under the oversight of Council rather than Senate, and it was to Council and the VC and Principal, that the SRC directed its vehement protestations. Significantly students' objections to the 'imposed constitution' were, however, not concerned with its general thrust that stripped the SRC off many of its powers and responsibilities; rather, they focused on the key issue of the day, the issue that had sparked the establishment of the Commission in the first place, namely the new clause inserted into the new constitution that now allowed clubs and societies to restrict their membership on the grounds of race. At a student mass meeting, the new SRC Constitution was hotly debated and, despite opposition from a minority of conservative students, a motion was passed rejecting this clause in particular and the Diemont Constitution in general as an outright imposition. Council, for its part, remained intransigent on the issue and refused any further communications on the issue with the SRC President. Equally intransigent, the SRC of 1966/67 defiantly declared its 'unilateral independence' (an allusion to the Rhodesian UDI of the time) and announced that it would henceforth operate unofficially but as the sole legitimate body representing and having the full support of UCT's students.[61] The issue of the imposed constitution only came to a temporary rest in early 1968 when the threat of government intervention had subsided, a new VC had taken the reins at UCT, and Council backed down by removing the offensive clause from the constitution ("SRC Accepts...", 1968; Amoore, 1979: 160 & Burrows, 2003: 57-58).[62]

[61] In response to Council's refusal to negotiate with the SRC on the "constitutional crisis", three SRC members resigned (i.e. Ms Dorianne Berry, Ms Mary Simons and Mr Raymond Suttner). *Varsity* called for all SRC members to resign in protest against the imposed constitution. On the weekend of 16 April 1966, the SRC (including the three resigned members) decided to "declare a UDI" and to continue to operate under the old constitution which prohibited segregation on campus. The three SRC members withdrew their resignations ("SRC U.D.I...", 1965).

[62] After Council removed the offensive clause from the Diemont Constitution, the SRC accepted the new constitution and the SRCs of 1968/69-1972/73 were therefore elected in accordance with the new provision of ten SRC members elected by all students and ten faculty representatives in the SRC ("SRC Accepts...", 1968). Council granted the SRC again official recognition in April 1968 ("SRC is Now…", 1968).

4.2.3.2 Student Governance, Student Rights, and the Early Years of Student Activism

The student struggles at UCT of the 1950s and 1960s may be interrogated for understanding some of the unwritten rules of student governance at this time, as well as the underlying conceptions of 'student' they involved. For this purpose, the respective positions of both Council and the SRC deserve consideration. On the one hand, Council's primary role of reconciling the public interest with the interests of the academic community involves that it has to consider seriously the views of government (however abhorrent they may be) as well as those of the constituent groups of the university community, of which the SRC represents one. Within their contemporaneous context, the revelations of the ARM trial of 1964 had clearly been a huge embarrassment to the University. Not only did they change the relationship between government and the University, but also between the VC and the student leadership. Through the work of the Diemont Commission, Council succeeded in appeasing government[63] but it did not succeeded in containing student activism and failed to convince the SRC and the majority of students. As the highest decision-making body, Council may legally frame the conditions within which student activity is to occur as the Diemont Commission argued; yet, the aftermath of Diemont also shows that this does not imply that students are 'subjects' of the Council. On the other hand, even though the SRC is a recognised structure of the University, it is also a 'bottom-up'-democratic organisation of students, established and run by students, primarily for the benefit of students. As the SRC President argued in his minority report in 1966, some rights and privileges of the SRC do not derive from Council but from students directly: "The students have a reserved right to be spokesman [sic!] of their own specific affairs and opinions"; "[the student] is after all a free adult who cannot be prevented from speaking in his [sic!] own right, [hence] there can be no argument against empowering the SRC to speak to the general public" (Hume, 1966: 2 & 3).

The issue of 'social integration' on campus is precisely an instance when the bottom-up democratic legitimacy inherent in the SRC clashed with the conception that all SRC authority was essentially delegated from Council. Provided that the SRC's constituency was conceived simultaneously as 'a constituent group of the academic community and the university at large' and as 'adults' and 'citizens', a properly constituted SRC could legitimately claim to defend rights and duties that apply to students as 'members of the academic community' (such as students' claim to academic freedom) and even more forcefully their individual and collective political rights as 'citizens' and 'adults' *even against Council* or in opposition to it.

A Council must therefore tread circumspectly when regulating the SRC because the latter collectively represents not only students' claim to academic freedom as persons engaged in academic activity but also their claim to the exercise of rights and responsibilities of students as *citizens*, including their freedom of speech, peaceful assembly, right of petition, or, where they are threatened or violated, students' natural right to their emancipatory pursuit by student political means. The regime of student governance involved in the Diemont Constitution and Duminy's

[63] A policy of appeasing national government seems to have been the survival strategy of the 'open universities' at the time (Shear, 1996: 12).

administration did not so much attempt to restore greater faculty authority over students but to establish an unprecedented degree of administrative oversight over extra-curricular student affairs whereby the university authorities would ensure student deference to and compliance with external government directives.[64] In terms of my regime typology (*see* chap. 3), the post-1964 Duminy era thus involved a degree of bureaucratisation and conservative *nationalisation* of student governance at UCT. In an academic environment that claimed a liberal tradition, cosmopolitanism, and above all academic freedom (conceived as institutional autonomy), this set-up was not going to prevail. A comprehensive review of the imposed Diemont Constitution was not going to be long in coming.

For most of the 1960s, the formal participation of students in university governance at UCT remained advisory and *ad hoc* and what provisions for student representation there were, such as in the Diemont Commission itself, often proved ineffectual. It should be mentioned, however, that in one respect the Diemont Constitution did make a progressive and lasting contribution to formal student participation in university governance. In its attempt to focus student attention on academic matters it provided the impetus for the establishment of student faculty councils, which eventually led to student membership of Faculty Boards. The SRC, in turn, established the Education Commission as a standing committee to coordinate the activities of the student faculty councils. Thus, student involvement in university decision-making slowly made inroads into the academic domain (Corbett Commission, 1974: 20 & Amoore, 1979: 160-161). SRC requests for direct participation in Senate and Council and their respective committees were consistently refused, however.[65] The second half of Duminy's term may thus be assessed as the period when the gradual liberalisation of the 'ancien régime' of student governance that had occurred under the paternalistic *laissez-faire* of Senate came to a grinding halt, and an attempt was made to *nationalise* student governance to the extent of bringing it into greater compliance with government's apartheid politics.

As the 1960s drew to a close, universities worldwide were shaken by student activism of unprecedented proportions and at UCT, a new Vice-Chancellor took the helm, bringing along an air of change. In this context, student politics at UCT was characterised by both, continuity and change. When in 1968, Council again sought to appease the Nationalist government, this time by cancelling the appointment of black academic, Dr Archibald Mafeje, to the post of senior lecturer at UCT[66], this led to the first ever and longest sit-in protest at UCT. The sit-in at 'Bremner', i.e. the University's central administrative building complex, lasted for nine days and involved almost a quarter of the student body (Burrows, 2003: 61-63 & Simpson, 2006: 3-11). Even though the sit-in did not succeed in having Mafeje instated, it is significant in many respects. For my purposes it provides an example of the highly participatory and activist nature of student politics at UCT at the

[64] The conservative mood on campus had many facets, of which the banning of mixed dances and the work of the Diemont Commission was but one. In the context of the official vilification of NUSAS, the UCT authorities also refused to pay NUSAS affiliation fees (Ian Hume in "Annual Report...", 1967).
[65] In contrast, full-time senior lecturers and lecturers were allowed to elect two members as their representatives on Senate since 1960, thereby ending the exclusivity of Senate as the preserve of the professoriate (*Registrar Notice*, 1 March 1960 & UCT, 1971).
[66] Government threatened legislation giving it a say in academic appointments.

time (outshining in some respects the more famous protests at Warwick and Columbia); it strikingly illustrates how UCT students were aware of international developments (e.g. the recent invention of the sit-in); and it represents a most fitting curtain-raiser to the tenure of a new VC who had taken office at Bremner only months before the student protests and whose attitude towards student politics turned out to be a key factor in bringing about a transition in the regime of student governance which may well be considered the first wave of university democratisation at the University of Cape Town.

4.3 The First Wave of University Democratisation

The northern hemisphere's spring of 1968 marked a period when university students in Europe and North America dramatically emerged at the vanguard of substantive democratisation, challenging many hierarchical structures and oppressive social conventions in an open student rebellion of unprecedented proportions. The demands of students abroad for a democratisation of the academic environment, and in particular to be involved in the governing of universities and to self-govern student affairs, resonated with the aspirations of local students and spurred their agitation. Student struggles at the University of Cape Town in the late 1960s and early 1970s had, of course, a very different genesis and different emphases than the simultaneous student struggles in universities overseas. Yet, like their peers elsewhere, UCT students rallied against restrictive and oppressive social conventions generally, and pursued in some sense the ideals of freedom and equality. Among the common student grievances was the *in loco parentis* rule which defined students as 'minors' and from which the authority of universities to regulate students' private lives derived. The outcomes of the respective local and overseas struggles were surprisingly similar, issuing in students gaining the recognition of their political rights on campus. The appointment of Sir Richard Luyt to succeed Dr Duminy as fifth Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town (1968-1980) marked the beginning of the first wave of university democratisation at UCT.

4.3.1 Sir Richard Luyt and the Corbett Commission

During the vice-chancellorship of Sir Richard Luyt, formal student participation in the governance committees of the University increased greatly.[67] According to Van der Horst (1979: 30), Sir Richard was "very sympathetic to student voices and not opposed to increasing the participation of 'other ranks' on university committees".[68] In his inaugural address as VC, Luyt announced his conviction that students' extra-curricular sporting, social and intellectual activities should be

[67] As did the representation of non-professorial academic staff. Two lecturer representatives participated as assessor members in Senate since 1920 (and later as full members in Senate committees). Lecturer representatives became full members of Senate in 1960 (Registrar, 1960; UCT, 1971; van der Horst, 1979 & Phillips, 1993). In 1971, non-professorial representation in Senate increased from two to four and again in 1974 to eight representatives. Van der Horst adds other reforms of university governance, such as the institution of rotating headships in academic departments (especially after 1976) and the publication of the Principal's Circular to all members of the academic staff (rather than only to Senate members) as evidence of "the slow growth of democracy within the university" (1979: 28).

[68] The attitude of Sir Richard was in striking contrast to that of his predecessor. For instance, in April 1968, Luyt accepted the invitation to become Honorary Vice-President of NUSAS, an invitation which Duminy had rejected only a few years earlier ("Principal Accepts...", 1968).

primarily student-managed, "with only minimum essential help" from university authorities (Luyt cited in Amoore, 1979: 164). In practice, this was implemented through a reorganisation of the committees governing student affairs at UCT. Students became members of the University's Student Affairs Committee (USAC), a committee including representatives of the Council and Senate that had been established to oversee extra-curricular student affairs, and so-called 'hybrid committees'[69] were established with students constituting at least half of their membership (Amoore, 1979: 159; *see also* Corbett Commission, 1974). Greater student involvement in the governance of student affairs at institutional level, and the governance of academic affairs at faculty level, was followed by the expansion of formal student participation in other domains of student governance.

A number of reasons have been advanced for the expansion of formal student participation in university governance. Amoore argued in an article in 1979 that this expansion was personally championed by VC Luyt (Amoore, 1979: 164), while more recently, he proposed that the changes in university governance were inspired by similar changes internationally (Interview with Hugh Amoore, 11 May 2006). Both interpretations are supported by the available records. However, on both accounts UCT student leaders appear to have had little agency in bringing about these changes. As against this, I have already stressed the vehemence of SRC opposition to the imposed constitution and noted the participatory nature of student activism at UCT at the time. Moreover, when the SRC agitated for greater involvement in university governance, it did so well aware of new developments in student politics locally and abroad. In this sense, the 1968 sit-in protesting the Mafeje Affair was an example of both, the participatory nature of UCT student politics and students' awareness of international developments in student politics, of which the sit-in was a first ever experimentation with this new protest form in a South African university.[70] By 1970 *in loco parentis* - in particular the issue of the visitation rules in student residences – had become a major student issue at UCT that refused to go away ("Massive Student Vote...", 1971; "Crisis in the…", 1974 & "Residence Reform?", 1974), meanwhile *Varsity* and the SRC actively campaigned for student representation in Council ("Council Says No!...", 1970; "Massive Student Vote...", 1971 & "Mass Meeting on…", 1972).[71] At the same time, student activism at UCT continued to be characterised by the volatile mix of academic freedom and human rights issues in the face of

[69] The hybrid committees were responsible for the funding and oversight of sports clubs (Sports Council), student societies (Societies Council), the Students Health and Welfare Centres' Organisation (SHAWCO, through the SHAWCO Board), travel funds for student organisations (Student Travel Fund Committee), the student health service (Student Health Service Committee), food outlets on campus (Refectories Committee) and funds for inviting visiting lecturers (Students Visiting Lecturers Organisation) (Amoore, 1979: 159).

[70] A number of articles published in *Varsity* during the late 1960s to the early 1970s dealt with the student revolt in France as well as student protests in American and British universities ("500 Campuses Oppose", 1968; "Columbia – the Implication…", 1968; "Editorial: Student Power", 1968; "Official Concern Over…", 1968 & "The French Revolt", 1968).

[71] When the SRCs of Natal University gained representation on Council, *Varsity* called on the UCT SRC to demand the same. A motion introduced in the SRC to this end was, however, defeated in March 1970 ("Editorial: Student Reps...", 1970). In June 1971, the issue of student representation on Council almost led to a second student sit-in at Bremner (following that of the Mafeje Affair in 1968) ("Massive Student Vote...", 1971). Throughout 1971-1973 the issue of student representation on Council was discussed at student mass meetings. From 1972, *Varsity* articles linked the demand for full membership of Council explicitly to the question of student rights and student power in the University (e.g. "Vital Mass Meeting...", 1972).

government insistence on racial segregation. Local student agitation must therefore have played an important part in initiating the formal inclusion of students in governance at UCT, even though the SRC itself – as constituted in accordance with the Diemont Constitution - appeared to be functioning far from optimally.

4.3.1.1 Student Politics, the Corbett Commission and University Democratisation

On August 1, 1973, Council appointed a new commission to examine and report on student participation in university governance. This time the commission's scope of enquiry was considerably wider than that of the Diemont Commission seven years earlier; it included in its investigation not only the internal organisation of the SRC and its role in the administration of extra-curricular student affairs, but also a consideration of student participation in decision-making at UCT and of the SRC's role in relation to society.[72] The establishment of the commission was Council's response to the repeated attempts by students to have the Diemont Commission's imposition of faculty representation on the SRC abolished ("Council says No!...", 1970 & "Editorial: SRC Reform", 1970).

The Corbett Commission, named after its chairperson, Mr Justice MM Corbett, started its half-yearlong investigation in August 1973. It sent a strong signal that the time had come for more reciprocity in student governance. The Commission was composed of eleven members, five members appointed by the SRC (including three students and two academics) and five members appointed by Council (including as external members Mr H Middelman, who was later replaced by Mr F Bradlow) and the chairperson, Corbett himself. Corbett and two other Council nominees had previously been members of the Diemont Commission and were therefore well acquainted with the SRC and its objections to the imposed constitution (Corbett Commission, 1974: 2).

In its report the Commission concurred with the prevailing perception that the SRC had suffered "a loss of prestige and general esteem in the eyes of the student body as a whole"; however, unlike the SRC, it attributed this not so much to the constitutional changes introduced by the Diemont Constitution in general and faculty representation in particular, but more broadly to "a general lack of communication between university authorities and the student body", "poor publicity", as well as a lack of experience on the part of SRC members. Only the latter point, the Commission found, could in part be attributed to the introduction of faculty representation on the SRC. The Commission was concerned that the image of the SRC may have been adversely affected by the inability of SRC leaders to provide political leadership. This inability, the Commission argued, was

[72] In a provocative *Varsity* article, Mimi Keet argued in 1971 that the "*democratisation* of the system – student participation of higher decision-making bodies" at UCT was important and necessary in order to stem the tendency of the University to become a "degree factory" which specialised in the "force-feeding of third-hand information" to students. She proposed that students should emancipate themselves from authoritarian education by becoming involved in Faculty Boards; assessing and making their opinions known on the curriculum; evaluating the performance of lecturers, and demanding that assessment practices be broadened to supplement final exam marks by marks for projects, essays, seminars, tutorial papers and so forth ("Campus Topics....", 1971).

the effect of an "increased and excessive workload" which members of the SRC carried in pursuit of "the wide and voluminous range of SRC activities" (Corbett Commission, 1974: 7-8 & 10).[73]

The proceedings and recommendations of the Corbett Commission illustrated the change of relationship between the university authorities and the SRC since the appointment of Sir Richard Luyt as VC, and began to give substance to a conception of students as full members of the university community. In stark contrast to the Diemont Commission's report, all commissioners, including the students, unanimously adopted the final report of the Corbett Commission. With respect to faculty representation, the SRC had managed to persuade Council and the Commission. The Commission recommended to abolish faculty representation and revert to a system of 15 SRC members elected directly in a campus-wide election, as had been the case prior to the Diemont Constitution (1974: 43-44). However, this recommendation in effect merely confirmed a *fait accompli.* Contrary to Council's decision of August 1, 1973 that the SRC election should be held according to the existing SRC Constitution (i.e. the modified Diemont Constitution), the SRC and its election officers organised SRC elections on 5 and 6 September 1973 for a 15 member SRC elected by all students. Thus, they did away with faculty representation in contravention of Council's express decision ("SRC Elections Today…", 1973).[74] Council, meeting again on 5 September, decided to overturn its earlier decision, and to recognise the new SRC as an interim SRC until the Corbett Commission would have concluded its work (Corbett Commission, 1974: 5). Thus, the SRC reclaimed its right to constitute itself and show the way for the Commission.

If the Corbett Commission had been overtaken by the SRC with regard to the contested issue of faculty representation, it had difficulties with the notion of 'university democratisation', which entered its deliberations mainly through documents prepared by NUSAS' education arm, NUSED. The Commission noted that student participation in university decision-making, to which 'university democratisation' apparently referred, was "a novel concept…very much in vogue in university circles, both here and elsewhere in the world". While some argued that students had a *right* to participate in decision-making in the university, the Commission found that "none of the documents to which we have been referred explains precisely from where this 'right' derives". At least, there was "no scintilla of it in the University of Cape Town Act" (1974: 22). In the course of its extensive consideration of student representation on Council, the Commission argued on the one hand that "there is much to be said for the general proposition that since most Council decisions affect students, to a lesser or greater degree, students should have a voice in the making of those

[73] These activities included: (1) attending meetings of (i) the SRC and its eleven internal subcommittees; (ii) the six SRC subcouncils (e.g. the Education Commission); (iii) the eight hybrid committees and the Student Affairs Committee, and; (iv) outside bodies (incl. NUSAS); (2) being present upon request for specific matters at certain meetings of Council, Council committees, and certain committees of Senate (including the General Purposes Committee); (3) supervising the full-time staff working in the SRC offices; (4) Administrative duties relating to clubs and societies; (5) dealing with legal problems and student complaints and correspondence; (6) dealing with student and SRC publications and publicising student events; (7) supervising spending of the SRC and NUSAS affiliate bodies on campus, and; (8) providing minutes, agendas, and other documents for meetings of the SRC and other bodies (Corbett Commission, 1974: 7-8).

[74] Only the position of the Medical Liaison Officer elected by the students in the Medical Faculty was retained ("SRC Elections Today…", 1973).

decisions" (1974: 23); on the other hand, student participation could not be construed on the basis of equality. The principle of 'one-man-one-vote' was clearly not appropriate for the running of a university.[75] Rather, in the Commission's view the important principles for the running of a University were efficiency, knowledge and experience. Thus, the Commission argued: "While student representatives could undoubtedly make a valuable contribution to University government, in many spheres their youth, inexperience and the transience of their presence at the University place then [sic!] at a distinct disadvantage" (1974: 23). Based on these assumptions, the Commission proceeded to discuss at length the extent and modalities by which students involvement in decision-making in university governance could be increased, particularly as full members of Council and its committees as well as Senate (1974: 23-25 & 30). Previously the SRC had gained the right to make direct representations to Council and its Executive Committee.[76] Now, the Corbett Commission concluded that only legal obstacles prevented full membership of Council to students; and the Commission explicitly favoured a system whereby students would directly elect student representatives to Council who would thus be independent from the SRC and be able to act as "true representatives" rather than "mere delegates" (1974: 24-25).[77]

Apart from supporting student representation on Council, the Commission also endorsed the recent changes brought by VC Luyt, including student membership of the Student Affairs Committee and the existence of hybrid committees, making only minor recommendations on how to further improve and consolidate this system. But the Commission neither supported the SRC's ambitious proposal to become "the overall governing body in respect of Student Affairs" and hence to take the role USAC played, nor the proposal for "the various hybrid committees …to be given the same constitutional relationship with the SRC as applies to sub-councils of the SRC" (Platzky & Jooste, 1974: 6). Similarly, it rejected calls for the SRC to have full control over the finances that derived from the general student levy, the staff in the SRC offices, and its administration.

[75] In this respect the Commission noted: "There is a problem of determining who are the 'men' to exercise this equal vote. "Would the protagonists of one-man-one-vote wish the voice of the student body to be proportionate to that of, say, the 16,000-strong Convocation?" (1974: 23)

[76] The Commission's consideration of the potential of students' full membership of Council came in the wake of a procedure for SRC access to Council that had evolved only in the course of 1972 and 1973. Under this procedure, the SRC was given limited access to meetings of Council and its Executive Committee (Exco). Council provided "suitably truncated agendas" of its meetings (and those of Exco) to the SRC "to enable the SRC to put to Council (or Exco) its views on important matters relevant to student affairs and of concern to the SRC" (Bradlow Commission, 1981: 8). Upon the request of the SRC President, up to three members of the SRC could then be granted access to meetings of Council (or Exco) to put forward their views. After their presentation students would be required to leave the meeting, and Council (or Exco) would discuss the matter further and make its decision (Bradlow Commission, 1981: 8-9).

[77] The Commission's discussion of different types of representation was related to the problem student representation on Council might pose for the confidentiality of Council business. The Commission argued that if a student representative on Council was to be a mandated delegate, the issue of confidentiality could only be 'ameliorated' by dividing Council business into three agendas: matters that were restricted (and not to be divulged *ex camera*); confidential matters that could be discussed within a limited group (such as the SRC Executive); and non-confidential matters. Conversely, if a student representative was to be appointed as "a fully-fledged representative, carrying with him the trust and confidence of those who appointed him but free to participate in decision-making in whatever way his judgement directs and directly accountable to no-one", then confidentiality would apply to this student as it did to any other member of Council and the problem did not come up specifically (Corbett Commission, 1974: 24). I argue below that the Commission's preference for the latter type of representation must also be understood in relation to its conception of the university and related regime of university governance.

In the domain of academic affairs involving students, the Commission agreed that there was more room for student participation. The establishment of student faculty councils and of the SRC's co-ordinating Education Commission were lauded as appropriate ways of developing student participation in a sphere where problems were often faculty-specific.[78] The Corbett Commission supported the representation of students on Faculty Boards (which was already a reality in many faculties), a general system of class representatives, and student representation on Senate along the same lines as on Council. Moreover, in an unprecedented move, the Commission recommended that a procedure should be developed "for ascertaining student assessment of teaching staff" (1974: 30). Around the same time, the SRC put before Senate a motion that "students should enjoy fair and reasonable academic rights". According to *Varsity,* the motion provided "for the compulsory announcement at the beginning of each academic year by the head of each department the curriculum for the year, of the components of assessment of final year marks, the failure rates in each course for the past three years and their probable causes, and conditions of entry for subsequent courses of study." The motion also proposed that students should be able to petition the head of department if they believed a test, essay or project was set or assessed unfairly ("Academic Rights", 1974).

If these changes are impressive, the break between the Corbett Commission and its predecessor is as striking in its preparedness to give recognition to the *activist* role of the SRC as a spokesperson of the student body. In its final report, the Corbett Commission argued that it was "*inevitable* – and indeed *right* – that students … should play an active part […]. Where political issues arise that directly affect the University or students in their capacity as members of the University, it seems only right that the SRC, as the body representing the students, should act and speak" (1974: 29 *my emphasis*). The freedom to act and speak needed to be exercised with constraint, however, so as not to alienate parts of the student body from the SRC. After all, there were also other bodies on the campus that could engage in political action if a matter was divisive in the SRC (Corbett, Commission, 1974: 29).[79] Thus, compared to the Diemont Commission (1966: 4) which considered that it was not at all the function of the SRC to represent the student body in relation to the general public, this role of the SRC was now explicitly acknowledged.

4.3.1.2 Conceptualising 'Student' for a Democratised University

It can be gleaned from the report that the conception of 'student' implicit in the deliberations and recommendations of the Corbett Commission involved the implicit acknowledgement that students,

[78] The Commission speculated that at some point the SRC's Education Commission may become "an autonomous, independent body equivalent to the SRC itself but dealing entirely with academic matters" (1974: 31).

[79] However, there were limitations to political organisation on campus as political parties were prohibited from operating at UCT (until the 1990s). This arose from the incompatibility between the *Prohibition of Political Interference Act,* which precluded political parties from having members from different racial groups, and the SRC's policy (re-affirmed by means of modification to the Diemont Constitution) that all student organisations operating on the UCT campus needed to be open to students of all 'races' (Corbett Commission, 1974: 29-30).

as members of the university community and of society, have certain political rights. This view of the Corbett Commission is, of course, the exact inverse of that of its forerunner; a change of heart that may have been closely aligned to the attitude of the new Vice-Chancellor towards student politics.[80] The Commission reported explicitly that it favoured Luyt's view of the university as "a unit in which all these different groups [i.e. students, academic staff, administrative staff] work together towards a common goal" (1974: 21). Students were thus conceived as one among a number of groups within a university community that was functionally differentiated but united by a "unity of purpose" (1974: 21). This "unity of purpose" could be achieved by applying a set of "basic requirements". They were: (1) "effective communication" to eliminate "misunderstandings"; (2) "tolerance, goodwill, and […] a willingness to compromise"; and (3) "integrity of purpose" (1974: 21). Resonance of the notion of 'university democratisation' within the Commission's deliberations can be found in the assertion that students should participate in decision-making to the degree that they were being affected by such decisions; however, the Commission dismissed the 'one-man-one-vote' principle as inappropriate to the university as did others at the time (1974: 23; *see also above* chap. 2). The Commission explicitly valued knowledge and experience highly in university governance and thus it sought to provide a balance for what it considered the 'disadvantages' of youth, i.e. inexperience and student transience on campus, by highlighting the potential benefits of a "fresh, relatively uninhibited, individual and enthusiastic point of view" and "intimate and direct knowledge" of students in decision-making (1974: 23). The Commission gave prominence to student participation in the governance of extra-curricular student affairs as well as academic affairs affecting students, but it was silent on various other domains of university governance where students were presumably less affected and had little to contribute. Furthermore, the Commission's conception of the SRC's role internally is mirrored in its views concerning SRC participation in the broader political arena. Again it emphasised, on the one hand, the political rights of students as adult individuals and as a collective while, on the other hand, it urged the SRC to focus on issues of specific student concern and expertise i.e. higher education. This conception of student and of the role of the SRC then paved the way for student representatives to be considered for full membership of Council and Senate and for the formal inclusion of student representatives throughout the sprawling system of committees involved in university governance in the course of the first wave of university democratisation at UCT.

Thus, the new Vice-Chancellor had launched a first wave of university democratisation at UCT in 1968 in response to student demands locally and historic international developments in university governance. The Corbett Commission (1974) formulated key notions underpinning the shift in the regime of the student governance that the first wave of democratisation involved at UCT. The result of the early developments discussed above was, however, not a radical stakeholder-democratic regime of university governance; rather, a fast-paced *liberalisation* of student governance had taken place and a limited *democratisation* in keeping with a pluralistic conception of the university 'community' involving a differentiated inclusion of elected representatives of functional

[80] According to *Varsity* Sir Richard told the Cape Chamber of Industries: "I am not one of those who believes that students should keep out of political affairs" ("The Blessings of...", 1972).

constituencies, such as the student constituency, in university governing bodies. UCT was not about to become a *Gruppenuniversität;* the developments in this university were rather comparable to those in leading British universities (CVCP, 1974 & Moodie & Eustace, 1974). The first wave of university democratisation at UCT was consolidated through the work of the Bradlow Commission (1980/81).

4.3.2 From Corbett to Bradlow: Student Activism in the 1970s

The 1970s was a turbulent time for national and campus student politics. The immediate antecedent was the breakaway of black students from NUSAS, the formation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO)[81] and the elaboration of Black Consciousness (BC) as a cultural and political protest movement against apartheid and a re-orientation of white student politics centred on NUSAS. The SASO breakaway posed a dual challenge to NUSAS. Organisationally SASO rejected NUSAS leadership and created a rival student organisation on NUSAS 'home turf'. Ideologically it broke with the liberal non-racialism of NUSAS by forming a race-based anti-apartheid movement.[82] Effectively this exposed NUSAS' own form of non-racialism as a paternalist white-led practice. If liberal or radical white student leaders wanted to demonstrate political solidarity with black students, they had to stand back and accept black student leadership – which insisted on a black movement excluding whites. A logical consequence of BC for white student radicals was a parallel form of 'white consciousness' which meant that they would no longer participate in leading capacities in shared anti-apartheid protest with black students but turn inwards to do political consciousness-raising within their own white communities. Conversely, the liberal anti-apartheid student project would have to be abandoned altogether and, for instance, replaced with a new leftist political programme based on a (neo-) Marxist critique of apartheid. Student politics at UCT in the 1970s involved both of these responses.

By the late 1960s, NUSAS had suffered "discontinuous leadership… caused by banning, deportation and intimidation of leadership and by the breakdown of the leadership training programme" (Curtis in Legassick, 2006: 858). NUSAS was torn internally between a growing number of white conservative students on the English-medium campuses and a small group of

[81] Organised black student politics in South African universities can be traced back to the SRC at Fort Hare and the establishment of a branch of the African National Congress Youth League (ANC YL) in 1948 on that campus (Badat, 1999: 79 & University of Fort Hare, 2007). Although the ANC YL was (and is) a national youth political organisation, the activities of the Fort Hare ANC YL branch were characteristic of a student political organisation (Badat, 1999: 82). After the banning of black political organisations (including the ANC YL) in the aftermath of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre, a number of black student organisations were formed as alternative organisational conduits, including the African Students' Association, the African Students' Union of South Africa, and student chapters of the Non-European Unity Movement. However, it was not until 1968 that SASO emerged as a black student organisation which would significantly alter the student political terrain and have a major impact on the national political landscape (Badat, 1999: 79-83).

[82] Initially SASO defined its constituency as the 'non-white students'. However, this negative definition was dropped within a year's time and replaced with a positive definition of its constituency as 'black students'. In practice "the term 'black' became popularised as denoting Africans, Indians and coloureds collectively" (Badat, 1999: 90-91; *see also* Biko, 1969: 4). And yet, in the philosophy of BC, being black was not primarily a matter of skin colour; rather, it was an 'attitude of mind' which asserted the inherent dignity of the black man in spite of oppression, and the unity of black people in the face of the enemy's divide-and-rule strategy. In going with the inclusive definition of 'black', SASO was as active at the UWC (designated for coloureds) and the UDW (reserved for Indians) as it was at the UNIN (designated for Africans).

leftist students, both of which questioned the organisation's formal liberalism (Legassick, 2006: 858-859). At the same time, black student leaders had become increasingly dissatisfied and frustrated with NUSAS in the course of the 1960s. Black student leaders charged their white counterparts in NUSAS with hypocrisy in their stance towards racial segregation and accused them of continuously patronising them, arguing that whites claimed "a 'monopoly on intelligence and moral judgement' and setting the pattern and pace for the realisation of the black man's aspirations" (Biko, 2004a [1970]: 23; *see also* Burchell, 1986, in Badat, 1999: 79-80 & Biko, 2004c [1969]: 5). At the conference of the University Christian Movement in July 1968, the idea of forming a black student organisation was discussed among black student leaders. They agreed to convene a conference of SRCs from the black campuses in December 1968 where a decision was made in favour of forming an organisation exclusive to black students (Biko, 2004b [1970]: 12). Thus, a critical conjuncture was reached.

SASO was formally founded at an inaugural conference in July 1969; in the same month NUSAS decided to re-organise itself at its congress (Badat, 1999: 85-87; Biko, 2004b [1970]: 12 & Legassick, 2006: 859).[83] From the outset, SASO was intended for black students only at the exclusion of whites, presenting a deliberate alternative to, and a critique of, the liberal multi-racialism of NUSAS (Biko, 2004a [1970]: 23). Steve Bantu Biko, the first President of SASO, argued that the problem with multi-racialism in political organisations was that it perpetuated the root causes of the racial problem, i.e. white racism and superiority, white liberal paternalism, and black inferiority. Biko conceived SASO thus as a vehicle to end the anomaly of white trusteeship of the black struggle in the student realm (2004a [1970]: 21-27). Apart from the SASO intellectuals' negative critique of liberal multi-racialism and paternalism, their philosophy of Black Consciousness involved a positive programme of cultural and political consciousness-raising among blacks and black solidarity (Badat, 1999: 87-92; *see also* Biko, 2004d [1970]: 31 & Sizwe, 1979: 121-125).

Following the formation of SASO, the pre-eminence of NUSAS in anti-apartheid student politics began to wane. The loss of the black campuses to SASO threw NUSAS temporarily into a crisis (Legassick 2006: 857). Against their will, liberal white student leaders found themselves relegated to leading a whites-only organisation. For the second time in its history, the NUSAS project of building unity among South African students had failed. Yet, with their merciless critique, SASO intellectuals also forced a dialectical re-orientation on NUSAS in the course of the 1970s.

Taking the helm of NUSAS in 1969, Neville Curtis initiated the re-orientation and re-organisation of NUSAS. NUSAS was organisationally divided in 1970 into three 'arms', respectively focused on social welfare, education, and culture ("Curtis Talks on...", 1970 & Legassick, 2006: 862-863). NUSAS leadership came under the influence of (neo-) Marxist theories and discourses issuing in their adoption of a class-based critique of apartheid.[84] Thus, they were leading the NUSAS

[83] For a comprehensive analysis of SASO, *see* Badat (1999).
[84] Implicitly this refers to the impact of (neo-)Marxist theories and discourses not only on academic debates in historiography, sociology, and economic history of that time, but also on student political activism in South

increasingly away from its liberal origins (Davenport, 2004: 2-3). The emergent class analysis of the apartheid educational system that grew prominent with NUSAS intellectuals in the first half of the 1970s was in stark contrast with Sasol's analysis of South African society, which until the mid-1970s viewed race as "the only significant organising principle" and "the primary line of cleavage" of South African society (Badat, 1999: 87-88; *see also* Sizwe, 1979: 124-125). *Varsity* and the NUSAS local committees played an important part in spreading these ideas at UCT (e.g. "Students and Workers", 1972 & "A Conversation with…", 1972). The NUSAS social welfare arm, NUSWEL, became the coordinating hub for the Wages Commissions, which under the influence of Rick Turner had been established initially at the University of Natal in 1971 and, following resolutions by NUSAS by 1972, on all the other five affiliated campuses, including UCT (Legassick, 2006: 863).[85] The Wages Commissions "conducted surveys on worker conditions, helped organise unions, and tended to worker grievances" (Simpson, 2006: 25). Unsurprisingly this development was viewed with great suspicion by the Nationalist government since "[the government] saw in the Wage Commissions the threat of progressive white intellectuals joining with emerging black worker organisations"; this led to the government appointing a special commission of enquiry, i.e. the Schlebusch Commission, to investigate NUSAS (Simpson, 2006: 25). The Schlebusch Commission's report was widely rejected by UCT students and students of the other white English-medium universities for its bias, prejudice, and inaccuracies ("Schlebusch rejected", 1974). Nonetheless, its effect was that the students' effort slumped in the wake of the report of the Schlebusch Commission in 1974 and the detention of NUSAS leadership.

In the early 1970s, the programme to de-segregate student life at UCT also proceeded, albeit largely consistent with the established liberal tradition. The struggle for an integrated Intervarsity provides a key example thereof. The traditional match between the UCT and Stellenbosch University rugby clubs (called Intervarsity) was one of the highlights on the annual University calendar. The problem that the SRC faced in the late 1960s/early 1970s was that Stellenbosch insisted on a whites-only event (which ran contrary to the SRC's policy of social integration that it was so vehemently defending). The SRC had to decide whether it was worth to sacrifice the popular Intervarsity over the exclusion of one black UCT rugby player and a handful of black spectators. At a first referendum on the issue held in 1971, the opinion of UCT students was polarised. Although students apparently preferred an integrated function, they were not prepared to abandon the Intervarsity if an integrated event was not possible (Luyt paraphrased in Simpson, 2006: 17). After much toing-and-froing, a second referendum was staged in 1972 where Budlender was determined to get an unambiguous decision. This time, over 70% of voting students (42% turnout) voted against a segregated Intervarsity , thus giving the SRC the mandate it had hoped for. Hence, until 1976 the traditional Intervarsity challenge was suspended (Amoore, 1979: 161-162 & Simpson, 2006: 16-19). James Simpson argues that the issue of the Intervarsity illustrated "the

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Africa. My characterization of some student leaders of the 1970s as 'leftist' must be understood in this sense. It does not imply membership of a political party (such as the South Africa Communist Party in exile).

[85] For a brief outline of Turner's background and discussion of his influence on students at the University of Natal, Durban, *see* Legassick (2006: 860-862).

rise of SASO" and was a case of "white liberals [rising] to the black challenge" (2006: 22). This argument is, however, not consistent with the political discourse surrounding the Intervarsity issue; it also fails to take into account the response of Geoff Budlender, SRC President of 1972, in an interview conducted by Simpson where Budlender remarked that the liberal students in his SRC hardly drew a connection between the Intervarsity and Black Consciousness at the time (Budlender in Simpson, 2006: 22). Simpson is correct, however, in noting the general similarities between the liberal students' pursuit of a racially integrated campus life and the more explicit and systematic attempt by NUSAS after 1976 to develop a critical 'white consciousness' among white students.

Rather, an early instance of the reorientation of white student politics to respond in solidarity with black student action (instead of taking the lead themselves) issued in the violent police suppressions of student protest on the steps of St George's Cathedral in June 1972. Earlier in 1972, the UCT SRC had organised an educational campaign to focus attention on deficiencies in black education. The campaign developed into a show of solidarity with the developments at the University of the North (UNIN) and subsequent nation-wide protests initiated by SASO (Reddy, 2004: 25 & Interview with Hugh Amoore, 11 May 2006). The SRC President of UNIN, Onkgopotse Tiro, had used the platform of the SRC President's graduation speech to criticise government policy, calling for an end to apartheid education, black discrimination and the dominance of white administrators and lecturers in black universities.[86] When the university administration expelled Tiro, the UNIN SRC resolved that students should boycott classes until his reinstatement. UNIN authorities responded with the suspension of the SRC, the banning of meetings, and eventually the expulsion of 1,146 students. In the course of these events, student boycotts rapidly spread throughout May and June 1972 across black universities (Reddy, 2004: 25 & "Turfloop Expulsions Provoke…", 1972). At this point UCT students decided to protest publicly to express UCT's solidarity with black students. In defiance of a ban on public meetings, UCT students marched through Cape Town, on Friday, 2 June 1972. On the steps of St George's Cathedral (next to Parliament), they staged a peaceful demonstration when police baton charged the students to break up the demonstration. Many were beaten and 51 students were arrested while others sought refuge inside the Cathedral. Five days later, police again charged students in relation to the campaign, this time on the steps of Jameson Hall on the University campus. More students were arrested (Amoore, 1979: 162 & Legassick, 2006: 865).[87]

White students' show of solidarity was lauded by SASO in a press statement ("The Aftermath of…", 1972) and political commentary in *Varsity* argued that the student movement in South Africa had made a great leap forward:

> *"The protests of the last few weeks have opened up possibilities for concerted action. By identifying themselves with the struggle for black students in*

[86] For a detailed analysis of student political culture in black South African universities during the 1970s and early 1980s, *see* Nkomo (1983 & 1984).
[87] For illustrations *see* Esau (1998) and *Varsity* ("The Aftermath of….", 1972)

particular and oppressed blacks in general, the students who partook in the protests have begun to forged new links with the oppressed and disenfranchised. For the first time white students have had a taste of what it is like to be on the other side." ("Political Comment", 1972)

Increased state repression in the wake of the 1972 student protests and the 1973 labour strikes (which were partly attributed to student agitation) severely affected SASO and NUSAS. Both organisations suffered raids, large-scale banning of student leaders, government investigation (e.g. the Schlebusch Commission), infiltration by security police spies, and restrictions through being declared 'affected organisations'. The combined effect of the government's attacks on NUSAS and SASO's leadership and of the decline in membership/campus affiliation meant that on the eve of the Soweto Uprising, both organisations were in crisis (Badat, 1999: 132-138 & Legassick, 2007: 864-869).

The Soweto Uprising of 1976 occurred at a time, when student activism on UCT campus had died down and a moderate SRC hostile to NUSAS was in place (Legassick, 2006: 871). On the morning of June 16, 1976, pupils from several high schools in Soweto marched towards Orlando Stadium to protest against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in their schools. On their way, the marching pupils who now numbered several thousand were met by a contingent of police with armed vehicles. Police fired tear-gas into the crowd and a shot was fired. Panic broke out and some pupils started throwing stones at the police. The police responded by shooting life bullets. Many pupils were wounded and killed.[88] A wave of youth-initiated outrage and protests swept the country, reaching the schools of the Cape Peninsula in the course of August 1976 (Shear, 1996: 61-62 & Reddy, 2004: 26). Although its effect at UCT was not as immediate as at Wits, the Soweto Uprising stirred the student body from political resignation, cynicism and apathy, marked the beginning of new efforts of political education and mobilisation, and thus ushered in a new phase in the leftist radicalisation of student politics at UCT (Davenport, 2004 & Simpson, 2006: 26).

At the outset of the protests, UCT students were writing exams and preparing for the mid-year vacation. The moderate SRC of 1975/76 under Dirk Kemp, which had been accused of "infighting", "purposelessness" and "a lack of leadership", failed to respond to the tragedy (Davenport, 2004: 10-12). It was only on the return of students to campus in mid-July that the Soweto youth revolt became a focus of UCT student protests.[89] A group of leftist students organised as the Students for Social Democracy (SSD), including student leaders such as Nicholas 'Fink' Haysom, Graeme Bloch and Humphrey Harrison, organised a picket demonstration on the highway dividing the University's upper and middle campus. Moderate students decried the picket, which was broken up

[88] Hector Petersen, a 13-year old boy killed by the police during the march, became a symbol of the senseless police brutality of apartheid South Africa.
[89] The first day of the Soweto riots on June 16 coincided with the publication of the last pre-vacation edition of *Varsity.* Thus only in the July 21, 1976 edition of *Varsity* did the student paper start to inform UCT students of the happenings in and around Johannesburg and print pictures of Wits students demonstrating during the riots ("Wits Demo", 1976).

by the police, as bad publicity. Yet, this initial show of solidarity spurred the SRC into action. It organised a focus week with a series of lunch meetings on the prevalence of detentions and bannings and the plight of political detainees. VC Luyt addressed students at one such meeting, deploring *inter alia* the repressive legislation under which UCT lecturer Jeremy Cronin and student Anthony Holiday had been detained. The week culminated in the 'Day of Solidarity' on August 4, 1976, when a student mass meeting passed a motion calling on the University to express solidarity ("Day of Solidarity", 1976; *see also* Davenport, 2004: 12-13 & Simpson, 2006: 26).

While there was general sympathy and a wish to show solidarity with the demonstrating black pupils, most UCT students were captive to their social isolation within the white community and politically uninitiated; they did not know how to translate their desire to display solidarity and be 'relevant' into action. Humphrey Harrison, Vice-President of the SRC 1976/77, vividly recalls the reaction of UCT students to the Soweto Uprising:

> *"'Solidarity' became the password of the day, though few really knew whether they personally should show solidarity, fewer still knew precisely who they were being 'solid' with, and no one knew how to go about showing it… When it was all over, everyone… wanted to be 'relevant' and yet everyone was confused." (Harrison, 1979: 169)*

The leftist student activists of SSD took advantage of the opportunity. The SRC elections of August 1976 brought Haysom as President together with Bloch and Harrison into the SRC Executive. The new SRC members carved out a more political role for the SRC together with the support of activists in SSD (Davenport, 2004: 18). In addition, at the close of 1976 Haysom became President of NUSAS and began to reconstruct the organisation, which had reached its all-time nadir. The campus SRCs of Pietermaritzburg and Durban of the University of Natal re-affiliated, and the constitution of NUSAS was changed to turn it into a federation of SRCs (NUSAS, 1976: 4 & Davenport, 2004: 20-22).[90]

More importantly, intellectual debate was revived in NUSAS involving the adoption of a series of annual themes and related campaigns to raise the political awareness of white students and the white community at large. It is at this point that NUSAS coined the notion of "'white consciousness' […] as a concept through which white students could shape their African future …in a 'united and free South Africa'" and adopted "Africanisation" as its annual theme at the congress in 1977 (Davenport, 2004: 39). A common concern of the NUSAS themes and campaigns from 1977-1979 was that of finding a role for whites in the liberation struggle and redefining white identity in the context of a future democratic South Africa (Davenport, 2004: 36ff; *see also* Legassick, 2006: 869ff). Concomitantly, NUSAS worked within white communities and its white student constituency to educate them politically through various campaigns (Davenport, 2004: 36-44; Simpson, 2006:

[90] This move was meant to ensure absolute SRC control over local NUSAS organisations and to make it more difficult for NUSAS to be banned by the government (NUSAS, 1976: 4 & Davenport, 2004: 20-22).

27). *Varsity* supported the student activists' efforts to politically educate the student body with a series of articles on the history of South Africa from a black perspective and with frequent reports on the plight of squatter communities throughout 1977 ("Black S.A.: A…", 1977; Jordan, 1977 & "Modderdam: Death of…", 1977). The concerted efforts by SRC, NUSAS, organisations like SSD, and *Varsity* after the Soweto Uprising bore fruits. The student newspaper proudly reported on the SRC elections of August 1978: "The silent majority of UCT students have finally voted in an SRC election. … But they didn't vote Conservative, they voted left and they voted liberal" ("Left Landslide", 1978).

The post-Soweto revival of NUSAS occurred in the context of a new wave of state repression. State repression of student activism following the Soweto Uprising involved the detention, banning or deportation of student activists, the trial of NUSAS leaders and the banning of over 100 titles of the South African student press in 1976, 1977 and 1978. In October 1977 SASO was banned after years of severe state repression; on 12 September of the same year, Biko had died from the injuries of torture in detention (Badat, 1999: 132-138 & Stubbs, 2004: 2).The SRC elections of 1976 had taken place with SRC candidates Haysom, Harrison and Bloch actually in "preventative detention"; by the end of 1976 five UCT students and two staff members were banned; in 1977 ten UCT student publications were banned and the Students' Union was raided twice ("Your SRC News…", 1977); in November 1978, the SRC Vice-President was banned ("Laura Levetan Banned", 1978) and in 1979, Steve Kahanovitz, SRC President of 1977/78, was put on trial for the possession of banned publications that had been seized from his flat during a raid ("On Trial", 1979); eventually in June 1979, UCT's outspoken student newspaper, *Varsity*, was also banned.[91] Student activists at UCT showed great resilience against state repression. In 1978, Kahanovitz stated that state harassment in the form of frequent raids of the SRC offices, personal threats to SRC members, student editors on trial etc. had become "the normal way of life in South Africa" which "one must come to accept" ("The SRC Cannot…", 1978).

In the course of the 1970s, SASO and BC therefore contributed indirectly to a re-orientation of white student political activity ideologically, organisationally, and strategically. The quest for a 'critical whiteness' or 'white consciousness' was an important strand that informed white student activism especially in the wake of the post-Soweto revival of NUSAS. 'White consciousness' was, however, not quite a white equivalent to Black Consciousness. Central to NUSAS' conception of 'white consciousness' was that it sought to encouraged white students to respond in solidarity with the widespread black resistance, to redirect their "expatriate Europeanism" to "an identification with Africa and a determination to earn the right to be called African"; to reassure white students that they had a place in a future South Africa while also preparing them to accept a more peripheral, perhaps supporting role in the struggle against apartheid (Davenport, 2004: 39-42). The quest for

[91] Simpson suggests that the banning of *Varsity* in 1979 was likely due to anti-military content, which linked up with the NUSAS campaign against conscription organised by Andrew Boraine at UCT (2006: 34).The UCT SRC challenged the banning of *Varsity* and in March 1980 the *Varsity* was unbanned (Davenport, 2004: 32). However, in the course of the 1980s, a number of single issues of *Varsity* were banned.

'white consciousness' programmatically coexisted with both, the liberal student political tradition as well as the leftist political tendency among white students in the 1970s, of which the latter was spurred by (neo-)Marxist ideas and manifest, *inter alia,* in student support of working-class and community struggles, and informed by a class-based analysis of apartheid society in general and the educational system in particular.[92]

The SRC's boycott of the celebrations to commemorate the 150th anniversary of UCT in 1979 serves as an exemplary point to illustrate the intertwined nature of the different strands and tendencies that informed student activism at UCT at the close of the 1970s. Thus, for instance, the SRC objected against the University fundraising for the commemoration from the corporate sector on the grounds that "money raised in this way compromise[s] the autonomy and academic freedom of the University", while at the same time it would also object against the "self-congratulatory activities" arguing that for the past 150 years UCT had actually failed to prepare its students for addressing societal needs, and that "there was very little for UCT to celebrate because of its function of maintaining the status quo [i.e. apartheid society and capitalist economy]" in South Africa (Davenport, 2004: 44-45). The latter argument drew on a view dominant among leftist student leaders at the time that "…our 'liberal' universities, far from being the last bastions against apartheid, are in fact essential to the maintenance of the apartheid economy" (Harrison, 1979: 170). Even though the SRC's boycott and demonstrations failed to derail the official celebrations, it was able to arouse the attention of Council members on student views of the role of Council and the University at large – although not exactly in the way student leadership had intended.

In the wake of the 1979 festivities, the chair of Council, Leonard G. Abrahamse, expressed his concern about "the gap that seems to exist between the student body and the executive/administration"; however, he was less worried about the *antipathy* of the "150 or so demonstrators and the like"[93]; rather Abrahamse was concerned about "the *apathy* of the rest of the student body" towards the UCT celebrations (Abrahamse in Bradlow Commission, 1981: 7 *my emphasis*). Other members of Council also recorded concerns. Dr Frank R Bradlow, who was the Council member chairing the Student Affairs Committee, had received a letter from the outgoing SRC President of 1978/79, David Hill, in which Hill argued that Council was undermining the efforts of the SRC to challenge the apartheid order in South Africa by showing a lack of positive support (Bradlow Commission, 1981: 8). Mr Hans Middelmann, another member of Council, had apparently also been "perturbed by the state of affairs at the university during the 150 Anniversary Celebrations" and "found that there was a very large amount of ignorance [among students] about

[92] The right-wing Conservative Student Alliance completed the student political landscape at UCT at the time. The Conservatives aimed "to win support for government and apartheid policies from within the University and to discredit left-wing student leadership" (Davenport, 2004: 19).

[93] If the "150 or so demonstrators" referred to the students demonstrating at the honorary graduation ceremony, the chair of Council's estimation is likely too low. An other contemporaneous record speaks of more than 200 demonstrating students (*Rand Daily Mail* in Simpson, 2006: 31). Anthony Weaver, SRC President 1979/89, mentioned in an interview in 2004 that "a fairly substantial group of students – several hundred at least – turned out to demonstrate on the day of the honorary graduation" (Weaver in Davenport, 2004: 47).

what the Council of the University stood for, and what it was doing" (Bradlow Commission, 1981: 8). After debating the matter Council moved in November 1979 to establish a commission of enquiry which would "examine, report and make recommendations on the role and place of students in the University's decision-making processes and on communication between the student body in general and the other constituent parts of the University" (Bradlow Commission, 1981: 1). Thus, the Bradlow Commission was established.

4.3.3 Consolidating the First Wave of University Democratisation

4.3.3.1 The Work of the Bradlow Commission

The Bradlow Commission, named after its chairperson Dr Bradlow, started its yearlong investigation on March 10, 1980, and submitted its final report in March 1981. In accordance with its terms of reference, it focused primarily on student representation at various levels and in different domains of university governance as a means to improve communication between university authorities and student leadership. The Commission was composed of five student members appointed by the SRC and five nominees of Council, the chairperson, Dr Bradlow, appointed by Council, and two non-voting assessor members (i.e. the Deputy Chair of USAC and the Deputy Registrar: Student Affairs).

Bradlow had been a member of the Corbett Commission in 1973/74, and the Bradlow Commission was evidently influenced by the earlier commission's deliberations on university democratisation, its consideration of student membership of Council, and other potential extensions of student participation in university governance. In its final report, the Bradlow Commission noted that in the seven years since Corbett, the case for greater involvement of students in university governance had improved. Firstly, it found that there had been a change in attitude towards student participation in university governance in English-speaking countries worldwide. Secondly, students had become involved up to the level of Council in some other South African universities (e.g. Wits and Natal University) as well as in universities in the United Kingdom and Australia. Thirdly, there was a gap between the UCT administration and the student leadership, especially as to the role of Council and where it stood with regard to the University's (and students') role in South African society. The Commission accepted the thoughtful deliberations of the Corbett Commission as its starting point – without discussing the deeper issues involved further - and considered the extension of student participation in university governance as a positive development that would contribute to a better understanding of the role of Council and its work in the student body (Bradlow Commission, 1981).

The Bradlow Commission's recommendations thus focused on improving communication by increasing student representation in the University's committee system. For the first time in the history of the University, two students were appointed as members of Council as recommended by the Commission. Although they were without formal vote, the student members could take part in Council debates akin to full members and were given access to the Council's 'unrestricted' agenda

(which excluded sensitive matters related to staffing, examination results, discipline etc.).[94] In addition, the provision whereby two members of the SRC could appear before the Council to make specific recommendations was maintained, and the right of the SRC to comment, criticise, and act on Council decisions was not prejudiced (Bradlow Commission, 1981). Acting on the Commission's recommendations, Council also approved the extension of student representation to various other university committees. In the domain of extra-curricular student affairs, recommendations were made to increase the power of student representatives in the residence sector vis-à-vis that of wardens and the residences' administration. Senate was encouraged to see to it that student representation would be effective on all Faculty Boards and in academic departments and that 'class representatives' were elected for all academic courses to liaise with their lecturers. In the course of the 1970s, five student observers had come to be invited to meetings of Senate and could participate in its deliberations. This arrangement was to be maintained (Bradlow Commission, 1981; *see also* Amoore, 1979: 159 & Saunders, 2000: 116).

Thus, by the end of 1981, the UCT SRC had gained representation in all the major institutional governing bodies of the University. Student representation existed in some form in academic governance from the class room to Senate as well as in other domains of university governance, and in all sectors and at all levels of extra-curricular student affairs, from governance in the residences, sport clubs and societies to the University's Student Affairs Committee and up to Council.

4.3.3.2 The First Wave of University Democratisation revisited

The first wave of university democratisation at UCT was framed by the term of Sir Richard Luyt as fifth VC of UCT and consolidated by the work of the Bradlow Commission. I have argued that the conjunction, on the one hand, of sustained student opposition against the imposed Diemont Constitution (and particularly against the new clause allowing segregated clubs and societies), student dissatisfaction with outmoded and restrictive rules of conduct on campus and in student residences and student activism against segregationist practices at UCT with, on the other hand, a new VC sympathetic to students' concerns resulted in the extension of student involvement in university governance and decision-making processes. First the extension of student involvement in decision-making especially concerned the domain of students' extra-curricular life; by the beginning of the term of Luyt's successor elected representatives of the student constituency participated in the deliberations of the University's highest decision-making bodies, Council and Senate, even though for legal reasons not yet as full members. The key regime changes involved in the first wave of university democratisation at UCT were initiated early into Luyt's term. The

[94] The confidentiality of Council proceedings posed a vexing problem for student representation on this body, as both the Corbett and Bradlow commissions realised. As early as 1974, the editor of *Varsity* was complaining that confidentiality in university governance undermined the power of student representatives and made it difficult for *Varsity* to inform students: "The only power that [student representatives] do have is in terms of the support they receive from the student body. To utilize this power, our representatives must be free to report back to the students on what is discussed on these committees […]. In producing *Varsity* […] we have on a number of occasions come up against the problem of confidentiality – do we print it, or don't we?" ("Editorial: Confidential", 1974).

Corbett Commission of 1973/74 not only endorsed these reforms but also provided a reasoned foundation for them while setting limits to the further extension of the formal involvement of students in university governance advocated for by the SRC.

The first wave of university democratisation at UCT significantly departed from the conceptions of 'student' that either still haunted student governance as residues of the 'ancien régime' or were involved in the new restrictions concocted during Duminy's term. On the one hand, the Corbett Commission accepted as "inevitable" that there were functionally different groups in the University, such as students, academic staff, administrative staff and Council with its majority external membership. All of them played "defined and distinct roles" (1974: 21). On the other hand, the Commission pointed out:

> *"… we firmly associate ourselves with the view of the Principal, Sir Richard Luyt, that it is preferable to regard the University as a unit in which all these different groups work together towards a common goal. To attain this unity of purpose there are three basic requirements: (1) close contact so that there may be an effective communication between these groups and, thus, an elimination of misunderstandings; (2) tolerance, goodwill and, where reasonable and necessary, a willingness to compromise in order to reconcile opposing view-points; and (3) an integrity of purpose, which ensures that issues are viewed and dealt with, not according to the dictates of sectional or non-University interests, but purely on their intrinsic merits." (Corbett Commission, 1974: 21)*

The Corbett Commission therefore resolved the potential governance problems created by a conception of the University as community constituted by functionally differentiated groups (or functional constituencies) – which could have provided the grounds for a more stakeholder-democratic governance regime - by emphasising the quintessential "spirit of unity" and "unity of purpose" of the University (1974: 21). Increased student representation in university committees involved precisely the recognition that as a functionally distinct group in the University, students had a role to play in decision-making.[95] In other words, the Commission did not view student representation in governing bodies merely as a means for the conveyance of student opinion; that was a related but distinct role of the SRC. It conceived of student representation as a participation of students in university decision-making, in conformity with the notion of students as a functional group and constituency of the University. Its simultaneous rejection of the term "trades union" with reference to the representative role of the SRC (Corbett Commission, 1974: 21), its preference for student representatives to "act as true representatives" rather than as "mere delegate[s]" (1974: 24-25), and its careful considerations of matters that are potentially sensitive to groups other than students in decision-making (such as matters of staff appointment) all indicate ways in which the

[95] The Commission also noted that "…we also wish to draw attention to the fact that at present the non-professorial academic staff have no direct representation on Council" (1974: 25), thus identifying them as another functional constituency of the University which needed to be taken into account in decision-making.

Commission sought to balance its pluralist conception of the university community with the necessity of unity. The youthfulness, relative inexperience, and transience of students was no longer justification for an exclusion of students from formal decision-making structures; on the contrary, the Commission argued that with their "intimate and direct knowledge of what is happening upon the campus" and "fresh, relatively uninhibited, individual and enthusiastic point of view" students could make "an extremely valuable contribution to the collective wisdom of the University's governing body" (1974: 23).

Moreover, within a context of state repression of student political activity against apartheid, the Commission's work was highly significant in that it asserted the political rights of citizenship of students as young adults, both collectively and individually, not only within the University, but also in opposition to government policy. Hence, when in 1979 the SRC questioned Council's position towards student political involvement, Council was obliged to respond.

The result of the first wave of university democratisation at UCT may be coined a collegial-democratic regime of student governance. By providing for the membership of elected representatives of functional constituencies (especially students and non-professorial academic staff) in key decision-making bodies such as Council, Senate, and the committee system, a regime of governance emerged in which the professoriate was joined by other internal groups in university decision-making bodies. From the student perspective, the democratic nature of the new regime of governance was particularly pronounced in the governance of extra-curricular student affairs. Overall it was a hybrid *collegial*-democratic regime in that the democratisation of university governance was circumscribed by notions of academic rule and collegiality, emphasising in one sense the unity and common purpose of all groups in the university community, while at the same time re-affirming the importance of professional differentiation and the pre-eminence of academic authority in internal decision-making, especially in academic governance. In terms of the extent of student representation in university governance, the result of the first wave of university democratisation at UCT was similar to that in many British universities (e.g. CVCP, 1974 & Moodie & Eustace, 1974).

As it turned out, student membership of so many university governing bodies proved a mixed blessing to the SRC. Whereas direct participation in decision-making processes held the potential of greater student influence, it was also very time-consuming, removed from the chalk-face of student concerns and eventually led to a greater fragmentation of student government as SRCs of the 1980s bemoaned (e.g. SRC, 1982 & 1985). The Corbett Commission had foreseen this problem and had advised in detail how to reduce the workload of SRC members; the Bradlow Commission in turn not only sought to increase but also to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of formal student participation. However, what had not been foreseen by either of the two commissions was the challenge that increasing demographic and especially racial diversity in the student body in a context of an intensifying struggle against apartheid would involve for the

legitimacy of the SRC and its claim to be the rightful body to represent student interests in the University and beyond. Even less was it foreseen what basic challenges an eventual transition to democracy at national level would imply for the legitimacy of Council and the entire regime of governance of the University of Cape Town.

4.4 The Second Wave of University Democratisation

The first wave of university democratisation at UCT had been concerned with the representation of students as a *functionally* distinct constituency within the decision-making structures and processes of the University[96]; it had been driven by student political activism and a sympathetic vice-chancellor within a changing international, national and University context; and it resulted in a liberalisation and democratisation of student governance that involved an acknowledgement of students' political rights on campus, a relaxation of student rules and an increase in formal student involvement in decision-making at all levels and in various domains of university governance. The second wave of university democratisation at UCT was enabled by changes in the national political context and the changing demographic composition of the University's student body. Not just 'democratisation' but 'transformation' became the students' rallying cries. The key concern of the second wave at UCT was the equitable representation of *demographically* distinct constituencies, especially black and women members of the University community, in the governance structures of the University as a means to ensure that the national transition to non-racial democracy would find expression also in a transformed University of Cape Town.

The second wave of university democratisation at UCT involved two distinct transitional phases, of which the first arguably was a precondition for the second. It occurred largely under the vice-chancellorship of Dr Stuart Saunders (1981-1996). The first phase of transition was limited to the sphere of student activism and student government. An increasing racial polarisation of the student body driven by changes in the student body of the University led to a crisis of legitimacy for the all-white SRCs in the second half of the 1980s. In response to the racial polarisation the University's student leaders developed two radically different approaches. I call the first approach *racial parallelism*. This refers to the all-white 'NUSAS-SRC' and the black SANSCO-branch at UCT effectively operating in a governance alliance in student activism and student government while at the same time racially distinct organisational structures emerged in various sectors of extra-curricular student affairs governance. The second, subsequent approach I call *non-racial unity*. The latter was achieved, once the two main South African student organisations, SANSCO and NUSAS, merged at national level in the course of 1991, and the first SRC led by a black student was elected at UCT in August 1991. I argue that non-racial unity in student politics, nationally and at campus level, paved the way for the second phase of governance transition which involved concerted pressure by students (and some staff) on the university authorities with the demand to

[96] I have deliberately only focused on the context, dynamics, and processes concerning the formal inclusion of students in university governance. As part of the same process of university democratisation, non-professorial academic staff also gained increased representation in university governance at UCT in the course of the 1970s (van der Horst, 1979).

'democratise' and 'transform'. Hence, despite numerous attempts by the last all-white SRCs, separately and jointly with SANSCO-UCT, to put pressure on university leadership, it was only the march on Council of September 1, 1993, that ushered in a new and decisive phase of transition. The march was led by the United Campus Front, a campus-based movement that included black and white student leaders, progressive staff members and organisations, which moved Council to agree to discuss publicly the University's role during apartheid and its future role in a new South Africa by holding a transformation and democratisation conference. This conference became the founding moment of the first University Transformation Forum (UTF) in South Africa. During its existence, and especially during the first two years of intensive negotiation and work, the UTF offered the University a forum for dealing with its past as well as with the uncertain policy environment, and to chart a new mission for its future.

4.4.1 The Changing Student Body and its Implications for Student Politics

In the course of the 1980s, the demographic composition of the student body of UCT changed significantly due to a substantial increase of black students, female students and postgraduates. In 1979, the demographic composition of the student body of the University was still largely the same that it had been a decade earlier. In the course of the 1970s the student body had grown by about 30% to 9,867 students; yet there were still less than 10% black students at UCT (918 students) and only about a third were female students (Goosen *et al*, 1989: 36; *see also* Harrison, 1979: 171). In the course of the 1980s, however, the number of black students increased substantially, both in real terms and proportionally. Their enrolment grew steadily to 11.7% in 1981, 15% in 1985, 24.7% in 1989, eventually reaching close to a third of the student body by 1992 (31.1%). At the same time, there was significant growth in the proportion of postgraduate students at UCT, and of black postgraduate students in particular (Goosen *et al*, 1989: 38 & 42; Sonaba, 1992: 27 & Saunders, 2000: 259-260).

The increase in black student enrolments at UCT during the 1980s was contrary to national policy and required a calculated defiance of the racial permit system by the university administration. The defiance may be seen as part of the concerted opposition of the 'open universities' against attempts by the apartheid government to 'reform' the system of student admission based on racial criteria. Defiance and opposition eventually led to a 'victory' of the historically open universities in their quest to have the racial restrictions abolished - this 'victory' must be understood, however, within the macro-political context (Moodie, 1994). Badat argues that in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising, the apartheid state found itself in an organic crisis, which had ideological, economic and political dimensions. When Pieter Willem Botha was elected Prime Minister of South Africa in 1978, his government sought to reform apartheid through various initiatives, including labour market reforms, the relaxation of petty apartheid laws, and new constitutional proposals (Badat, 1999: 176-177). The perception of a chronic skills shortage in the economy and the political aim of creating a black middle class led to a massive expansion of black higher education: black student numbers in higher education more than tripled between 1977 and 1985. New public higher education

institutions (universities, technikons and colleges) designated for blacks in general and Africans in particular were created, private corporate funding was availed for new facilities at existing institutions, and public and private bursaries for black students increased greatly (Badat, 1999: 193-196; *see also* Bundy, 1989 & Muller, 1991). Even so, government was reluctant to allow increases in the number of African students at the universities reserved for whites (Badat, 1999: 198-199).

In July 1982, the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, proposed an amendment to existing legislation technically modifying the racial admission system introduced by the 1959 Act. Under the 1959 dispensation, the Minister had the sole power to grant permission allowing individual students to study at the 'racially wrong' university. Instead, under the proposed new system, every white university would be given a quota for students from other racial groups.[97] The so-called 'quota bill' was strongly opposed by the historically 'open universities'. Moodie argues that in the 1980s the 'open universities' opposition to government's 'reform' of apartheid was "more overt and united than at any time since 1959" (Moodie, 1994: 11).[98] Although the bill became law in 1983, the Minister acceded to the pressure from the 'open universities' by agreeing not to fix any quotas, if he could get an assurance that they would raise their standards of admission, restrict annual growth, and increase the proportion of postgraduates. In the event it would prove that most of the racial limitations on the admission of black students to white universities had been quietly removed (Moodie, 1994: 10-11 & Shear, 1996: 149-154).[99] Moodie observes that as "a *quid pro quo*…the English-speaking universities did not exactly open the flood gates to black entrants" (1994: 11).

In the case of UCT, the official admissions policy adopted in 1979 remained in place. In terms of this policy, the University committed itself to a gradual growth of student enrolments in general and a simultaneous focus on becoming more postgraduate; it made, however, no reference to race at all (Goosen *et al*, 1989). What mattered most were therefore not so much stated policy objectives either of the national government or of the university, but the *de facto* changes in admissions practice. Even without an official policy of racially diversifying the student body (or, more specifically, 'Africanisation' as some referred to it at the time), the racial composition of the student body changed significantly. By 1989, almost 25% of the UCT student body were black (i.e. African, Coloured and Indian) students (Goosen *et al*, 1989).

As the numbers of black students gradually achieved a critical mass in the course of the 1980s, it emerged that they would not simply fit into the democratised structures of student governance at

[97] Thus, while prepared to extend black involvement in higher education the NP government was still determined that admission should remain racially based and controlled by the government, not a matter of individual choice or of institutional autonomy.
[98] The rejection of the quota bill at UCT was expressed in various ways, including mass meetings and a University Assembly ("Racist Quota Rejected", 1983; "The Quota System - Are…", 1983; "The Quota System – Some…", 1983 & Saunders, 2000).
[99] A residual threat remained that quotas could be imposed, since the law itself stayed in place until 1988 (Moodie, 1994: 13).

UCT which the first wave of university democratisation had bestowed upon them. In his *memoirs,* VC Saunders, recalls that there was a deep racial fissure that characterised the student community and student leadership in the 1980s. The antagonism ran so deep at times, that university administrators feared there could be violent clashes between black and white students on campus; however, no such incidents ever occurred (Saunders, 2000: 203 & Interview with Martin West, 18 May 2006).[100] Black and white students on campus came from strikingly different backgrounds and with contrasting perceptions of the University and South African society. In some ways, these differences were exacerbated by their experience of admission to UCT (Sonaba, 1993). For instance, in the 1980s, the Group Areas Act still made it illegal for black students to take residence in the white suburbs close to the University. Thus, black students depended on the University to provide on-campus accommodation or they were forced to stay in distant African, Coloured and Indian townships. Initially, the University was reluctant to contravene the Group Areas Act by opening its residences to black students; it rather assisted them in finding alternative accommodation in former hotels or hostels, especially in Coloured and African residential areas. Some African students of UCT were housed in a semi-official student residence in Gugulethu into the mid-1980s (SRC, 1986; *see also* Saunders, 2000: 149-150).[101] Other tangible problems experienced by many black students included a lack of finances and difficulties associated with academic underpreparedness (Saunders, 2000: 98). These problems were tackled incrementally through the development of financial aid, academic support programmes and the like. In addition to the numerous legal, material, social and educational obstacles which prevented black students in general and African students in particular from enjoying the ostensibly 'care-free' experience of white students, the University's institutional culture was also perceived as marginalising and alienating by black students. Sonaba argues that it was strikingly obvious to any black student entering UCT in the 1980s that the University was conditioned by and geared towards its white staff and student community; this 'culture shock' inevitably made black students aware of the particularity of their cultural background and preferences, inducing a sense of otherness, marginalisation and alienation (Sonaba, 1992: 26-28 & 34).[102] The growing constituency of black students in the UCT student body would have to find its own ways of asserting itself.

[100] The *Cape Times* reported a number of separate incidents of violence between members of the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (PASO) and white students on campus on the occasion of the launch of the UCT branch of PASO in 1991 ("Group attacks Ikey", 1991).

[101] Dr Saunders' recollection (in his autobiography) that he decided to "open [the UCT] residences to all students irrespective of race, in defiance of the Group Areas Act" as early as 1981 (Saunders, 2000: 97) is questionable. It is inconsistent with his responses in an interview he gave to *Varsity* in 1982, with Badat's account of the 1984 accommodation crisis at UCT, and it has been strongly contested in an interview conducted for this study with a member of the University Leadership (Badat, 1999: 283; *see also* "Education for SA's…", 1982 & anonymous interview response). Black student accommodation continued to be a problem throughout the later 1980s and into the 1990s despite the purchase of a number of apartment blocks and their conversion into black student residences and the building of new residences on campus ("Homeless. For How…", 1987). After the abolition of the Group Areas Act in 1991, black students still faced problems in accessing renting stock in the areas close to the University due to high costs and the racism of property owners. Thus, accommodation-related protests and sit-ins continued well into the 1990s (e.g. "Racial Demography of…", 1997 & "Housing Crisis", 1998).

[102] Similar conclusions have been reached by a number of studies about the institutional culture/climate of UCT (Rose, 1995; Steyn & van Zyl, 2001; Erasmus & de Wet, 2003; Smith *et al*, 2004 & Luescher, 2005b). For a critique *see* Higgins (2007).

4.4.2 From Racial Parallelism to Integration in Student Politics

Student political activism paved the way for the second wave of democratisation at the University of Cape Town. Above I argued that changes in the demographic composition of the student body during the 1980s led to a racial polarisation in the student body. Here I account explicitly for the manifestations of this polarisation in student politics, making reference to key characteristics of black student politics and student activism, and its implications for student governance at UCT. In particular, I show how black student leaders' political strategies occasioned a crisis of legitimacy for the UCT SRC by the end of the 1980s, and analyse two different approaches through which this crisis of legitimacy was resolved. I argue that the development of non-racial unity as a strategic approach in student politics was a necessary condition for the success of students' challenge to the University authorities and for its contribution towards making UCT fit for a post-apartheid South Africa.

4.4.2.1 Student Politics in Black and White

The nature of black students' experiences and perceptions of the University and South African society provided the backdrop for the development of black student solidarity and a black student political identity and distinctive political traditions at the historically-white universities. By the mid-1980s, black student politics at UCT had developed certain characteristics that set it generally apart from white student politics. Firstly, the black student leadership at UCT distinguished itself organisationally by establishing *de facto* racially exclusive black student organisations.[103] This did not only include the establishment of campus branches of national black student political organisations such as the South African National Students Congress (SANSCO)[104] or the Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM)[105], but also campus-based black cultural and religious student societies. Secondly, and for my purposes even more significantly, black students boycotted established governance structures at UCT.[106] Thus, the crucial new black component of the student body chose neither to stand for SRC elections nor to avail itself of the opportunities to serve formally on the other representative structures of student governance, including those that had been put in place during the first wave of university democratisation. In consequence, throughout the 1980s the UCT SRC consisted exclusively of white students. In the second half of the 1980s, a third feature of black student politics at UCT emerged, namely the establishment of black student governance structures that sought to represent black students' interests in parallel

[103] The SRC's official policy of non-racialism continued to compel all student organisations at UCT to be nominally open to student of all races. In reality, however, there were very few student organisations in the 1980s with a racially diverse composition.
[104] SANSCO was known as the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) from its establishment in late 1979 to 1986 (Badat, 1999: 260). For ease of reference I refer to it exclusively as SANSCO.
[105] AZASM was launched by AZAPO in July 1983 as a student organisation for BC 'faithfuls' (Badat, 1999: 252).
[106] Historically the non-collaborationist black political tradition is most strongly associated with the left-wing Non-European Unity Movement (which distinguished between non-collaboration as a principle and boycotting as a tactic) as an alternative to the ANC and Charterist tradition, especially in the Western Cape. There are ways in which BC appropriated this non-collaborationist spirit though it would be wrong to suggest that it was in any way allied to the Unity Movement (Sizwe, 1979: chap. 5). Badat (1999: 248) argues that the non-collaborationist black student political tradition at UCT has likely developed under the influence of the Unity Movement tradition.

with those established by the SRC. As such, this development broke with earlier political traditions of non-racialism at UCT and may be attributed to the growing influence of the Congress-aligned SANSCO. Prior to the mid-1980s, black students at UCT explicitly rejected the establishment of a black students' society along the lines of similar organisations existing at Rhodes and Wits universities since the 1970s ("BSS?", 1982 & "Students Reject BSS", 1982). However, this changed when in 1986 the Black Inter-Residence Students Council (BISCO) was established as a means "to co-ordinate the activities and demands of black students at UCT irrespective of their political affiliation" (Sonaba, 1992: 14). Lastly, black students propagated a policy of non-attendance at specific cultural events, such as formal dinners organised by residences' house committees and even graduation ceremonies, which were seen in a BC sense as 'white colonialist traditions', culturally exclusive to whites and elitist (Sonaba, 1992: 23 & Saunders, 2000: 190 & 210-211). Thus, the different strands and tendencies in black student politics also came to find expression on the UCT campus in the course of the 1980s.

Within the contemporaneous political leadership of black students, there were significant ideological and organisational divisions. Most importantly, there were two political camps associated with two competing political traditions and liberation organisations. One was the BC Movement tradition, based on the SASO inheritance and BC doctrine and aligned to the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO); the other was the Congress or Charterist tradition, nurtured in the ANC and its sister organisations, founded on the principles of non-racialism, non-sexism, and democracy, and taking the Freedom Charter as its beacon (Badat, 1999; *see also* Sonaba, 1992: 23). While the political organisations of black students in both camps were in many ways influenced by and indebted to SASO, a key difference in their approach to the struggle against apartheid concerned their respective conceptions of 'non-racialism'. Thus, Badat argues that BC organisations like AZASM were committed to "non-racialism *purely as a goal";* the Charterist tradition nurtured by SANSCO, in contrast, involved a conception of "non-racialism *in practice"* as well (1999: 227-228 *emphasis in original).* A typical BC organisation like AZASM was geared towards "conducting the political struggle on a racially exclusive basis", while the political praxis of Charterist organisations such as SANSCO was more complex and dynamic (Badat, 1999: 220). On the one hand, the Charterist non-racialism of SANSCO did not prevent it from effectively being a racially separate organisation; on the other hand, it provided the basis for strategic alliances with progressive organisations of whites *inter alia* under the umbrella of the United Democratic Front (UDF) (Badat, 1999: 227-228).[107]

[107] In terms of Neville Alexander's (*nom de guerre* No Sizwe) comparative analysis of the various conceptions of 'race' and 'nationality' involved in the theory and praxis of the main South African liberation organisations, the BC conception of 'non-racialism' did not involve a crude "two-nation thesis" (i.e. a black nation vs. a white nation approach to the liberation struggle). Rather, he argues that BC postulated officially "the irrelevance of 'the white man'" and in practice solidarity among the oppressed (Sizwe, 1979: 123-124). Conversely, the non-racialism of the Charterists had its origins in a multi-racial/multi-national conception of South African society (i.e. the notion that the South African population was differentiated in terms of race into four different 'races' or 'nations' i.e. an African nation, Coloured nation, Indian nation and white nation). Hence the multi-racial, federal structure of the early Charterist movement involving the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation and the (white) Congress of Democrats (Sizwe, 1979: 95-105).

Initiated by numerous joint national campaigns, working together under the umbrella of the UDF and forged by the common experience of state repression, a non-racial student alliance was developed between SANSCO and NUSAS in the course of the 1980s. As noted above, in the wake of the Soweto Uprising, NUSAS had come under a more radical liberal and leftist leadership; it clandestinely aligned itself with the Congress movement and eventually established underground links with the ANC in exile (Badat, 1999: 219). The End Conscription Campaign, NUSAS support for the Free Mandela Campaign of 1980, and its campaign to help popularise the Freedom Charter, all provided opportunities for white students to identify with the message of the liberation movement (Davenport, 2004: 54-57 & Simpson, 2006: 35-36). Eventually, during the Anti-Republic Day Campaign of 1981, black and white student leaders shared a public stage for the first time since the 1970s (Badat, 1999: 220). As white students of UCT came to participate through NUSAS in national anti-apartheid campaigns and showed their solidarity and support for the consecutive school boycotts by black pupils and for the workers' struggles and the consumer boycotts of the early 1980s, they became increasingly respected and incorporated in the black-led liberation movement (Davenport, 2004: 84; *see also* "Special Report: UCT…", 1980; "Special Report: Boycott…", 1980 & "Education for People's…", 1986). At the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in August 1983, SANSCO and NUSAS became national affiliates and together with COSAS[108] they formed the student sector of the UDF (Seekings, 2000: 59). By 1987 NUSAS and SANSCO were referred to as "sister organisations", each having a specific role within the UDF in relation to the black and white communities (Nkwe, 1987: 21; Badat, 1999: 286; *see also* "A Black and…", 1986).

The post-1983 context within which the student alliance between SANSCO and NUSAS was forged can be described as one of a mass popular insurrection – and this fast-spreading urban revolt was met by ever increasing state repression.[109] In July 1985 the Botha government declared a state of emergency, the first of a series of states of emergency lasting until June 1990. In 1986, the ANC's call of making South Africa 'ungovernable' found widespread support and boycotts, civil unrest, and political violence, were reaching unprecedented heights. The apartheid state, in turn, established a counter-revolutionary security regime (Price, 1991, in Badat, 1999: 187-188). The state security apparatus infiltrated the UCT campus with police spies masquerading as students and student leaders, sowing seeds of mistrust and inciting violence (Sonaba, 1992: 5-6 & Saunders 2000: 182). Tensions ran high in these years, with student demonstrations against apartheid frequently resulting in the police invading the campus, using teargas, birdshot, sjamboks and dogs to disperse students and arresting protesters.[110] In February 1988, the United Democratic Front, the Congress

[108] COSAS, the Congress of South African Students, was established in 1979 as a national political organisation of learners in primary, secondary and further education aligned to the Congress movement (Badat, 1999: 213).
[109] Ahead of the referendum on the tricameral constitution, state repression had eased off briefly.
[110] In these situations, the role of VC Saunders must be highlighted. As his autobiographical account vividly illustrates there were numerous occasions prior and during the state of emergency when Saunders stood in the firing line between police and demonstrating students, negotiating for the police to withdraw and allow him to discuss with student leaders their demands (Saunders, 2000).

of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), SANSCO and many other anti-apartheid organisations were placed under severe restrictions and effectively banned from operating (Badat, 1999: 188). However, as soon as they were banned, anti-apartheid activists launched new organisations to take their place, such as the Black Students' Society (BSS) at UCT which was formed to carry forward the work of the 'banned' SANSCO-UCT branch between 1988 and 1990 ("Black students to…", 1988; *see also* Sonaba, 1992). In a show of outright defiance, SANSCO and other allied formations of the UDF eventually declared their own 'unbanning' in August 1989. SANSCO then proceeded to prepare for its eighth congress in December 1989 (Badat, 1999: 264; *see also* "SA: The Past…", 1989). At the same time, NUSAS received massive support at the SRC elections in August 1989 ("Editorial", 1989).

On the eve of the new decade, non-racialism had become a shared strategic approach in the form of the national alliance between black and white student organisations in the Congress tradition. Still, the relevant meaning of non-racialism remained very much a contested issue. On the one hand, the alliance (and the UDF in general) was under heavy criticism from BC formations and the Unity Movement who decried it as 'multi-racialism' (Badat, 1999: 248-249). On the other hand, for key elders in the ANC leadership, the alliance did not go far enough and they questioned whether an alliance of two 'mono-racial' organisations was an appropriate form of non-racialism. Thus, Ahmed Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni, both recently released political prisoners, proposed a possible merger between SANSCO and NUSAS at the respective annual congresses of the two organisations in December 1989 (Badat, 1999: 264-265).

4.4.2.2 From a Crisis of Legitimacy to Racial Parallelism: the 'NUSAS-SRC'

The development in student activism from separate organisation to a strategic alliance and eventually towards proposals for non-racial unity had its analogies with similar developments in formal student governance at UCT, involving a transition from boycott and parallel organisation towards racially integrated structures of student governance. Thus, in the closing years of the 1980s, a campus-based informal coalition between subsequent all-white SRCs aligned to NUSAS and the all-black SANSCO branch at UCT was forged with respect to specific matters of student governance (in addition to national politics). Yet, this was not merely an extension of the national alliance at campus level. In the local context of black student politics at UCT and of developments in the sport and residence sectors of student governance, the SRC/SANSCO coalition was also a fitting governance response by the SRC to increase its legitimacy and that of the other constitutional student representative structures.

As the number of black students at UCT gradually grew into a politically significant constituency on campus during the 1980s, their political traditions of non-collaboration and separate organisation began to have implications for student governance and particularly for the legitimacy of the all-white SRCs. At the beginning of the 1980s, the Bradlow Commission had considered the SRC's role in ascertaining and conveying student opinion and representing student interest as basically

uncontroversial. Concurring with the Corbett Commission it had argued that the electoral system adequately ensured a representative range of opinions and interests within the SRC, and that mass meetings, referenda and consultation through SRC subcommittees further broadened this spectrum (Bradlow Commission, 1981: 3). What the two commissions of enquiry had not anticipated was a situation whereby a significant sector of the student body would fundamentally question this set-up, refuse to collaborate, organise separately and eventually create alternative ways of voicing its concerns and demands.

How did the SRC handle having its legitimacy of representing the collective student voice called into question? Until the mid-1980s, this question did not really arise because the relatively small dissident black student constituency could safely be ignored. After all most SRC members (all of whom were white) were uncomfortable with categorising the student body in racial terms. Things only changed when in the course of the 1980s the voices of black student leaders, who affirmed their blackness and denounced the white SRCs' claim to represent them as 'arrogant' and 'racist' became too loud and frequent.

The SRC President of 1987/88, Cameron Dugmore, was the first to refer to his SRC explicitly as a 'NUSAS-SRC'. Thereby Dugmore did not so much seek to underscore what only a few years earlier Christine Burger, SRC President of 1984/85, had called "the benefits of NUSAS affiliation for the SRC" (SRC, 1985). At that time, Burger had merely highlighted the tangible benefits of NUSAS affiliation to students and student bodies, such as the student travel agency or the long list of student discounts which were annually negotiated with business owners (SRC, 1985). Quite in contrast, Dugmore was acutely aware that an all-white SRC in an increasingly racially diverse university was unrepresentative. Glen Goosen's SRC (1985/86) had been the first to take black students' concerns seriously and table their issues - especially matters of accommodation, transport, and bursaries – on the SRC agenda, realising that it was desirable that the national alliance between NUSAS and SANSCO would also find expression at campus-level in a close relationship between the SRC and SANSCO-UCT, especially as far as concrete issues affecting black students were concerned (*SRC Minutes*, 20 August 1986; SRC, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983 & 1984).[111] During Carla Sutherland's term as SRC President in 1986/87, the UCT campus came to witness increasing black student activism and militancy resulting in unprecedented racial tensions in the student body. Over this period of time successive SRCs thus came to realise that they needed to acknowledge black students as a distinct constituency and come to grips with the implications thereof for the SRC.

[111] The "squatting action" by black students in April 1984 was the first political campaign by black students at UCT that made front-page news in *Varsity.* Goosen had been SRC member in 1984 and the tents in front of Jameson Hall to protest against the black students' accommodation crisis may have contributed to the sensitivity in his SRC to black students' concerns ("UCT Squatting Action", 1984). The accommodation crisis protest was followed by further black student protests, e.g. in solidarity with those faced with disciplinary action in the wake of the protests ("Students March against…", 1984). Black student accommodation became one of the perennial matters to be dealt with by the UCT SRC (e.g. "Homeless: For How…", 1987).

The first major step for the SRC was to name 'race'[112] and thus acknowledge that black students had a different experience from white students on and off campus (SRC, 1987). Sutherland herself was acutely aware of the implications of acknowledging 'race' for the legitimacy of her SRC. If black students represented a distinct constituency within the student body which was organised outside of the SRC and rejected the SRC, could her all-white SRC legitimately claim to represent them? In her final report to her successor, the incoming SRC President Cameron Dugmore, Sutherland wrote:

> *"It is quite clear that an all white SRC cannot speak on behalf of black students." (Sutherland in SRC, 1987)*

Thus, by the end of Sutherland's term as SRC President in August 1987, the SRC had come to concur with black student leaders that the lack of black representation on the SRC implied a representivity deficit in the SRC and thus disqualified it from speaking on behalf of black students. This conclusion had been reached only after years of black non-collaboration with the formal structures of student governance, increasing separate organisation in political, cultural, religious and discipline-based student societies and sports clubs, and increasingly militant activism on campus. Moreover, during Sutherland's term, the University saw the emergence of the Black Inter-Residence Students Council (BISCO) and the South African Tertiary Institutions Sports Council (SATISCO) on campus, two alternative black student governance structures in the residence and sport sectors. BISCO was established to represent the interests of black students across the UCT residence system and its black annexes in the townships. In the sport sector, more black sport codes were established and they lobbied successfully for affiliation to SATISCO, the sports union established at predominantly black institutions. These developments were by no means uncontroversial (Saunders, 2000: 210); moreover, they fundamentally challenged the existing SRC constitutional structures in these domains. Thus the SRC reported, for instance, that "both wardens and house committees [were] worried about BISCO setting itself up as an alternative and about the implications thereof" (SRC, 1987). Considering these developments, Sutherland's SRC concluded, however, that "to organise as a separate grouping was a legitimate strategy"; while in a "transition process […] there may well be tensions and even alternative structures to the present ones being set up" (SRC, 1987).

As a next step, the SRC now had to sort out how its official policy and principled commitment to non-racialism could be reconciled with political practices that were effectively structured in racial terms. It is therefore not surprising that the 1986/7 SRC is the only SRC in the 1980s that articulated an explicit strategy on non-racialism. It resolved that it would seek to contribute to the building of a non-racial future in the University and in South Africa, *inter alia* by "having regular contact and working with representative organisations of black students" (*SRC Minutes*, 11 March 1987). The SRC thus opted for a conception of 'non-racialism *in practice'* akin to that of Charterist

[112] For a perceptive study that identifies the burden involved in naming 'race' for black students, *see* Erasmus & de Wet (2003). This must be contrasted, however, from the hurdle taken by the SRC in the mid-1980s.

organisations like SANSCO (Badat, 1999: 227-228). Consistent with this principle, Sutherland later recommended to the incoming SRC with Dugmore at its helm that his SRC of 1987/88 should consult with student organisations representing black students on all major issues, including issues raised in university committees (SRC, 1987).

In the course of the term of the 1986/87 SRC, black students' political organisations and especially SANSCO-UCT became effectively recognised by the SRC as legitimate bodies representing the black constituency in the student body. In practice this resulted in an informal coalition between the SRC and black student leaders on campus, particularly on issues affecting black students. This rapport was perhaps one of the reasons why the all-white SRCs were able to retain their status as the highest decision-making student body and no changes were made to the SRC Constitution. Thus, the parallel and separate organisations established by black students including BISCO and SATISCO, all sought recognition by the SRC and the Student Affairs Committee of Council, duly submitting their constitutions to be scrutinised and approved in conformity with the established procedures. The SRC continued to have sole control over its budget and allocated the resources at its disposal as it saw fit – including administrative funding, office and meeting space to the parallel black student bodies. The SRC organised student representation on university committees, it oversaw the student governance bodies in the faculties and residences, the sport clubs and student societies, and often acted as mediator between the constitutional governance structures and the black representative bodies. The elected residences' house committees continued to function as the official representative bodies in spite of the BISCO challenge, and SATISCO and the Sport Union operated in parallel, organising fixtures and venues each for its own set of affiliated sport codes. Thus, the racial polarisation on campus expressed itself in student governance with a set of parallel institutions – a dominant, traditional set of structures run by white students that sought global representation and jurisdiction, and an emancipatory set of transitional, alternative structures run by black students for themselves, implicitly refuting the universalistic claims of the extant regime of student governance.

Calling the SRC a 'NUSAS-SRC' not only solved some of the legitimacy problems with which the all-white SRCs struggled but it also put the informal black-white coalition of student leadership in student governance at UCT on a sound footing. Certainly, the UCT SRC had a longstanding association with NUSAS. Yet, in the ideologically charged climate of the late 1980s, the explicit identification with NUSAS meant that the SRC could claim *for itself* a widely recognised 'struggle history' as well as a current political association with the liberation movement, thus placing Cameron's all-white SRC in spite of its unrepresentative composition within the diverse spectrum of progressive anti-apartheid formations. The SRC's emphasis on its link with NUSAS also placed the coalition of the 'NUSAS-SRC' and SANSCO-UCT within the ambit of the national non-racial student alliance. Frequent consultations between NUSAS-SRC and SANSCO-UCT and the inclusion of black student leaders in SRC delegations to university authorities could thus be justified as an extension and expression of the national non-racial alliance between NUSAS and SANSCO. This

had advantages not only for the SRC, given its 'representivity deficit', but also for members of SANSCO on campus who had to defend their close relationship with white student leaders against scoffing BC-faithfuls. Like Dugmore's SRC the last all-white SRCs, led by Caroline Greene (1989/90) and Richard Smith (1990/91)[113], proudly called themselves 'NUSAS-SRCs' in their communications, on banners and letterheads, and their political programme and the work of the SRC subcommittees was closely aligned with the programme of NUSAS Head Office, as it were, and coordinated with that of the SANSCO/BSS[114] branch leadership ("Freak Week: The…", 1989 & "Caroline Greene, SRC…", 1990).

While racial parallelism in student governance had started in the student residence sector at UCT in late 1986 with the establishment of BISCO, it was again developments in the residences which in subsequent years suggested an alternative option and a new regime of student governance. Towards the close of the 1980s, the UCT student residence system was expanding rapidly. The University had successfully raised funds to acquire apartment blocks in nearby suburbs and built new residences on campus to satisfy the demand for black student accommodation. At the same time, black student numbers in the older residences increased and racial tensions became a serious problem, as well as alcohol-related violence (Interview with Ian Bunting, 29 May 2006; "Student Dies in…", 1991 & "A Review of…", 1992). The NUSAS-SRC, SANSCO/BSS branch as well as the Residences Committee (i.e. a 'hybrid committee' of Council) sought to address the problems by rethinking the purpose of student residences and reforming the way student residences were governed. In due course, this would initiate a new regime of student governance.

A first reform introduced in the residences sector was the appointment of students as subwardens to support the warden and bridge the gap between warden and the residence's student body (Interview with Ian Bunting, 29 May 2006). A second reform followed after Council passed new residence rules in 1987 which included not only a standard residence constitution but also the provision for residences to formulate their own constitution. When the Woolsack residence was established in 1988, the Woolsack Residents Association (WRA) tested this provision by adopting a constitution which defined the WRA rather than the warden as the highest decision-making authority in the residence. The University's Residences Committee was divided on the merit of the Woolsack's proposed constitution and referred it with a narrow 9 to 8 approval to Council ("Woolsack Wevolution", 1989). Council, in the last instance, rejected the constitution, arguing that it violated its contract with the warden. Council's argument was immediately challenged by students (Lester in "Revolutionary Constitution", 1990). A campaign for the development of residences' constitutions, first launched by the 1989/90 SRC and SANSCO-UCT, eventually linked the issue of the governance of residences, on the one hand, to the question of culture in the residences (which was perceived by black students as "white-domination traditions") and, on the other hand, to the

[113] Both, Greene and Smith had served in Dugmore's SRC before they became SRC Presidents.
[114] SANSCO became a 'restricted' organisation in February 1988. In its place the Black Students' Society (BSS) was established at UCT to circumvent the restrictions and continue the work of the SANSCO-UCT branch (Sonaba, 1992: 9-13).

ideal of creating non-racial, non-sexist and democratic residence communities (Beerstecher in SRC, 1990 & "Students Tackle UCT", 1990). In 1992 a new residence rule came into effect which solved the impasse by requiring residences to adopt constitutions which included the warden as a member of the house committee. Prof Ian Bunting, who was the chair of the Residences Committee at the time, argues: "In a sense we kind of pre-empted the notion of co-operative governance.[115] […] The responsibility for the residence should be vested jointly in the warden and subwarden structure and in the house committee" (Interview with Ian Bunting, 29 May 2006). The third element in the reform process was the articulation of a much clearer conception of the purposes of student residences. According to Bunting it was determined that "[the residence] is not there for parties, it is not a boarding house, it is not a hostel. It is an academic support structure" (Interview with Ian Bunting, 29 May 2006). University residences were to be places of learning. The agreement on this core purpose in the Residences Committee provided a sound basis for challenging certain divisive residence traditions and for developing a culture of learning in residences. Residence-based academic support structures were put in place including an inter-residences tutorial scheme, residence libraries, and eventually residence-based student learning centres including computer labs (Interview with Ian Bunting, 29 May 2006; *see also* SRC, 1994c).

The regime of student governance which emerged in the early 1990s to address the racial polarisation in the residences and other challenges was therefore significantly different from racial parallelism. Seen holistically, this emergent governance regime in the residences had at its core a conception of students as 'engaged in academic activity' and it affirmed this consistently by developing academic support structures in the residences and opposing any customs and traditions that potentially undermined the academic purposes of the residences. At the same time, it placed a great deal of responsibility for ensuring that this purpose was realised in the hands of students who self-governed residences under the watchful eye and with the support of the residences administration.

Racial parallelism in student governance came to be a temporary feature of student governance in the transition from black boycott, non-collaboration, and separate and parallel organisation, to a non-racial unity for which developments in the residence sectors suggested some contours. Similarly, the significance of the re-conceptualisation of the UCT SRC as a 'NUSAS-SRC' can be understood as a step towards a different legitimation of student representation and a new regime of student governance. I have argued that the transition in student governance involved a response by the SRC to the challenge posed by the characteristics of black student politics at UCT in the form of an acknowledgement that 'race' was a politically significant characteristic in the representation of students. In due course it followed that the SRC had to recognise, on the one hand, that its all-white composition implied a representivity deficit while, on the other hand, separate organisations of black students were legitimate representatives of black student interests. Its support for racial parallelism thus involved a strategic realisation in the SRC that it was

[115] Bunting alludes to the policy of 'co-operative governance' proposed by the NCHE (1996) and subsequently adopted in the *White Paper* (1997).

appropriate, if not imperative, for an SRC composed only of white students to enter into an informal coalition with black student organisations, foremost with SANSCO-UCT (cascading into the residences and sports sectors). Thus, the SRC would give a prominent place to the experiences and preferences of the black student constituency. This alliance and its related express identity as 'NUSAS-SRC' would affirm the dominant role of the SRC at UCT during the tumultuous closing years of the 1980s. In governance terms, the racial polarisation in the student body reflected a lack of trust of black students in, and rejection of, key aspects of the regime of student governance which they inherited. Conversely, racial parallelism, as I termed it, involved new informal rules characterised by accountability and reciprocity which generated legitimacy and stability for the extant regime during a transitional period. This transitional period – the first phase of the second wave of university democratisation - came to an end in 1991. At campus level, as at national level, the question was gradually raised concerning the possibility of transforming the growing alliance between SANSCO and NUSAS into a single organisation expressing non-racial unity ("Matona Talks About…", 1989 & Badat, 1999: 264-265).

4.4.2.3 Non-racial Student Unity during the Interregnum

The early 1990s witnessed great political changes in South Africa, in the process of negotiating a new Constitution, in student politics at national and campus levels, and in student governance at UCT. The macro-political background to these changes is summed up by Badat:

> *"The failure of reforms and repression, the continued vigour of political opposition and widespread support for anti-apartheid organisations and the liberation movements, and severe international isolation and little improvement in the economic situation all combined to provide the impetus for the South African government's announcement of 2 February 1990 which set into motion political negotiations for a non-racial democracy" (Badat, 1999: 188-189).*

Contacts between the ANC leadership in exile and various South African groups had started already in the mid-1980s. Secret talks about talks between the ANC and government officials had also been conducted by Nelson Mandela from 1985 when he was still detained on Robben Island and later in Pollsmoor prison. The beginning of an official and public process of negotiation for a new political dispensation in South Africa was dramatically announced at the opening of Parliament on 2 February 1990 by the new State President Frederik Willem de Klerk who had succeeded Botha only months before. De Klerk announced the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and other illegal organisation, and he lifted restrictions placed on various organisations including the UDF, SANSCO and NUSAS, and the commencement of negotiations about a 'new South Africa'. Nine days after these announcements, Mandela walked out of prison (Mandela, 1994: 624ff & 666-667 & Badat, 1999: 306).

After an initial series of 'talks about talks' including the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, multi-party negotiations to draw up a new constitution started in December 1991 as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). The negotiation process moved through several phases including CODESA 1 and 2 concurrently with ongoing political violence in several parts of South Africa. The interim constitution and other agreements reached at the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum in December 1993 opened the way for the first non-racial democratic elections in April 1994 (Saunders & Southey, 2001: 51-52, 84 & 116; *see also* Mandela, 1994).

While discussions at CODESA 1 and 2 and the Multi-party Negotiation Forum focused on the foundations for a new constitutional framework, the period of interregnum between 1990 and 1994 was also a time when civil society organisations and other formations explored various specific policy options for a new democratic government. In the higher education sector, one such initiative was the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), which developed policy options and proposals for a new education policy framework, leading eventually to an ANC policy statement on higher education in 1994. After the 1994 elections, the ANC-led Government of National Unity appointed the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) to develop a comprehensive framework for the transformation of the sector including policy proposals on university governance (CHE, 2004: 261-262).

In the student sector, discussion about forming a single non-racial student organisation started formally in 1990 and led to a merger of NUSAS and SANSCO to form the South African Students' Congress (SASCO) in the second half of 1991. SASCO came to be modelled on SANSCO lines with campus branches and the option of affiliation for SRCs. It was also envisaged that at a later stage a politically non-partisan SRC federation of all public higher education institutions would be established ("Caroline Greene, SRC…", 1990 & NUSAS, 1991).

During the term of the 1990/91 SRC, non-racial unity and democracy in student governance moved to the top of the agenda. Richard Smith, the last white SRC President at UCT, and his SRC expressed their commitment to a non-racial and democratic future of the University with the "It's about time" campaign launched in April 1991. The campaign sought to promote non-racialism, non-sexism, and to democratise the SRC and the University (*SRC Minutes,* 15-16 September 1990 & SRC, 1991). It involved *inter alia* a public meeting between the SRC and Council (represented by the first Deputy Vice-Chancellor [DVC] Student Affairs, Prof Martin West) where the issue of "setting up a joint committee to consider the university decision-making structures and the student's role in these structures" was raised. West agreed and proposed that the terms of reference for such a committee would have to be elaborated ("Briefs: SRC/Council…", 1991). *Varsity* supported the campaign with a number of related articles (e.g. "SRC's future", 1990). Even before the SRC campaign, the *Varsity* had called for students to take control of decision-making at UCT arguing:

> *"The lack of student voting representation in UCT's Senate and Council, the highest decision-making bodies at UCT, shows that undemocratic structures are not only housed in parliament. We as students must seize the decision-making bodies on this campus in order to have full control over course content and the direction of the university in general. The degrees that we are studying for now will be used in a very different society. We must ensure that those degrees reflect the changing needs of our country." ("Editorial", 1990)*

However, as long as students were divided among themselves nothing came of this. It was not until the historic march on Council in 1993 that the university authorities moved on the student demands.

For the SRC elections of August 1991, SANSCO-UCT nominated a number of black student leaders to run as candidates.[116] Three black students were elected to the SRC 1991/2, among them Thulani Khanyile who became the first black SRC President of UCT. The new SRC embarked on an internal restructuring process so as to focus its portfolios and offices on key concerns: democratisation, education, and transformation. NUSAS had been dissolved at its last congress in Grahamstown in July 1991, and Khanyile's SRC was thus the first SRC of UCT not to have the various benefits of being affiliated to NUSAS. Shortly into the term of Khanyile, SASCO was established but the formation of a new SRC federation had to wait. It fell primarily upon this SRC and the two subsequent ones, led by Hermione Cronje and Elaine Sacco respectively, to initiate the 'unity talks' in various spheres of student governance, talks which gradually united the racially parallel governance structures. Most importantly, however, as part of the Campus United Front, the SRCs of Khanyile, Cronje and Sacco took a leading role in the transitional process that led to the establishment of the UTF ("UCT Marching for…", 1992).

Having in place a SRC where black and white student leaders operated together with the backing of a single national organisation, SASCO, which provided political leadership and spurred the campus SRCs on to militant activism, student activists became a driving force in the crucial debates and developments on the restructuring of university governance at UCT. There was a sense of the historical significance of the macro-political developments in the country and a willingness by students to seize this conjuncture and employ its momentum for change also in the University (e.g. "The United Front…", 1993).

[116] In contrast, AZASCO, i.e. the tertiary sibling of AZASM, and the recently launched PASO continued to boycott the SRC elections ("New Face SRC?", 1991).

4.4.3 The University Transformation Forum

4.4.3.1 The UTF Moment

September 1, 1993 stands out as a historic day of student leadership in the democratisation and transformation history of the University of Cape Town. On the one side, the Campus United Front - made up of the SRC, other student political formations and student groups as well as members of progressive staff formations and trade unionists - had worked out a list of demands that it planned to hand over at a march on the UCT Council, which was scheduled to have its monthly meeting on that day. On the other side, there was the university administration, which viewed the planned march with great concern. VC Saunders was keen to avoid a violent confrontation as had occurred at Wits University only a few days previously. Prof Mervyn Shear, DVC Student Affairs at Wits, recalls that his University had experienced in August 1993 "what was possibly the most destructive week in its history". The Wits campus had been "riven by angry and often violent demonstrations by some members of the South African Students Congress (SASCO)" whose demands for the replacement of Council and the establishment of a transformation forum to deal with issues of student admission and exclusions had been turned down (Shear, 1996: xxi). Saunders knew that SASCO at UCT would present a similar set of demands; he was aware that the situation on the UCT campus was almost as tense as at Wits; but he was determined to avoid a destructive confrontation. In the absence of his DVC for Student Affairs, the VC decided to respond hands-on to the growing student unrest on his campus (Executive Management, 1993b).

Towards the end of August, Saunders was briefed by the Student Affairs Secretariat on the prior history of demands by UCT students for a transformation conference (Executive Management, 1993b*:* Appendix). It showed that the SRC and SASCO had raised the idea for an education and governance conference at least since the "It's about time" campaign of the SRC 1990/91 (*see above*).[117] At an extra-ordinary meeting held on Sunday evening, 29 August 1993, at Glenara (the VC's residence), five senior university officials heard word from DVC Dr Ramphele about the latest plans of students, which she had gathered at a meeting with some SRC members the previous day. The SRC, SASCO and the other organisations in the Campus Front apparently planned to march on Bremner on September 1 and present their demands to Council, and the following day as part of the national peace campaign a march against violence would be led to the Rondebosch police station. Considering how to respond to the demands, the university officials reflected on the troubles at Wits and realised that what had escalated the problems there had been that "Wits was trying, at all costs, not to agree to a transformation conference" and that "bringing the police on campus had escalated the numbers who were involved" (Executive Management, 1993b). They reckoned that the demands of SASCO and the Campus Front for the dissolution of Council needed not to be taken literally; nobody would actually expect Council members to resign. For the time

[117] More recently, SASCO had demonstrated at the celebration of the University's 75th anniversary (of having university status) in April 1993 against the "undemocratic governing council". Placards carried by SASCO supporters demanded "an education conference" and rejected "the racist and sexist composition of council" ("UCT 75 Years…", 1993).

being, they only resolved to communicate to the university community that the University should support the national peace campaign by a symbolic 5 minutes standstill on 2 September, and that they would meet again on Tuesday, 31 August, to consider further developments (Executive Management, 1993b). On the following day, VC Saunders and DVC Ramphele met in confidence with key student and staff to inform them about management's view of the programme for 2 September (Executive Management, 1993a).

In his memoirs, Saunders recalls the march of September 1, 1993, as "the major protest [which] resulted in the presentation of demands to the council" (2000: 246). The protest march was without major incident. The memorandum handed to the chair of Council listed five key demands of students:

- "Council must dissolve itself and be replaced by a transitional commission;
- A moratorium on fee increases and financial exclusions;
- An Education and Transformation Conference with binding powers;
- An independent commission of inquiry to investigate the dismissal of Dr. Tom Leeuw[118];
- The UCT Administration must condemn the usage of a court interdict and apartheid police on Wits campus".

The petition was submitted by the SRC, political student organisations (including SASCO, PASO, and AZASCO) and other student and staff groups (Campus United Front, 1993).[119]

The chair of Council, Ian Sims, responded to the demands with a disarming statement committing the UCT Council to hold a special meeting within days to consider all the demands. He assured the students, moreover, that in his personal view a fully representative education and transformation conference should be part of a common agreement. Later that day, Sims responded in more detail on behalf of Council. Council agreed with the charge of being unrepresentative in terms of race and gender and promised to engage in a wide-ranging debate on how to change the nature and composition of Council; it agreed to investigate the non-confirmation of Leeuw's appointment; and it re-affirmed it's commitment to the principles of freedom of speech and association and of the freedom to protest peacefully. Council did not commit itself to a moratorium on fee increases and exclusions. Acknowledging that high tuition and residence fees at UCT were an obstacle to access, Council rather pointed to the underlying causes of cuts in government subsidy to the University and urged the establishment of a national student financial aid scheme. Most importantly, a debate and decision on the demand for an education and transformation conference was scheduled to take place at a special Council meeting the following week (Council, 1993). Thus, a potentially explosive situation was skilfully defused and the way was paved for a process which would culminate in the establishment of the UTF.

[118] Dr Tom Leeuw was a black lecturer in Religious Studies who became popular with students but failed to have his appointment confirmed (Interview with Hugh Amoore, 11 May 2006).
[119] For illustrations and a description of the events surrounding the march, see *Varsity* ("Council Faces Extinction?", 1993).

In preparation for the special meeting of Council on the student demand for an education and transformation conference, the VC wrote to all members of Council, advising them to agree in principle to a conference and making specific proposals. He suggested that "the conference should address the issue of university governance, the future funding of the university including the difficulties which students face in financing their studies, the direction and quality of the educational, research and extension programmes of the university, and the question of access to the university" (Vice-Chancellor's Office, 1993). Crucially, he proposed that the conference should not have any binding powers but merely serve an advisory function to Council. Saunders was anxious to arrive fast at a formal process that was agreeable to all, including the Senate, SRC, and academic and non-academic staff bodies. He proposed the establishment of a steering committee, composed of representatives of key staff and student bodies and representative in terms of race and gender, which would chart the process towards the conference and decide on the form of the conference (Vice-Chancellor's Office, 1993). Council agreed to all the VC's proposals at its special meeting on 8 September, and the VC immediately started a process of consultation to move to a formal process.

Students also worked on a more concrete proposal for the transformation conference. Under the leadership of Elaine Sacco the new SRC that had taken office at the beginning of September 1993, organised a student summit to gain a mandate from students. The summit was held on October 16 and was attended by the SRC, representatives of PASO, SASCO, the Women's Movement, and other student groups. Students agreed with most of Council's proposals. In addition, they insisted on a transparent process and, in contrast to Council, they wanted the conference to have binding powers. Among their proposals was a critical evaluation of the University's governance structures which was to involve the nature and composition of both Council and Senate and of their committees, governance at residences level, the University courts, and the role of students and other sectors within university governance (SRC, 1993b).

Progress towards the conference was not even. Initially November 1993 was the preferred time for the transformation conference. On the one hand, this date would enable some discussion about pressing issues such as academic and financial exclusions, fees and access questions before the perennial 'marching season' started again.[120] On the other hand, holding a conference within a month's time would allow too little time for important pre-discussions on issues of governance, institutional culture, curriculum, etc. all of which had been identified as transformation issues and for which staff and student representatives wanted to gain specific mandates from their constituencies. From the end of September the Steering Committee set up along the lines of the VC's proposal met weekly. In mid-November it reached a final decision to hold only a scaled-down

[120] In the late1980s and the 1990s the chronic over-allocation of residence places to incoming students and the exclusion of students on academic and financial grounds produced a perennial 'marching season' at the beginning of the new academic year, where protests against the academic and financial exclusion of students chased those of students in transitory accommodation.

workshop before the end of 1993 in order to discuss exclusions, fees and related policies, but not to discuss governance. The full conference was postponed to the middle of 1994 (West, 1994).

The Education and Transformation Workshop was held on 27 - 28 November 1993. Delegations from all constituencies of the University were present, numbering over fifty participants on Saturday and about thirty on Sunday. The SRC President and some major SASCO representatives were absent; they had opted to attend a national conference. The DVC's chronicle of the events conveys a sense of disappointment about these absences (West, 1994). The Workshop was meant to deal with urgent issues only, i.e. policies and processes around fees, funding and other financial matters, financial exclusions, and academic exclusions. For every topic a presentation was given by a senior staff member responsible for this area. The focus was on explaining and justifying current practice in terms of the applicable policy, while indicating problems with alternative policies and the difficulties inherent in the UCT context. PASO was the best-prepared student organisation, having developed specific written proposals for each of the topics that were discussed. Despite serious discussions on various policy issues, the Workshop did not take decisions on matters of substance – although limited agreements were recorded regarding fee increases and academic exclusions. Among the Workshop's limited achievements was that it reached consensus on the further process mostly by referring the various proposals to the Steering Committee for further investigation (University Education and Transformation Workshop*,* 1993).

In its evaluation of the Workshop, the SRC was highly dissatisfied. Thandi Lewin, SRC Secretary-General, argued that too much time had been spent on being told about present policies and statistics. The SRC had not intended the Workshop as an exercise in soft accountability. Rather, it wanted to discuss pressing issues as well as future policies and agree on a common conceptualisation of transformation for the University. For that, however, there had not been enough time. Moreover, the Workshop lacked any binding powers (SRC, 1994b & West, 1994). Nonetheless, the Workshop provided an important rehearsal for students to acquaint themselves with the University management's strategy and avoid a similar scenario at the transformation conference planned for 1994.

The first months of 1994 were dominated by preparations for the first national democratic elections. The SRC participated in the voter education drive and organised a weeklong voting campaign on campus. Thus, on the request of student leadership, the Institutional Transformation Steering Committee (as it was called now) only met after the national election on 27 April 1994 (West, 1994). When it reconvened on 17 May 1994 and in subsequent meetings, the Steering Committee decided to hold a full transformation conference at the end of July/beginning of August 1994, and to establish working groups ahead of the conference which would prepare proposals on a 'statement of intent' (to conceptualise the transformation of UCT), governance, and the post-conference process (West, 1994).

As the Transformation Conference approached, the SRC and SASCO jointly published a pamphlet for the Conference with the motto “Come let us open the doors of learning for all”, thus evoking the Freedom Charter’s resolution for education in a democratic South Africa. In the pamphlet, SRC Transformation Officer, Mowbray Mvambi, highlighted the need for a democratisation of the structures of governance, including Council, Senate, Executive Management, Faculties and Departments and various committees charged with governing aspects of the University, as the key theme for the Conference (SRC, 1994d).

The UCT Education and Transformation Conference was held on 13 - 14 August 1994 with over forty participants and close to thirty observers. Among the student participants were two former SRC Presidents (Thulani Khanyile and Hermione Cronje), the current SRC President (Elaine Sacco) and the future President of the 1994/95 SRC (Maxwell Fuzani) as well as other SRC members, members of the newly established Student Parliament, members of political student organisations, especially SASCO, PASO and the South African Liberal Students’ Association (SALSA), and representatives of cultural and artistic student societies. Council, University Executive, Senate, Academics Association, UCT Staff Association, Black Staff Association, the National Education Health and Allied Workers’ Union (NEHAWU), and Senior Administrative Staff had all sent delegations. Among the observers were officials of the national Department of Education, researchers of the Education Policy Unit of the University of the Western Cape (UWC), and representatives of political parties.

One of the most significant products of this first UTF Conference was the *Statement of Intent,* a document which the Conference adopted as expressing a common understanding of the context, intention and unfolding process of the transformation of the University (*see* Appendix E). The *Statement of Intent* had some features that make it unique among the official documents of the University. First and foremost, unlike other official documents, the *Statement of Intent* recognised the burden of history that UCT shoulders. While it did not acknowledge any complicity of the University in apartheid, it recognised that the University had been deeply affected by apartheid – in terms of its origins, governance, academic functions, the composition of, and relationships within, the university community, and the relations of the University to the broader society. The wish to redress the legacy of apartheid and remove the limitations apartheid imposed on the University while guided by relevant principles – i.e. inclusiveness, excellence, accountability, transparency, equity, affirmative action, and local, national and international collaboration - provided the leitmotif for the intended transformation. The conception of transformation inherent in the *Statement of Intent* therefore was a complex one: Transformation was conceived as a process of change aimed at rectifying a wrong which had been imposed on the University by the apartheid environment within which it had operated and which had compromised the University’s function and role in society. Now that this *external* limitation was removed the University could embark on redressing its legacy *internally* by becoming more representative and responsive. In governance terms this particular conception of transformation was ambivalent: On the one hand, it indicated a significant

shift towards a more stakeholder-democratic regime of governance through the participatory development of a common conceptualisation of the legacy of apartheid at UCT in a stakeholder forum. On the other hand, the envisaged outcome of the transformation process was not so much a radically different university; but rather an institution liberated from the earlier compromising constraints. The envisaged outcome was therefore unlikely to involve a fundamentally different regime of governance (Appendix E).

Similar ambivalences as that inherent in this conception of transformation can also be identified from the other agreements of August 1994. The Transformation Conference formally established various structures to take the process of transformation forward. These included the University Transformation Forum (UTF) as "a body, representative of all stakeholders, which would oversee the process of transformation". The post-conference process would be managed by an executive committee, the UTF Exco, with authority to establish and oversee different working groups. These working groups were to be established in defined areas of transformation, specifically in "governance; access and exclusions; finance; financial aid; academic and curriculum development; institutional culture; [and] other areas". This implied an ambitious and comprehensive agenda of transformation governance for the UTF Exco though at the same time the Transformation Conference also recognised Council as the highest governing authority of the University. The status of the UTF was defined as a high-level advisory body whose advice Council would need to take "very seriously" and whose consensual decisions Council would be unlikely to refuse (UTF, 1994: E-G). Thus, despite their ambitious agendas for transformation it was also made clear that the UTF and its Exco were *not* going to replace the existing 'mainstream' governing bodies but were intended to be advisory to them. This was a transitional set-up with defined terms of reference and a limited role.

Compared to the anxieties of August and September 1993, which had opened the way towards the Conference and the establishment of the UTF, the transformation process was now set to continue in a manner comfortable to the university administration. Council was re-affirmed as the highest governing authority of the University and the UTF was to have only advisory powers; the areas of transformation to be scrutinised were closely circumscribed. At the same time the original impetus for the UTF was sustained. The defined areas of transformation resembled the list of issues that students initially had presented to Council and which the VC had advised Council in September 1993 to agree to. Even the composition of the UTF Exco remained almost identical to that proposed initially by the VC to Council. The VC's *realpolitik* had not only successfully averted a destructive situation as had occurred at Wits but had also ably steered the articulation of transformation demands into a safe boardroom setting.

Based on the understanding arrived at during the UTF Foundation Conference, the Steering Committee reconstituted itself as the UTF Exco, and this body proceeded to steer the transformation process from October 1994 to August 1996. Like the Steering Committee, the UTF

Exco was constituted by three broad internal groups or 'sectors': the university authorities (made up of representatives of Senate, Executive and Council/SEC); organised staff groups (including representatives from academic and non-academic staff associations and the black staff association); and organised student groups (with representatives drawn from the SRC, Student Parliament, and SASCO). The UTF Exco established working groups and developed policy proposals in several defined areas of transformation, namely on governance (focusing on designing a new selection process for the VC and DVCs, and on the composition of Council); academic access and exclusions; and a new mission statement. In early 1995, Exco reached an agreement on a process for selecting a new Vice-Chancellor who would take over from Dr Stuart Saunders. In May the Working Group on the Mission Statement circulated its draft new *Mission Statement* in the university community and in June 1995, new working groups were established to investigate and make proposals on institutional culture and curriculum development. In September, the new *Mission Statement* was endorsed by the UTF Exco and it was decided that it should be adopted ceremoniously at a University Assembly in 1996 (*see* Appendix F & UCT, 2006b). In the same month, the Working Group on Access and Exclusions presented its proposals to Exco. In October 1995, Dr Ramphele was selected as Vice-Chancellor Designate and around the same time, the Commission on Student Governance (CSG) established by Student Parliament was transferred to convene under the auspices of the UTF Exco. Early in 1996, the Working Group on Governance presented a proposal for a new and expanded composition of the University Council to Exco, while Exco also agreed on a process for selecting two new Deputy Vice-Chancellors. Having steered the official process of transformation for almost two years, the UTF Exco agreed in February 1996 to hold a second UTF conference in the course of that year to take stock of the progress and plan a way forward for further transformation at UCT (UCT, 1996b: 4-5).

The second meeting of the University Transformation Forum was held on 3 - 4 August 1996. Each of the three 'sectors' of the university community was invited to send 30 delegates. The Forum was briefed on the history behind the UTF, the structures and processes that had been established in the aftermath of the Foundation Conference of 1994 and the work of the UTF Exco and its working groups over the past two years. Student leaders present at the Forum, informed by the work of the Student Transformation Action Committee (STAC) [121], took an active part in the debates but their approach was perceived as divisive and confrontational by others involved.[122] Despite the antagonism between students and other representatives, a limited number of agreements were reached at this second UTF meeting. Institutional culture and curriculum development were re-

[121] STAC had been established by SP in 1996 to evaluate the work of the UTF Exco over the previous two years.

[122] The Dean of Science, Prof VC Moran wrote to SEC co-chair of the UTF Exco, Prof West, after the Forum that he would rather not want to be asked to attend such a meeting ever again: "[The approach of students] can be caricatured as follows: 'All of you out there who are not students or workers are dishonest and untrustworthy, you are conservative, power-hungry, dictatorial and oppressive, your style is uncommunicative and elitist, and you are all the relicts of a colonial past; (we, the students, on the other hand, are by implication the converse of these attributes); now having established our respective credentials let us enter into a constructive debate on the issues at hand, in mutual respect and as equal partners.'!" (Moran, 1996) Moran felt that the kind of "stereotyping and prejudice" that he had encountered at the Forum was "disturbing" and "demeaning" and "out of place in a University where differences of opinion are supposed to be resolved through reasoned argument" (Moran, 1996).

affirmed as areas that would require further work by the UTF Exco in the year to come. The Forum resolved again that "the review of the university's governance and decision-making systems was the key priority of the UTF". It agreed that the broad review should "consider alternative decision-making mechanisms in addition to the composition of committees, and […] investigate ways in which professional expertise may be brought into the process". The UTF Exco was asked to facilitate the process of review and present its outcomes to a third meeting of the UTF to be held in a year's time. Moreover, all parties recommitted themselves to "share information […] about transformation issues", "take practical steps to build the capacity of all sectors to enable them to participate as equal partners in the transformation process", and "communicate the work of the UTF to the university community as a whole" (UTF, 1996).

The agreement on conducting a governance review was taken up by the UTF Exco at its second sitting after the 1996 UTF Conference, on 17 September 1996. A team was appointed to develop terms of reference for a committee to review current governance practices at UCT, which they proposed shortly after (UTF Exco, 1996a). Almost two years later, by June 1998, however, there had been no progress on conducting the agreed-upon review, nor had there been another UTF Conference. The new Transformation Officer, Ms Thandi Lewin, who had been appointed in February 1998, immediately proposed that the Governance Working Group should be re-established to deliver on the promises made in 1994 and 1996[123] (Lewin, 1998a & 2000). In her 1998 transformation report to Council she again noted that the UTF Exco thought the review was necessary but that it was still discussing how to address the issue within the framework of the new national regulatory framework for higher education that had come into effect at the close of 1997 (Lewin, 1998b).

Yet, not only various national and campus-based developments were overtaking the UTF (*see below*); its own achievements were beginning to put into question its very existence. In the wake of the adoption by the UTF Exco of the Governance Working Group's report on the composition of Council in 1997, the SRC felt obliged to participate in a Council that it had helped re-constitute; at the same time, the SRC also returned to Senate. Thus at the start of 1998, students once again participated at all levels of the 'mainstream' governance system, now for the first time in the history of student governance at UCT also in Council and Senate as full voting members. Bearing in mind that the UTF-related structures had been conceived in 1996 as "parallel transformation structures" involving a "duplication of effort", which would be redundant "once there was general confidence in the University's governance structures" (UTF, 1996), the return of student representatives to Council and Senate put the continued existence of the UTF Exco seriously into question. Furthermore, it had been explicitly agreed that "the University Transformation Executive Committee (UTF Exco) would [only] be retained until such time that all sectors were satisfied with UCT's mainstream governance structures" (UTF, 1996). In view of these agreements and of the provisions in the *White Paper on Higher Education* and *Higher Education Act* of 1997 which made

[123] Having been the Secretary-General of the SRC 1993/94 (which had been central to the establishment of the UTF) Lewin had an intimate grasp of the UTF process.

provision for the transformation forums to become scaled-down statutory advisory bodies in the form of institutional forums, the UTF Exco decided to metamorphose into an interim Institutional Forum with effect of January 1999 (Interviews with Jerome September, 13 June 2006 & Martin West, 29 May 2006; *see also* Mohamed, 2005: 3).[124]

4.4.3.2 The UTF as a Transitional Governance Structure

Political activism by a united student leadership and progressive staff members and a foresightful response to it by the University's Vice-Chancellor had been the immediate enabling factors in the establishment of the UTF at UCT. In a wider perspective, its establishment reflected the example of the multi-party negotiations at national level as well as the emergence of transformation forums in various sectors of society and the economy. In the higher education sector, it was primarily SASCO and progressive staff associations that campaigned vigorously for the establishment of such forums as "platforms upon which a range of divergent interests, marginalised under apartheid systems of governance, could agitate for democratic participation and representivity" (Harper *et al*, 2001: 4; *see also* Hugo, 1998). The UTF of UCT was the first such structure to be established at a university, years before the Minister of Education in the Government of National Unity, Prof Sibusiso M.E. Bhengu, urged the VCs of all public universities to constitute transformation forums (Hugo, 1998: 13-14).

From a governance perspective, the brief existence of the University Transformation Forum (1994-1998) until it was transformed into the statutory Institutional Forum marks an exceptional episode and the operations of the UTF in many ways exemplify the complexities involved in the second wave of university democratisation. In keeping with its origins in militant student activism characterised by high levels of distrust, the UTF (and by extension the UTF Exco and its working groups) operated as a negotiating forum akin to a body of stakeholder governance. As shown above, the process leading up to the UTF's establishment had been characterised by enormous political tension, militancy and posturing between the different stakeholder groups, so much so that the Steering Committee initially had to be chaired by an external facilitator. Only after several meetings was it agreed that a rotating chair to be shared by three co-chairs (one from each sector) would replace outside facilitation. At the outset, the process was swept back and forth by mass agitation under the leadership of SASCO, PASO and the SRC. The members of UTF Exco and its working groups all operated on the basis of specific mandates and rigorous reporting back to their constituencies. DVC West, the co-chair for the Executive sector remembers: "We would go back to Senate and say, 'This is where we've got. If you have any problems tell us now'" (Interview with

[124] In terms of the *Higher Education Act* of 1997, the Institutional Forum is a statutory governance structure consisting of representatives of management, Council, Senate, academic and non-academic staff, students, and other groups determined by the Statute, which must "(a) advise the council on issues affecting the institution, including (i) the implementation of this Act and the national policy on higher education; (ii) race and gender equity policies; (iii) the selection of candidates for senior management positions; (iv) codes of conduct, mediation and dispute resolution procedures; and (v) the fostering of an institutional culture which promotes tolerance and respect for fundamental human rights and creates an appropriate environment for teaching, research and learning; and (b) perform such functions as determined by the council" (Republic of South Africa, 1997: 31).

Martin West, 29 May 2006). Thus, unlike the mainstream committee system (and most rigidly so Council), which would take a representative of a particular constituency to be a trustee in Burke's sense, i.e. a 'true representative' expected to act independently and decide on her/his own mature judgement despite being appointed by a particular constituency, the UTF Exco and its working groups operated on the basis of representatives mandated by and accountable to their constituencies on an ongoing basis. For the internal operation of the UTF Exco as well as the relationship between the delegates and their stakeholder organisations this meant that agreements were the outcome of a longwearing process of negotiation and bargaining, "horse-trading", as West calls it. West recalls somewhat nostalgically that "it was the best democratic type of process that we've ever had on this campus" (Interview with Martin West, 29 May 2006). In terms of its decision-making processes, the UTF was therefore fundamentally at odds with the existing, increasingly bureaucratised collegial-democratic regime of governance that had evolved over the years at UCT and was operative in the 'mainstream' governing bodies.

Defining the relationship of the UTF with the mainstream governing bodies had been a critical issue from the outset. Even though the Campus United Front initially conceived the UTF as a means to replace Council, the UTF came to complement the work of the existing 'mainstream' governing bodies in a complex advisory capacity. The question of this relationship came up in one of the first meetings of the UTF Exco: "During the transformation process, who now has the power to make decisions in the university?" (UTF Exco, 1995: 4). On the one hand, it was argued, the UTF could function simply as a consultative structure making policy recommendations to Council and Senate which, in turn, could either adopt or reject them. Although the statute of the University favoured such an interpretation, it was rejected by the UTF Exco as unacceptable, since – as some delegates argued - "this gives Senate and Council [who are represented in the UTF and UTF Exco] a double veto which hardly makes them equal partners in the process" (UTF Exco, 1995: 5). On the other hand, the UTF Conference had accepted the primacy of Council; hence a decision arrived at in the UTF could not be final and binding and had to be subject to Council review.

In the event, the UTF Exco developed a workable compromise. Firstly, it adopted a notion of 'interactive powers' involving an elaborate categorisation of the decisions it would refer to Council and Senate. Secondly, the UTF Exco decided that "the spheres of operation of the UTF Exco vis-à-vis the existing committee system need to be clearly delineated" (UTF Exco, 1995: 5). The transformation areas defined in the *Statement of Intent* provided one such delineation and served as a guideline for the establishment of working groups. In retrospect, it appears that most important, however, was a third conception, the somewhat artificial distinction made by the UTF Exco between 'generation of new policy' and 'implementation of existing policy'. The UTF Exco agreed that it would only be involved in the generation of new policy (and narrowed its realm further by requesting to be kept informed by existing committees only on those aspects of their work that involved generating new policies); with respect to policy implementation, however, the UTF Exco recognised that this "will take place solely under the auspices of the existing administration" (UTF

Exco, 1996b: 17; *see also* UTF Exco, 1995: 5-6). Furthermore, any disputes arising from the implementation of existing policy would need to be settled apart from the UTF and the UTF Exco. Thus, the primacy of the Executive was affirmed in all ongoing operational matters and related conflicts arising on campus (UTF Exco, 1995: 5).

While these distinctions and definitions made good management sense, for students they effectively diminished the usefulness of the UTF structures to address transformation demands which arose directly from their experience of the University and therefore from the effects of existing policy. The first meeting of the UTF Exco offers a model case of the implications for student politics of the UTF's self-limitation; it also gives insight into the operative regime of governance of Exco. At the UTF Exco's first meeting on 17 October 1994, the student delegation requested that the issue of financial and academic exclusions be considered as a matter of urgency. It tabled a proposal that the UTF Exco should define a process for dealing with financial exclusions and that the UTF should advise that, pending a report from the Working Group on Exclusions, financial and academic exclusions should be halted at UCT. The meeting, however, deferred the item to its last point on the agenda and once the SRC made its presentation, the UTF Exco decided to dismiss it. The record of the meeting notes four unattributed comments:

- *"the [UTF Exco] should not become a forum for confrontation between opposing parties on specific issues, but should concentrate on steering the process of transformation";*
- *"the [UTF Exco] needed a more specific and administrable proposal on exclusions than had been submitted to it";*
- *"the student delegation was invited to study the existing policy on financial exclusions before such proposals were tabled to the [UTF Exco]", and;*
- *"students faced no outlet other than the [UTF Exco] and mass/protest action to achieve the demand for a moratorium on exclusions" (UTF Exco, 1994: 8-9).*

The first three comments clearly contradict the conception of the UTF Exco as a stakeholder-democratic body. These comments might be deemed appropriate if the UTF Exco had been a management committee that governed a regular internal policy-making process. However, they are clearly out of place regarding a body established to facilitate a *transformation* process. It follows that even if *procedurally* the UTF Exco was acting in a stakeholder-democratic manner, the first three comments show that the participants could not escape the dominant *normative substance* of the 'mainstream' regime of governance of the last of Saunders' years: collegiality, bureaucratic considerations and expertise. Eventually, the last comment in the minutes gives voice to the frustration of student leaders who found themselves disempowered in the boardroom setting. Was the UTF not established precisely to provide "a forum for confrontation between opposing parties"? Was not the UTF Exco the designated body to work out "a more specific and administrable proposal" on exclusions? And did a policy proposal arising from the collective experience of policy implementation necessarily require a deeper "study of the existing policy" (UTF Exco, 1994)? It

comes as no surprise that when the UTF Exco reconvened for a second sitting six days later, its minutes noted that "there had been a student march to present a list of demands to the Administration" (UTF Exco, 1994: 10). In subsequent meetings, the UTF Exco would stipulate as part of its agreement on 'interactive powers' that it needed to be informed prior to the organisation of any student protests or mass action.

Thus, the manner of operation of the UTF Exco illustrates its transitional character. On the one hand, it was established to operate as a stakeholder-democratic structure, representing stakeholder groups formally conceived as equals, and initiating new methods of consultation and accountability that should provide for the emancipation of groups that felt marginalised by 'mainstream' governance; on the other hand, it was not able to escape the hold of the key norms inherent in the increasingly bureaucratised 'mainstream' regime of university governance. As shown above, these two regimes were not easily reconciled. Without ongoing empowerment and resource transfer, equality amongst stakeholders would be a nominal affair only. Neither did nominal equality change the fact that the Senate/Executive/Council sector, which was ably led by co-chair DVC West, had at its command the expertise and bureaucratic apparatus underpinning the asymmetries of authority inherent in 'mainstream' governance. Student leaders, in contrast, had just been deprived of the only senior administrative staff member at the disposal of the SRC.[125] More importantly, student leaders also experienced an unexpected erosion of their support in the student body after 1994 and most dramatically when the SRC election of 1995 failed to reach the required minimum poll *(see below)*. It therefore should come as no surprise that the SEC sector subtly dominated the UTF Exco from the start. This conclusion was also reached by the Student Transformation Action Committee which argued in its 1996 report that the process initiated by students in 1993 had become "a centralist and elitist one" in which the initiative had shifted to the Senate/Executive/Council sector within the UTF Exco at the expense of student leadership (STAC, 1996: 4).[126]

The emancipatory transformation and democratisation agenda of students and workers, and particularly the concerns of progressive black and women members of the university community, were however not altogether lost in the operation of the UTF structures. Given that the dominance of white males in university governance had been a key grievance of the Campus United Front and among the reasons for its demand that Council should be disbanded and replaced with a representative transition forum, the representation of black and women members in the transformation process was a central issue. Hence, VC Saunders proposed from the outset that the Steering Committee of 1993 should be representative in terms of race and gender, a provision that was carried into the UTF Exco (Vice-Chancellor's Office, 1993). In this respect, the UTF served to address the 'representivity deficit' of 'mainstream' governance structures generating legitimacy for

[125] Among the cost-saving measures of the University was that the post of SRC Administrator was disestablished in mid-1994 despite the SRC's fierce protestation (*SRC Minutes,* 1993-1994).
[126] The apparently "disturbing" and "demeaning" attitude of student leaders at the UTF Conference of 1996 (as recounted by Prof Moran, above) may be understood in the light of these conclusions of the STAC review.

the existing regime in a transitional period. The rule that the composition of UTF-related structures needed to be demographically representative of black and women members eventually also became applicable to 'mainstream' governance bodies (Republic of South Africa, 1999b & 1999c & *UCT Statute,* 2002 as amended).

With hindsight it is clear that by the 1996 Conference the UTF process had run out of steam and had completed all but one of its historically most significant direct achievements. Embarking on the process had successfully averted a violent encounter between students and university authorities on campus in 1993; the UTF had developed guidelines for the University's transformation process in the *Statement of Intent* in 1994; it had established key transitional governing bodies that served various governance purposes; and in the course of 1995 it agreed on a new *Mission Statement* for the University and more consultative selection processes for the VC and the DVCs.[127] After mid-1995, however, the UTF Exco went into decline. An agreement on a new composition of Council was only reached once the intent of new higher education legislation could be gleaned from the Draft Higher Education Act and - despite repeated affirmations - the commitment to conduct a governance review came to nought. SEC co-chair of the UTF Exco, Prof Martin West, confirms that after the UTF Exco had delivered on the *Mission Statement* and the VC selection process the UTF Exco "slumped a bit and then was overtaken and bureaucratised in terms of the Institutional Forum" (Interview with Martin West, 29 May 2006). The decline of the UTF-related transformation process from the second half of 1995 can be understood in relation to two other key developments on campus: the SRC election crisis of 1995 (and related changes in the student political landscape) and the emergence of managerialism at UCT.

4.4.4 Student Politics at UCT in the 'new' South Africa

The historic national election of 1994 ushered in a new democratic regime in South Africa involving a universal franchise, equality before the law, and new opportunities for citizen participation in national, provincial and local governance. For the student movement and civil society organisation in general, new opportunities and challenges arose from the democratic transition (Muthien *et al*, 2001 & Habib, 2003). South Africa's largest national student organisation, SASCO, saw the prospects of "an immense opportunity for thorough transformation" in the higher education sector which should involve "an immediate overhaul [of] the goals, demography, structure, funding, governance, quality structure, academic programs etc." across the system (SASCO, 1995). It was determined to contribute to the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist, prosperous and democratic South Africa, and the realisation of 'people's education for people's power' in the higher education sector. It conceived its relationship with the post-apartheid state and government at national level as simultaneously "complementary and contradictory". At campus level, SASCO's strategic approach to institutional transformation involved a dynamic politics of building alliances with other students, workers, and academic organisations, issuing for instance in the Campus United Front at UCT, which would engage university managements through lobbying and mass action.

[127] The UTF Exco's work regarding admission policy, academic development, curriculum development and institutional culture, is beyond the scope of this assessment and remains to be appraised.

Furthermore, SASCO formally contested SRC elections and aimed to strengthen students' formal participation in university governance (SASCO, 1995). This strategy started to run into problems at UCT in the course of the term of the 1994/95 SRC.

4.4.4.1 Transformation, Democratisation, and the SRC Election Crisis of 1995

The UCT SRC was among the first on a SASCO-dominated campus that SASCO lost in an election. Since the merger between NUSAS and SANSCO in 1991, SASCO had become the linchpin of student politics at UCT, building progressive alliances across the university community, successfully contesting SRC elections, and operating as a motor of ideas and initiatives for the transformation process. After Thulani Khanyile (1991/92), Hermione Cronje (1992/93) and Elaine Sacco (1993/94), Maxwell Fuzani became President of the fourth SASCO-led SRC in September 1994.[128] By then, SASCO had built up an impressive record of accomplishment at UCT. Yet, by the end of Fuzani's term in August 1995, the majority of UCT students had become either disinterested in student politics and/or were disgruntled with SASCO.

In the wake of September 1, 1993, the memorable day of the Campus United Front's march on Council, Hermione Cronje handed over the SRC Presidency to the newly elected Elaine Sacco. Sacco's SRC immediately began to work on different fronts to advance SASCO's transformation and democratisation agenda. At national level, the SASCO-led SRC intensified the drive towards the establishment of the federation of university SRCs that had been agreed upon ahead of the dissolution of NUSAS. In July 1994, the South African Universities SRC (SAU-SRC) was launched and SRC President Elaine Sacco was elected first SAU-SRC President (*SRC Minutes*, 8 August 1994 & "SRC Candidates Bid…", 1994). On campus in the student sport sector, the SRC supported the unification of SATISCO and the Sport Union; in the societies' sector, it promoted dialogue between the belligerent Islamic Society and the Union of Jewish Students (SAUJS); meanwhile the SRC submitted itself to a constitutional review that culminated in a proposal for the establishment of a Student Parliament (SP). Within a year, an all-structures forum discussed the draft SP Constitution and endorsed it in May 1994. Just days before the first UTF Conference, the Student Parliament met for its own first official sitting on August 1, 1994 (*SRC Minutes*, 7 April 1994 & 19 August 1994; "Student Parliament Formed", 1994 & "Go-ahead for...", 1994).

When the UTF Exco met for the first time, Sacco's SRC had been succeeded by Maxwell Fuzani's. The focus of the 1994/95 SRC was mostly on the institutional transformation process centred on the UTF Exco, the SRC's constitutional reform and the plight of the academically and financially disadvantaged students. Like previous SRCs, Fuzani's SRC rejected the resumption of student representation in Council and Senate in order not to legitimise what they viewed as untransformed and illegitimate structures. Rather, it 'engaged' the University Executive in the UTF Exco and its working groups (*SRC Minutes,* 28 October 1994). As the work in the UTF Exco increased the number of formal encounters between student leadership, university administration, and the other

[128] The SASCO-led SRCs also included non-SASCO members.

stakeholder organisations, the informal briefings between the SRC and the Executive, which had been a regular feature since the appointment of West as the first DVC Student Affairs, became sporadic (*SRC Minutes*, 1991-1995). Similarly, the number of student mass meetings on campus also subsided (and with it political awareness and mobilisation of ordinary students), although the 'marching season' sparked by the perennial accommodation and exclusion crises still preoccupied the SRC and the SASCO branch from January to April.[129] Consultative processes gradually became formalised through the institution of Student Parliament, which started operating as interim structure in 1994 (*SP Minutes,* 21 September 1994 & *SRC Minutes*, 1 March & 2 August 1995).

By the end of Fuzani's term, student politics at UCT had clearly entered a new phase. Student leaders conceived of the changes as a "changed political terrain" in South Africa brought about by the national transition ("SASCO: New Role…", 1995 & "Student Politics - What …", 1995).[130] Three characteristics of the new phase are strikingly obvious. Firstly, there was the challenge of getting new governance structures, i.e. SAU-SRC at national level, the UTF Exco at institutional level and SP, to work as intended. This, however, involved different skills and resources than agitating for their establishment; skills and resources that the SRC tended to lack. Secondly, in the aftermath of the successful democratic elections at national level and the establishment of the UTF on campus, political life was set onto a course of normalisation. The general level of political mobilisation decreased while at the same time the transformation process at UCT had also moved from the energetic and mass-based public process it had been to a more technical enterprise overseen by the UTF Exco. Mandates for the UTF Exco came to be caucused within a shrinking inner circle of student cadres.[131] In its public appearance, SASCO-UCT and its SRC seemed to be taking up exclusively the concerns of the working-class African student constituency; a perception which was exacerbated by the way SASCO's leadership would make the grievances of the wealthier students at UCT their object of derision, decrying these students as "the parking lot" (Interview with Mzukisi Qobo, 19 May 2006). Conversely, there was a growing chorus of students who accused the SRC of being irrelevant and self-serving, and low attendance at SRC functions was becoming the norm ("Is the SRC…", 1995). The third characteristic was therefore that the middle-class basis of UCT's student enrolment was gradually emerging as politically significant in the settled national political environment.[132] For the SASCO-led SRC at UCT and its transformation project the cumulative effect of these developments was a rapidly shrinking support base in the student body.

[129] The SRC's support for stranded and excluded students culminated in a march to Bremner and a sit-in in Prof West's office (Radebe, 1995; *SRC Minutes*, 1 March & 15 March 1995).
[130] A new role for the student movement in the post-apartheid era was debated widely in SASCO but proposals such as the establishment of 'RDP Youth brigades' never saw the light of day at UCT ("Student Politics - What…", 1995 & "SASCO: New Role…", 1995).
[131] Report-backs by the SRC in *Varsity* illustrate the difficulty. The report only describes the structures and procedures that have been set-up by the UTF Exco but no substantive issues that were being negotiated ("SRC Reportback", 1995a & 1995b).
[132] All these three characteristics were also evident in the arguments (and the low participation) of students at the SRC sponsored public debate entitled "The legitimacy of the SRC" held on 24 May 1995, where Fuzani's SRC courageously faced its critics (Sethabela, 1995; "Is the SRC…", 1995 & "Why Don't You…", 1995).

The SRC elections from 21 - 23 August 1995 signalled that student politics at UCT was in crisis. The election got off to a bad start when only seven students registered as election candidates by the deadline ("Why Don't You…", 1995). Students' dissatisfaction with the SRC was aired in three distinct anti-SRC election campaigns; the campus was littered with posters urging students not to vote ("Students Vote to…", 1995). The SRC denounced the campaigns as "futile attempts" by "faceless individuals" who would fail to undermine the SRC's "noble democratic ideals" (*SRC Minutes*, 16 August 1995). However, when the votes were counted after the final day of voting the full extent of non-voting became clear. The election did not reach the required minimum poll of 25% of registered students and, in accordance with the SRC Constitution, the election had to be declared invalid and no SRC could be constituted ("Stop Press", 1995).[133]

In the absence of constitutional guidelines and precedent for dealing with such an election debacle it was the University Council that prompted a way forward. The Student Parliament Constitution was tabled for approval at the Council meeting of 6 September 1995 and Council decided to ratify it despite its numerous shortcomings. Thereby Council endorsed Student Parliament as the highest decision-making student body (rather than the SRC) and empowered it to deal with the election crisis (West in "SRC to TSC…", 1995). SP decided to establish two structures: The Transitional Student Council (TSC) took over the day-to-day business of the SRC for an unspecified interim period and the Commission on Student Governance (CSG) was charged to investigate different models of student governance and propose how to proceed after the interim period (University Student Affairs Committee, 1995).

The TSC started its caretaker role after a month's delay in October 1995. It was composed of only eight members (rather than the fifteen members of a regular SRC) of which six members were election candidates who would have been elected to the new SRC if a 25% poll had been reached and two students were elected by Student Parliament, including one member of the outgoing SRC to ensure continuity. Lerato waModise was elected chairperson of the TSC. The scope of business of the TSC was almost as encompassing as that of a regular SRC. Among the key distinguishing features, however, was that the TSC was subject to scrutiny from Student Parliament and had to report on budget, expenditure, activities etc. to SP in an unprecedented show of accountability *(TSC Minutes, 1995-1996 & SP Minutes, 1995-1996)*.

The Commission on Student Governance, in turn, was charged with developing a new student governance system for UCT. It took the CSG over a year to compile its report (CSG, 1997). Its recommendations included various proposals for addressing the weaknesses which it considered to be inherent in student governance i.e. "the comparatively short-terms of office of student representatives, a lack of historical perspective in relation to staff, a lack of organisational and committee experience, and the difficulties inherent in communicating and receiving mandates from a large and diverse student community" (CSG, 1997: 6). The Commission remarked that it was

[133] A poll of 22,35% was reached with 2968 valid ballots. In addition there were 450 spoilt ballots and 319 invalid ballots ("Stop Press", 1995).

"important to be open about these problems and thereby develop realistic expectations of what a student governance system could be expected to achieve" (CSG, 1997: 6). Like earlier commissions (especially the Bradlow Commission), it proposed that these weaknesses could be minimised somewhat by capacitating the SRC and student representatives appropriately for their role in university governance. Thus, it proposed a proto-curriculum for training student representatives as well as a number of technical and administrative units that would support the work of the SRC and capacitate it for playing its many roles as an integral part of a reconceptualised Student Union in student governance. Moreover, the Commission proposed that four SRC members should be elected as 'sabbatical members' of the SRC, freed of all academic obligations for the duration of their terms and provided with a stipend (CSG, 1997). These proposals ran, however, in various ways counter to the ongoing restructuring of the Department of Student Affairs; meanwhile, support for the CSG proposals among students was also weak. Eventually, sabbatical membership was to be the only significant aspect of the CSG recommendations ever to be implemented. Thus, even though the CSG report was adopted by the UTF Exco in 1997, the implementation of its recommendations stalled almost immediately.

In August 1996, the Transitional Student Council had been disbanded without a new model in place and the 1996 SRC elections had gone ahead in accordance with the SP Constitution electing a SRC that was precariously divided and yet dominated by the SASCO fraction. Thus, the interim period had ended without a new student governance system in place. Student opinion towards the CSG had also grown decidedly negative during its enquiry. The STAC evaluation of the CSG in mid-1996 (ahead of the UTF Conference) argued that the CSG was not fully representative – "precisely because it is too white" – and had failed to consult properly with students (Qwelane in STAC, 1996). Even after the CSG had presented its report, the incumbent SRC 1996/97 led by Mzukisi Qobo still wanted the 1997 SRC election to be held according to the old model (*SRC Minutes*, 23 July 1997). After further consideration, the election finally went ahead implementing only the provision for sabbatical SRC membership (*SRC Minutes,* 1996-1997*).*

The fate of the CSG recommendations suggests that whatever caused the SRC election crisis of 1995 had been resolved by 1997 without requiring a new model of student governance. In the aftermath of the election crisis Student Parliament conducted an opinion survey to ascertain why students thought the election had failed. It found that some argued that the SRC candidates had simply not warranted their election. Other findings suggested that the SRC had lost prestige and was failing to serve the interests of all students. The survey brought out that there were racially divergent expectations of the SRC. At a post-election mass meeting the suggestion was even made that UCT should establish two SRCs: a SRC for black students and one for white students (TSC, 1995)! As outgoing VC at the time, Saunders attributed the missed poll to "apathy [which] may well have been related to the political changes in the country as opposition to apartheid no longer formed the basis of student politics" (2000: 249; *see also* Fuzani in "SRC to TSC…", 1995).

SRC elections on numerous other campuses had similarly registered a low voter turnout (*TSC Minutes*, 4 October 1995).

By mid-1996, the general *Politikverdrossenheit*[134] of the great majority of UCT students of 1995 had hardly dissipated. The success of the 1996 SRC elections and subsequent ones may rather be attributed to an increased choice of candidates – black and white – involving also a rise of a new political grouping in student politics, that of charismatic Christians or 'born-agains', who had been winning the odd seat in SRC elections since the early 1990s. If the failed 1995 SRC election marked the beginning of SASCO's decline and eventual demise at UCT, the 1996 elections marked the onset of the rise of the 'born-agains' in student governance who by the close of the decade would dominate the SRC in coalition with international students and other non-SASCO groupings.

4.4.4.2 The Changing Student Political Landscape

The SRCs elected at UCT in the second half of the 1990s were all characterised by a deep division between the SASCO members (some of whom had run as independents to avoid 'stigma') and the non-SASCO coalition of charismatic Christians or 'born-agains' (backed by the fast-growing His People society/HP and the Student Christian Fellowship/SCF), independents, and members of other student political organisations. Qobo recalls that his 1996/97 SRC was divided into a camp of SASCO-aligned members, most of whom were African working-class students[135] and a camp of mostly independents and 'born-agains' made up of black 'Model C'[136] students, white students, international students, and others. The SRC was apparently becoming a terrain of class struggle at UCT. While the SASCO group perceived their rivals as "divorced from the real issues that affected the students and as morally inferior", the 'born-agains' and independents conversely labelled the SASCO group "inefficient" and "corrupt" (Interview with Mzukisi Qobo, 19 May 2006).

Because of these divisions, the SRCs of Mzukisi Qobo, Monwabisi Luxanda, and Lucian Segami, were characterised by fierce internal leadership battles and a large number of resignations and expulsions from the SRC. The SRC 1996/97 and the SRC 1997/98 were both reduced to nine members by the end of their respective terms. This attrition can be attributed in parts to an increasing number of academic exclusions of SRC members. Four members of Luxanda's SRC were academically excluded from the University at the end of 1997. The 1998/99 SRC lost three members due to academic exclusions, including SRC President Segami himself (*SRC Minutes,*

[134] Literally: 'boredom (or weariness) with politics'. German political concept referring to a general dissatisfaction among voters with politics, in particular with (1) certain politicians or the political elite as a whole; (2) the choice of political parties; (3) actual or supposed defects in the processes of opinion-making and decision-making (Schmidt, 1995: 733 *my translation*).

[135] By 1996, SASCO-UCT had become an organisation of almost exclusively black, and in particular African, students (Department of Institutional Planning, 2006; Appendix G). In terms of its politics, the SASCO branch was mostly pre-occupied with matters of financial aid, fees, financial and academic exclusions, and to a lesser extent, residence issues. SASCO-led marches, mass-meetings and sit-ins occurred mostly in relation to financial aid, exclusions, and accommodation issues ("Exclusions!", 1996; "Financial Aid:…", 1996; "SASCO Demands: West…", 1996 & *SRC Minutes,* 1996-1997).

[136] Model C schools were formerly whites-only schools which had been permitted by the NP government during its final years in power to become racially integrated. Thus, they increasingly drew their enrolment from the new black middle-class.

1996-1999 & Interviews with Mzukisi Qobo, 19 May 2006 & Jerome September, 13 June 2006). As a result, these SRCs had attention for little more than what had become the four perennial big SRC events: the anti-academic exclusions campaign, orientation week, the anti-financial exclusions and accommodation crisis campaign, and the new SRC elections (*SRC Minutes,* 1997-1998). SRC elections and the resignations, expulsions and exclusions of SRC members were typically cloaked in controversy and sparked campus rumours, allegations and counter-allegations and thus stirred distrust of ordinary students in the SRC (e.g. "Dr Ruth Resigns", 1997; "Mixed Fortunes for…", 1997; "Resources Abused", 1997; "Ruth, Matthew and…", 1997; "The SRC's Last…", 1997; "Attempted Fraud, Harassment…", 1999; & "SRC Grapples with…", 1999). In the SRC of 1998/99, internal leadership battles between the SASCO group and non-SASCO members over the academic exclusion of SRC President Lucian Segami (a SASCO member) consumed the SRC collective until April 1999. The issue came to a climax with the forced removal of Segami from the SRC offices by UCT security personnel. In the wake of this dramatic development, Jerome September became the first non-SASCO SRC President of UCT with the blessing of the Student Parliament (*SRC Minutes*, 22 April 1999; SRC, 1999b; Student Parliament, 1999; *see also* "September 'til October", 1999).

These developments could not but seriously affect the relationship between student leadership and university management. In the aftermath of the 1995 election debacle the political base of the SRC was clearly weakened; the divisions and infighting in the SRC as well as the haemorrhaging of student leaders from the SRC significantly compromised the effectiveness of the SRC as a team; a divided SRC could also more easily be managed, sidelined, and ignored (Interview with Mzukisi Qobo, 19 May 2006). Moreover, student leaders invariably interpreted the academic exclusion of SRC members as evidence of their 'victimisation' by the university authorities.[137] Qobo's SRC tried its hand at developing a 'spirit of co-operative governance' but felt that the University Executive was no longer taking the SRC seriously (SRC, 1997 & Interview with Mzukisi Qobo, 19 May 2006). When Luxanda took the helm in 1997, relations between the SASCO-led SRC and university management turned openly hostile. "Admin" was labelled "the enemy" and "a monster" who "dehumanises" students while senior managers like DVC Prof West were decried as "klein krokodils"[138] (SRC, 1998b). While the SRC was still able to 'force' some 'concessions' from the University authorities on various matters relating to student financial aid, fees, examinations and exclusions, it was also utterly uninformed about key developments on campus. Following Dr Mamphela Ramphele's appointment as VC a large-scale management-led reform programme was initiated *(see below);* yet the SRC was clearly in the dark about matters such as the faculty

[137] According to Qobo, the fear of being 'victimised' was engrained in the thinking of student activists in general, and black student leaders in particular: "…When I came into the University [in 1994], victimisation was a thing on the lips of student activists: You will be victimised by the University, you'll be victimised if you do this. So we just got that fear and mistrust…" (Interview with Mzukisi Qobo, 19 May 2006). "Ending the victimisation of students and workers" was also one of the demands of the protest action for democracy waged by the Campus United Front in 1992/93 ("UCT Marching for…", 1992).

[138] Apartheid-era President of South Africa, PW Botha, was popularly designated as the *"groot krokodil"*. "*Klein krokodil"* and "*groot krokodil"* are Afrikaans and literally mean "little crocodile" and "big crocodile" (*my translation*).

restructuring, programme restructuring initiatives, or even the progress with building a new student union! Thus, for instance, when asked about SRC involvement in the faculty restructuring, SRC Academic Officer Mbulelo Ntlabati argued that "he was convinced effective student consultation had not taken place" (Ntlabati in "Faculty Restructuring at…", 1998; *see also* "It's the End…", 1997; "Space Controversy", 1998 & *SRC Minutes,* 1997-1998*)*.

The decline of SASCO at UCT and the divisions which this caused in the SRC were, however, not simply a local phenomenon but could also be observed on other campuses in South Africa. Nationally, SASCO started losing support in SRC elections from 1996. David Makhura, President of SASCO nation-wide, attributed SASCO's losses to the new political order and a change in the interests of students. Apparently, the 'boom-shaka generation' was electing "socialites […] who throw parties and are well-liked for that" rather than the 'political cadres' of SASCO. On the other hand, he recognised that the biggest threat to SASCO's dominance on the university campuses were the 'born-again' Christians who were running for the SRC with the backing of fast-growing charismatic campus churches (Makhura in Amupadhi, 1996; *see also* wa ka Ngobeni, 1998).

There were indeed two complementary sets of developments relevant to the changing organisational profile of student politics at UCT. On the one hand, evangelical proselytising on South African university campuses surged in the 1990s with the emergence of HP and other campus churches. With their charismatic style of worship, message of racial reconciliation and gospel of prosperity, they were able to attract the youth of the Mandela era, offering an organisational alternative and an opportunity for personal transformation. The 'born-agains' conceived of student governance as one of their mission fields. UCT had been the first campus on which HP operated. Starting from the second half of the 1990s, HP was the largest Christian student society at UCT and provided dedicated training for students who were interested in serving in the SRC, in Residence House Committees or Student Faculty Councils at UCT (Interview with Jan Kunene, 18 September 2006 & "Charismatic Campus Faith", 1994).[139] The activism of the 'born-agains' came to present a direct challenge to SASCO's political activism, its 'racialised' transformation politics, assumption of collective entitlement, and bias towards the working-class and the poor (Magkatho in "Fortune Teller", 2000). By the end of the millennium, non-SASCO coalitions led by 'born-agains' and independents ran SRCs on a number of university campuses, including UCT and Wits.

On the other hand, all the 'traditional' student political organisations at UCT were obviously in decline by the second half of the 1990s. In 1996, SASCO which could claim a history dating back to NUSAS and SASO was by far the largest registered student political organisation operating on the UCT campus with 148 paid-up members (which was a respectable number), while the traditionally BC student organisation AZASCO had 43 members and PASO 32 members. Other

[139] In 1996 only SAUJS (293 members) and the Bhakti-Yoga Society (176 members) were larger than HP (170 members). By 2000 HP had overtaken SAUJS and was the second largest faith-based student society at UCT (following Bhakti-Yoga – which served free lunch) (*see* Appendix G).

political organisations included the Communist Society (10 members) and the ANC YL (with merely three members). By 2000, however, PASO was left with only four paid-up members and AZASCO had lost all but two members, while SASCO's membership had shrunk to a third of what it had been in 1996. By the end of 2000, the SASCO branch at UCT was suspended.[140] Another four years later, only a revived SASCO remained of the 'traditional' student political organisations at UCT (Appendix G).

Against the history of racial parallelism and eventually non-racial unity in student governance it is also important to note that in the years following the historic merger between NUSAS and SANSCO white students effectively withdrew from organised student politics at UCT, especially after 1994. By the second half of the 1990s all student political organisations at UCT were almost exclusively composed of black students, and African students in particular. This applied not only in the cases of AZASCO and PASO; even SASCO counted only two white students in its paid-up membership of 148 in 1996.[141] At the same time, His People (HP) society gradually emerged as the main organisational alternative to the 'traditional' student political organisations for politically interested students (Interviews with Jan Kunene, 18 September 2006 & Mzukisi Qobo, 19 May 2006); and HP had a very racially diverse membership. In 1996, the membership of the HP campus society included 86 African, 73 White, 9 Coloured, 2 Indian students, 170 members in all. HP membership soared to 212 paid-up members in 2000 (including 150 African students, 42 white, 15 coloured and 5 Indian students) (Department of Institutional Planning, 2006 & Appendix G). In 1999, a non-SASCO medley of HP 'born-agains', independents, and international students, took over the SRC. Even though the reign of the 'born-agains' at UCT proved to be brief, it was significant, nonetheless, in that it ushered in a very different kind of student politics and governance. Once the ANC-YL was re-launched in 2001, not only did a non-racial multi-class alternative emerge to challenge the dominance of the charismatic Christians in the SRC, but a completely new organisational landscape of student politics developed, as we will see ("ANC Youth League…", 2001 & Interviews with Khanyisa Fatyi, 19 May 2006; Jan Kunene, 18 September 2006 & Sicelo Mbambo, 16 June 2006).

The profile of student politics at UCT during the second half of the 1990s therefore looks significantly different from that of the late 1980s and first half of the 1990s. Having been a key initiator and player in the transformation process of the University as well as an important player at national level (especially in the establishment of SASCO and SAU-SRC), the UCT SRC's leadership dramatically imploded. Political activism of a united student leadership had led to the establishment of the UTF; but the 'non-racial social-democratic compact' involved in the early SASCO was short-lived and its demise weakened the SRC precariously. Following the 1995 SRC

[140] The SASCO branch leadership structure at UCT had collapsed and the Student Treasury alleged that membership funds had been abused by unauthorised individuals who had also used the SASCO name to apply fraudulently for travel funds (Student Development Office, 2001).
[141] Unfortunately, there are no effective class-related data available at this stage of the analysis. The student political significance of 'class' is discussed at some length in the next section. SASCO is the only political organisation at UCT that formally has a class bias by committing constitutionally to "working-class leadership" (SASCO, 2005: Principles).

election debacle and perpetuated by divisions in subsequent SRCs, the initiative and leadership in the UTF Exco consolidated in the hands of the SEC sector and the DVC Student Affairs, Prof Martin West, in particular. It was inevitable that without continuing and concerted activist political pressure from students, the ambitious transformation process centred on the UTF could not be sustained in the same ways as before. It was in this context that a new Vice-Chancellor was appointed who proceeded to champion a neo-liberal reform programme. Arguably the state of student politics at this juncture may help to explain the impact of these reforms in terms of the final major governance transition that I account for in this study – the emergence of managerialism at UCT. This will be the object of the analysis in sections 4.5. & 4.6.

4.4.5 Conceptualising the Second Wave of University Democratisation

I have argued that the brief existence of the University Transformation Forum (1994-1998) until it was transformed into the statutory Institutional Forum marks an exceptional episode in the governance history of UCT and that the operations of the UTF and its substructures in many ways exemplified the complexities involved in the second wave of university democratisation. I have argued that these parallel and transitional structures symbolically represented the latter phase of the transition involved in the second wave of university democratisation and showed that the constitution and manner of operation of the UTF-related structures was akin to stakeholder governance but nonetheless captive to dominant conceptions inherent in the dominant 'mainstream' regime of governance. In themselves the establishment and operation of the UTF-related bodies did not involve a regime change in 'mainstream' governance; rather this was a parallel set-up, from its outset limited and, except in some important respects, marginal to the operation of the established structures. Nevertheless, the UTF and its structures played a decisive role in the second wave of university democratisation at UCT.

What then did this second wave of university democratisation involve and how is it related to the UTF? Firstly, outputs of the UTF process deepened the democratisation of the first wave. Here I have in mind especially the representative process for the selection of a vice-chancellor and deputy vice-chancellors (which are products of the UTF process) and the full voting membership of student representatives in Council and Senate.[142] Moreover, through the UTF process, non-academic staff were drawn into the formal governance machinery of the University and eventually gained representation in key governing bodies. These achievements certainly consolidated the provision of appropriate representation of *functionally* distinct groups in the decision-making of the University. Similarly the provisions in the new *Institutional Statute* intended to empower members of university committees to participate *effectively* in university governance can be understood as a deepening of the first wave of university democratisation.[143]

[142] The latter was legally possible already at the close of 1993, after it was entered into the University's constitution in October 1993 by means of the *UCT (Private) Amendment Act* (1993). However, because student leaders viewed Council and Senate as 'untransformed' they only took up these seats in 1998, i.e. after the UTF process had run its full course.

[143] The relevant clause in the University's formal constitution reads as follows: "(6) The council must strive to provide fair and equitable opportunities to all members of the institutional forum to prepare for and participate

Secondly, two key documents produced through the UTF process came to be foundation documents of the University of Cape Town in the post-apartheid era: The *Statement of Intent* of 1994 and the *Mission Statement* of 1996.[144] Although currently the *Statement of Intent* is never referred to explicitly, the conception of transformation contained in the *Statement* remains critical for understanding the University's ongoing transformation challenge and process.[145] The *Statement of Intent* served as a crucial point of departure, providing a common understanding of the University's history, the legacy of apartheid that UCT shoulders, and the intent of transformation, thus offering premises for the process of transformation. Moreover, the University's stated objective in its *Mission Statement* "to be an outstanding teaching and research university, educating for life and addressing the challenges facing our society" has become the explicit preamble of the University's formal constitution and remains very much alive (*UCT Statute*, 2002). The *Mission Statement* is consistently referred in official documentation of the University (e.g. UCT, 2005d).

It is, however, the acknowledgement that not only *functionally* distinct groups but *demographically* distinct groups within the university community need to be recognised and adequately represented in the governing bodies of the University, which characterises the period starting from the mid-1980s with roots in student activism and ending in the second half of the 1990s in the adoption of a new *UCT Private Act* as a democratisation type distinct from the first wave of university democratisation. The requirement of *demographic* representivity, by which I refer to the rules providing that the race and gender of persons is taken into account when appointing members of university governance structures, entered university governance first informally through the political strategies of boycott, non-collaboration and parallel organisation by black students, which dialectically led to a non-racial unity in student politics at national and campus levels in 1991. On the basis of this non-racial student unity embodied by the early SASCO and the early SASCO-led SRCs, students as well as progressive staff members went on to demand demographic representivity in university governance – in Council and beyond. The erstwhile informal criterion of demographic representivity extended beyond student governance at UCT first as a rule for the composition of the Steering Committee that organised the UTF Conference (which later became the UTF Exco and now is IF). By 1999, the demographic representivity rule extended officially to all governing bodies of university governance, as the following clause of the *Institutional Statute* shows:

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in meetings of the institutional forum" *(UCT Statute*, 2002: 30(2)). The Registrar of the University, Hugh Amoore, argued in a personal interview that even though the clause applied specifically to the IF, it was accepted 'in spirit' to extend to all governing bodies of the University (Interview with Hugh Amoore, 15 May 2006). According to Amoore, the clause was entered into the *UCT Private Bill* of 1999 by the ANC parliamentary caucus at the committee stage of the Bill in the National Assembly (on the back of joint submissions by the student body and NEHAWU) (Interview with Hugh Amoore, 15 May 2006).

[144] *See* Appendices E & F.

[145] As shown by the current conception of the transformation process (Transformation Office, 2007).

> *"36. Composition of council, senate, institutional forum, committees and joint committees:*
> *Any person or body appointing a person, or nominating a candidate for election to the council, the senate, the institutional forum or a committee or a joint committee must have regard to the historic under-representation of women, in particular black women, and black people in general on such bodies and the need to redress that." (UCT Statute, 2002: 36)*

Starting with the *UCT Private Bill* of 1999, the *UCT Private Act* (1999) and the *Institutional Statute* (2002 as amended) stipulated that the race and gender of persons must be taken into account in the appointment of representatives to university governing bodies (Republic of South Africa, 1999b & 1999c & *UCT Statute,* 2002 as amended).[146]

In governance terms, the second wave of university democratisation therefore distinctly involved the acknowledgement – first informally and later officially – that a degree of *demographic resemblance*[147] between governors and governed (or representatives and represented) is necessary for a regime of governance to enjoy legitimacy. In terms of my theoretical framework, demographic representivity (or demographic resemblance) in governance has a very important function as a rule to acknowledge existing social cleavages in a political community and provide conditions for bridging these cleavages, thus generating inclusive trust. A rule which enhances demographic resemblance between governor and governed (or representative and represented) without conversely undermining the accountability mechanisms in the regime should therefore be deemed desirable, as it has the potential to generate trust which is a fundamental quality of the governance realm. Given that the demographic representivity rule at UCT involves a rectificatory or *corrective* intent in terms of the historic under-representation of a specific politically significant constituency, I characterise the transition involved in this change in the University's regime of governance as a special case of 'democratisation'. It involves a 'democratic' transition of student governance insofar as the racial and gender composition of the student body (i.e. the governed) is now increasingly reflected in the racial and gender composition of members of governing bodies (i.e. the governing). However, in terms of my theoretical conceptualisation of regime transitions, this characteristic of the second wave of university democratisation must paradoxically be understood as an example of a corrective *regime nationalisation* insofar as communitarian ties (rather than associative structures) are affirmed more strongly. I will return to this issue in my final discussion of the working of the regime typology in practice, in the conclusive chapter 5.

[146] With respect to Senate, the 2004 amendment to the *UCT Statute* added a further clause that specified that if Senate co-opted more than ten members (out of a possible 35), it needed to do so "in such a way as to better reflect in the senate the diversity of the academic staff" (*UCT Statute*, 2002 as amended: 23(l)(j)). Read in conjunction with the terms of reference of the Nominations Committee, the implication is that co-optation has become a means to make Senate more representative in terms of race and gender (UCT, 2005a: 341).
[147] For a brief discussion of the resemblance model as a theory of representation in political studies, *see* Heywood (2002: 228-229).

4.5 Student Governance and the Emergence of Managerialism

I have argued so far that by the closing decade of the 20th century the University of Cape Town had experienced two distinct waves of university democratisation that affected student participation in university governance. The first wave of university democratisation in the late 1960s and 1970s opened up internal decision-making processes to non-professorial academic staff and students. I have argued that student activism initiated this transition; albeit with the encouragement of, and championed by, a new vice-chancellor, Sir Richard Luyt, who had a favourable disposition towards student participation in university governance. The second wave was part of the epochal changes and turbulent developments in national politics of the second half of the 1980s and early 1990s issuing in the founding democratic election of 1994. The regime transition of student governance at UCT took place concurrently with the momentous transition to a post-apartheid democracy in South Africa. However, this was not a case of local events just following or mirroring national politics but in some respects, they actually anticipated these. In the local context, student activism again provided the initiative for this transition while the farsighted responses of the university leadership, in particular VC Dr Stuart Saunders, found ways of channelling the activist momentum into formal processes that could enhance the stability and legitimacy of the University's regime of governance. By 1996, UCT was on the crest of a second wave of university democratisation symbolically embodied in the University Transformation Forum. The distinctive contribution of this wave of university democratisation was the recognition that black and women members of the university community needed to be represented adequately in university governance.

In 1996, the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) recommended a new model of "co-operative governance" for South African universities, a model which it described as "an attempt to combine, in a particular South African way, more democracy with more modern management" (1996: 199). The NCHE's conception of 'democratisation' involved that there were "two competing notions of democracy … in South Africa: more participation by previously excluded groups, and transformation of the governance structures" (1996: 199). The first approach to democratisation involved "to get more blacks and women into existing decision-making structures"; the second one advocated for "a radical shift in the distribution of power within institutions" to be facilitated by the establishment of new governance structures (NCHE, 1996: 199-200). The NCHE unequivocally supported demands for mechanisms and policies to redress the historic inequities of race and gender; its support for a radical restructuring of councils and senates was, however, more cautious. While co-operative governance promoted the involvement of "all stakeholders within institutions [i.e. students, staff members, and managers] …in the process of setting the agenda, developing strategies to achieve it and monitoring success" (1996: 200); the replacement of councils with stakeholder forums was explicitly rejected. Councils were affirmed as highest decision-making body within an institution and senates were given the responsibility for the teaching, learning and research functions a university, while the transitional transformation forums that had been established in many universities were proposed to become advisory bodies to institutional councils

(1996: 200-205). The NCHE's conception of 'managerialism', in turn, was borrowed from Scott's work on British higher education. The NCHE characterised managerialism in terms of a dominance of the "executive leadership and professional administration" in decision-making and a "managerial style [that] is particularly concerned with strategic planning, computerised financial systems, estate management, staff policies and public relations" (1996: 198). By advocating more modern management practices and conceiving of the institutional management as one of the internal stakeholder groups to be involved in co-operative governance, the NCHE sought to 'reconcile' democratisation with managerialism in university governance.

By the time the NCHE reported, UCT had already realised in its internal governance arrangements most of the democratic objectives of the NCHE's proposal. The inclusion of all major *functional* constituencies in university governance had been an achievement of the first wave of university democratisation some decades earlier (and was further extended in the course of the second wave) and the quest for more *demographic* representivity in the composition of governance structures, and particularly the representation of blacks and women, was a distinct feature of the ongoing transitional process centred on the UTF and its Exco. Demographic representivity would become an official requirement in 'mainstream' governing bodies once rules to this end were entered into the *UCT Act* and *Statute* during the term of Dr Mamphela Ramphele as seventh Vice-Chancellor of the University (1996-2000).[148]

Dr Ramphele's term as the first black woman vice-chancellor of a historically-white university in South Africa is, however, not so much remembered in this University in terms of university democratisation. Rather, her brief term was notable for the shift from concerns with equity and democratisation (along with bureaucratic modernisation) to a fast-paced management-led restructuring of the University which was oriented towards achieving greater efficiency and world-class standards and which noticeably involved an emergence of managerialism at UCT. On the one hand, this shift at UCT anticipated the NCHE's proposal for more modern management; on the other hand, it also remarkably coincided with a similar shift in national politics from an equity-driven "expansionary thrust" to a commitment to "fiscal conservatism" signalled by the adoption of the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macro-economic policy framework in 1996 (Fataar, 2003: 33).[149] Dr Ramphele became the champion of a corresponding agenda of managerial modernisation at UCT. Local developments at the University of Cape Town thus continued to have significant parallels in the broader national context.

[148] In keeping with the quest for demographic representivity, key management and academic positions were increasingly filled by blacks and women in the course of the 1990s. A first *Equal Opportunity Employment Policy* had been adopted by Senate and Council as early as 1991, committing the University to "carry out affirmative action in the specific sense of doing everything in its power to help prepare black persons and women to become equal competitors for every post on its establishment" (UCT, 1996b: 16 & 1997b: 6).
[149] According to André Kraak (2001: 19), GEAR had an immediate and severe impact on higher education, for instance in that under the new conditions, "higher education transformation could only be brought about through the attainment of greater institutional efficiencies and cost-effectiveness and the redistribution of these savings to targeted transformational interventions".

In the following sections, my concern will be to interrogate the implications of the managerial modernisation at UCT, along with the rise of managerialism, for student participation in university governance. To this end, I outline the contours of the managerial reform package, though only as far as these affected student governance. Part of the objectives of the managerial reform package was that as 'clients' students were to be provided with improved facilities and services, some of which were targeted at attracting specific new student clienteles such as international students. The student leadership responded to the management initiative in different ways: At first (1996-1998), student leaders perceived management's set of reform initiatives at UCT as marginalising their own roles and contributions. In 1999-2002, some student leaders came to see the new entrepreneurial climate as an opportunity. My account of the managerialist modernisation of UCT of the second half of the 1990s is thus not primarily concerned with the managerial reform package itself. Rather, I focus on its impact on student politics and describe the type of student politics that emerged in this period and continued into the 2000s as characterised by a de-politicised entrepreneurial student activism driven by SRCs that came to conceive of themselves in more business-like terms.

As the managerial tide subsided and Dr Ramphele prepared for her departure from the University to join the World Bank in Washington, management's focus started to shift to consolidating the gains of the reform package. Concerns that the managerial restructuring of the University had led to a break-down of trust between the University's central management and leadership (or 'Bremner'[150]) and academics were among the key issues to be addressed by a far-reaching review and restructuring of the governance system of the University. This project, known as the Audit and Implementation of Management Systems (AIMS) Project, set out to reconcile the managerialist features of governance that had emerged over the previous years with traditional academic values and practices of collegiality and the legacies of two successive waves of university democratisation at UCT. In the final section of the case study, I will therefore analyse the outcomes of the AIMS Project and its implications for student representation in the University's governing bodies and for activist student politics at UCT.

4.5.1 Managerial Restructuring, Student Politics and University Governance

Only months into Dr Ramphele's vice-chancellorship, the UCT Senate approved the new Academic Planning Framework (APF) as well as a proposal for devolution of financial responsibility to faculties, and in November 1996 it established a committee to advise it on a reconfiguration of its ten faculties. Shortly thereafter, the development of the Strategic Planning Framework (SPF) began (UCT, 1999a: 9). The two new planning frameworks outlined the principles for a comprehensive exercise in institutional restructuring and their adoption was followed by a rapid surge of restructuring activity between 1996 and 1999, which the University's longstanding Registrar, Hugh Amoore, aptly called a veritable "tide" of reforms (UCT, 1999a: 37). At the time, this comprehensive restructuring package was justified in two ways: with reference to ambitious academic objectives

[150] The Bremner building is the central administrative building complex of the University. In popular parlance 'Bremner' has come to be a shorthand reference to central management.

and as a matter of financial necessity. On the one hand, the university leadership argued that its pursuit of 'transformation' (as the reforms were referred to) was driven by the vision of UCT becoming *A World-Class African University* in line with the new Mission Statement ceremonially adopted in early 1996 (Appendix F). On the other hand, it was claimed that financial necessity required incisive changes. By 1996 UCT was faced with a recurrent budget deficit, which had forced it to cut expenditures and leave one in five vacant posts unfilled while a serious backlog in salaries was building up (UCT, 1996a: 1).[151] Important initiatives and exciting aspirations had to be forfeited due to a lack of resources. Thus, on the face of it, a strong case was made for a "radical response" to find a way out of "this random and generalised misery" (UCT, 1996a: 1-4).

Along with the vision of making UCT a World-class African University, the objectives and principles of the managerial modernisation of the University were outlined in the Academic Planning Framework (APF) and Strategic Planning Framework (SPF), and their implementation saw the simultaneous unfolding of eighteen major activities from 1996 to 1999. Senior DVC Prof Wieland Gevers took responsibility for the APF-related 'academically driven' restructuring of the curriculum as well as the development of the SPF, while the VC provided overall strategic leadership and direction. Among the most consequential – and contested - activities spawned by the APF were faculty mergers reducing the overall number of faculties from 11 to 6 and the development of more holistic and 'named' academic programmes. The SPF, in turn, characterised the tasks involved in its reform package as "*counting, costing* and *cutting*" with the aim "to prune selectively so as to enable stronger growth" (UCT, 1997a: 10 *emphasis in original).* Changes were implemented first in management, then in teaching and learning, and eventually in building projects and staff rationalisation and outsourcing. Key among these activities – which I refer to in shorthand as the 'Ramphele tide' - were:

- Restructuring of Executive Management including the re-organisation of the VC's Office and the unbundling of the Registrar's Office;
- Implementation of the APF, including an academic audit and the introduction and development of academic programmes;
- Implementation of the SPF;
- Reconfiguration of the University's faculty structure including faculty mergers, and a reconfiguration of the departmental structure;
- Devolution of financial responsibility to the faculties, the replacement of elected deans with appointed executive deans, and the development and implementation of operational plans of faculties;
- A review of non-academic and academic staff relations, focusing on employment equity;
- A review of support staff services leading to the outsourcing of non-core services;

[151] Already in 1995, UCT was described by *Varsity* as being "on the edge of bankruptcy", and Helen Zille, then UCT's official spokesperson, elaborated that "recent subsidy cuts played a major role in the current deficit" ("UCT on the Edge…", 1995; *see also* "The SRC's Last…", 1997).

- Projects related to the optimal utilisation of information technology, including the implementation of an integrated management information system and the purchase and launch of a new library information system;
- Various physical development projects such as the Upper Campus project, and;
- The Audit and Implementation of Management Systems (AIMS) Project (UCT, 1999a: 17).

These management-led reforms were not introduced in a vacuum nor were they entirely new to UCT. The impact of the managerial revolution underway in European and American universities in the 1980s and early 1990s had not entirely passed UCT by. In academic governance, some remnants of the donnish 'ancien régime' were removed through the abolition of professors as permanent heads of departments and the introduction of rotating headships including non-professorial staff members, the modularisation of the curriculum and departmental mergers, with the result that "space was opened up for the university executive to set up new structures for 'academic planning' cutting across established disciplinary boundaries" which in time would shift the locus and meaning of academic accountability (du Toit, 2000b: 118-119). Much of the restructuring and reform proposals of the Ramphele era were a continuation of a trajectory of change initiated during Saunders' vice-chancellorship, which had involved the pragmatic adaptation and application of international management trends in the UCT context. Devolution of financial responsibility to faculties had been debated in Council since the early 1990s. In Ramphele's words, Saunders had been "the Vice-Chancellor who had made the most decisive intervention in the life of the University", having turned UCT in the 15 years of his tenure into a "premium University" by international standards (UCT, 1997b: 1). During Ramphele's term, senior management affirmed in no uncertain terms its commitment to emulate the dominant trajectory of international higher education development. In that sense, the affinity of the 'Ramphele tide' to Colin Bundy's list of "managerial tool trends adopted by British universities in the 1980s" (2004: 167) is not entirely accidental (*see* chap. 2). The developments at national level in South Africa, in national politics and in higher education policy development, further legitimated these institutional developments at UCT.

The 'Ramphele tide' issued, however, in more than simply an application of good management practices to a university that was growing larger and more complex. It entailed changes in the social relations on campus and particularly the academic workplace (which remain to be fully traced[152]). This involved, on the one hand, the rise of a class of career "manager-academics" (Deem & Brehony, 2005) with line management function cascading into the faculties and academic departments and of professional managers. During Saunders and Ramphele's leadership, the number of full-time manager-academics grew rapidly (e.g. through the appointment of DVCs and Executive Deans) and that of professional managers (e.g. Executive Directors). By 2000, an external review of management at UCT concluded that "there are just too many senior people

[152] In this respect, Edward Webster and Sarah Mosoetsa (2002) conducted a insightful case study of the changing academic workplace at the University of Witwatersand. The nature and extent of academic workplace changes at UCT remain to be fully traced.

sharing administrative/managerial powers [at UCT]" (Shattock, 2000: 9). While the Academics Association demanded "a significant reduction of the bloated top echelon [to] enhance academic ownership of the University" (2000: 1), the managerial restructuring resulted in massive job losses at the bottom of the hierarchy with the outsourcing of support services such as cleaning and gardening to companies offering appalling employment conditions, and an increasing casualisation of teaching staff at UCT ("Union Squeezed by…", 1999; "Hundreds to be…", 1999; National Education Health And Allied Workers' Union, 2000 & UCT, 2005d).[153] Moreover, the fast-paced restructuring process went along with perceptions by students and some academics that they were marginalised in decision-making that significantly affected them and had lasting implications for the University. It may be that these changes at UCT culminated by 2000 to produce "a deep, and largely mutual, breakdown of relations between the academic community and the central administration (more accurately, what is known as 'Bremner')" which threatened to undermine the benefits of the managerial modernisation (Shattock, 2000: 4). I will be concerned primarily with the ways in which students were affected by the managerial reforms; as 'clients'-to be they were inevitably a key target of the 'Ramphele tide'.

4.5.1.1 The Politics of Consumerising Students: Client Benefits and the Trust Dividend

While at one level, the managerialist reforms initiated during VC Ramphele's term certainly brought about a marginalisation of student participation in university decision-making as perceived by the SRCs of Qobo, Luxanda and Segami (1996-1998), that is by no means the whole story. At other levels, students as the direct recipients and beneficiaries of more efficient administrative and academic services and improved facilities were directly and indirectly affected by the whole exercise of restructuring the academic enterprise in more business-like terms. As the different parts of the reform package were put into place, definite benefits accrued to students as 'clients'; over time this also induced changes in the mode of student politics itself with an entrepreneurial spirit among student leaders complementing the ethos issuing from the university management.

In different ways, the 'Ramphele tide' resulted in visible improvements to students' living spaces as well as more indirect benefits to their academic environment. Among the direct benefits were improved physical facilities made available to students: an extended and refurbished state-of-the-art central library including a fully computerised and networked 'information commons' and student learning centre; a new students' union building with a food mall that sported South African fast-food outlets like *Nando's, Steers,* and *London Pie*, new space for student organisations as well as new offices for the SRC, Student Parliament, and the Department of Student Affairs; brand-new residential facilities for visiting scholars, extensions and upgrades to existing student residences, residence-based student learning centres, and the fencing of residences to curb theft. Benefits also accrued to students from the faculty restructuring and the introduction of 'named' academic programmes; the establishment of the Centre for Higher Education Development with its student-

[153] The decision of academic staff to unionize in 2007 after having debated the matter for many years may serve as a further indication of incisive academic workplace changes at UCT ("Academics Association to Unionise", 2007).

focused academic development services; the introduction of teaching contracts and provision for the professional development of teaching staff; and the introduction of merit-based pay increments for staff. A reconceptualisation of the student body as composed of various 'clienteles' was also among the outcomes of the 'revolution' in management and administration during Ramphele's term. Starting with the unbundling of the Registrar's Office in 1996, the university administration was re-focused to become more service-oriented and student-friendly. Several new student service centres were established that targeted the University's more diverse student clientele, including the International Academic Programmes Office, the Postgraduate Centre and the Postgraduate Funding Office, as well as decent space for the Financial Aid Office (UCT, 1999a: 13-14; *see also* UCT, 1997b, 1998, 1999b & 2000). Thus, students benefited in direct and indirect ways from the changes brought about by the 'Ramphele tide'; inevitably this 'non-political' or privatised delivery of benefits to students as 'clients' along with related changes in the composition of the student body would also induce changes in the mode of student politics itself.

Positioning UCT successfully on the map of the international higher education market place in the course of the 1990s and the early 2000s brought about significant changes in the composition of the University's student body. Already in 1996, international students constituted 11% of the student body. Their numbers more than doubled in the period between 1996 and 2004, first increasing from 1,742 (1996) to 2,556 (2000) and eventually to 3,922 (in 2004). By 2004, international students made up almost 20% of the UCT student body, i.e. 16% of the undergraduate student body and 25% of postgraduate enrolment (Department of Institutional Planning, 2006). These changes have more general social and political significance. With the majority of full-degree international students coming from SADC countries, their increasing numbers buttressed ongoing changes in the race and class composition of the student body. Africans from beyond the border added to the increasing number of off-spring of the South African black elite that came to study at UCT (UCT, 1999a: 20).[154] The effect was that by 2004 black students not only were a majority of the University's student body, but the proportion of (local) students receiving financial aid also declined from 17% to 14% of undergraduate students. Proportionally less local African students and more Coloured, Indian and White students received financial aid in 2000 and 2004 than in 1996 (Appendix I). Added to this was a marginal improvement in the success and graduation rates of black students at UCT (especially Coloured and Indian students) by the early 2000s (Appendix I). Thus, while the University's student body became considerably more diverse, an internationalisation and gentrification of the black student body was underway (along with improvements in academic performance), which meant that the overall class-race and race-academic success correlations in the student body grew less pronounced compared to the 1980s and early 1990s.[155] The relative growth, internationalisation and gentrification of the black student body had not only material and academic but also political

[154] The economic meltdown in Zimbabwe and episodic economic woes in East Africa have, however, clearly affected the financial position of many SADC students.
[155] I am grateful to Martin Hall, Britt MacLaughlin and Mary Simons for pointing this out in interviews for this study.

benefits for the University more generally. The material and academic benefits consisted in lesser need for student financial aid and raising academic standards, while the political benefits of a more diverse student body, in a context of less pronounced class/race and race/academic success correlation, may be termed a 'trust dividend' accruing, *inter alia,* in student governance. Increasing levels of 'inter-racial' trust in the student body can also be inferred from an analysis of the memberships of student clubs and societies at UCT[156] (in accordance with Hyden's proposal).

An analysis of the comparative student society membership data for 1996, 2000 and 2004 (*see* Appendix G) shows a significant bridging of the erstwhile racial cleavage between black and white in the student body which so much influenced student politics at UCT in the second half of the 1980s and early 1990s.[157] In 2004, the membership of registered student organisations at UCT was significantly more 'racially inclusive'[158] than in 2000 and in 1996. The number of student organisations with a membership that could be described as 'mono-racial' or 'racially exclusive' and the number of students who participated in such mono-racial societies was significantly lower in 2004 than in 1996. Conversely, there were more racially inclusive student organisations and a greater number of students who participated in racially inclusive organisations in 2004 than in 1996. Thus, in 2004, 48% of paid up members of student organisations at UCT participated in racially inclusive clubs and societies (1996: 36%, 2000: 34%). By 2004 the number of students participating in racially inclusive and diverse student organisations was almost twice as great as it had been in 2000 or 1996 while the number of students participating in predominantly white or predominantly black organisations remained almost static (*for details see* Appendix G). Generally speaking, these findings indicate that there was significantly more voluntary interaction between black and white students by means of student clubs and societies in 2004 than in 1996.[159] Taking a governance perspective, we may infer from the results of this preliminary analysis, which was conducted in line with Hyden's proposal on how to measure trust, that an 'inter-racial' trust dividend was gradually accruing to student governance.

[156] I.e. sport clubs, faith-based societies, discipline-based societies, cultural societies, advocacy groups, student political organisations and international student societies, all with voluntary student membership.
[157] The analysis of student societies' membership data for 1996, 2000 and 2004 is presented in more detail in Appendix G. Further research would need to be done to corroborate the argument. At this point, three general issues must be raised: Firstly, the racial classification of membership is based on students' self-classification. Secondly, the classification of student organisations as 'racially exclusive' or 'racially inclusive' is solely based on my analysis of their memberships by 'race'. Thirdly, there are no *de jure* racially exclusive clubs/societies at UCT (nor are there secret ethnic student cults such as those described by Ubwa, 1999 & Ojo, 1995). My conception of racial exclusiveness doesn't imply unfair discrimination either. Even societies which have explicitly racial labels (e.g. Black Management Forum) have open membership policies in keeping with the SRC's policy (Interview with Edwina Goliath, 18 March 2005 & SRC, 2006).
[158] Based on various considerations (Appendix G), *I classify as 'racially inclusive' those student organisations with a membership within the range of 80%>black students%>30% of total membership*, whereby 'black students' refers to African, Indian and Coloured students irrespective of nationality. Conversely, 'racially exclusive' refers to memberships outside this range.
[159] My tentative conclusion that the three data points actually represent a 'trend' towards more voluntary 'inter-racial' interaction and thus towards greater 'inter-racial' trust needs to be understood in relation to my discussion of student politics at UCT in the 1980s and early 1990s, and in particular the erstwhile practice of black boycott of white student bodies and parallelism *(see above).*

Next to the trust dividend at the level of 'inter-racial' student relations, another effect of management's pursuit of building a self-resourcing World-class African University was that the logic of exchange that underpinned the managerialist reforms soon came to penetrate every aspect of student politics. As much as management's quest for excellence and international standards resulted in improved facilities and services for students, these benefits did not come free of charge but involved higher student fees and eventually an individualised fee per course structure. After the introduction of international students fees (1997) and programme-specific fees (1999), it resulted by 2006 in a costing of every module and course as a distinct unit. Fees became customised and atomised and along with them the students as customers (AIMS Project, 2000b; "Drastic Fee Increases", 2004; "Fees 2006: Pay…", 2005 & UCT, 2006a). At the same time, the implementation of some provisions of the APF (such as teaching contracts) as well as the implementation of new national requirements (emanating from the establishment of national standards and quality assurance bodies) conversely required that academics increasingly had to account for the quality, methods and contents of their teaching *beyond their immediate peer group*. New quality assurance bodies, which also included students, such as the Quality Assurance Working Group at UCT and the national Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC), were established, and existing methods of assessing teaching and learning, such as the Course Evaluation forms filled in by students, could have implications for academic staff remuneration [160] (Interview with Amos Mboweni, 4 June 2006).

For my purposes, it is the implications of these and related changes for student politics and governance that matter. Student leaders at UCT did not only have to devise new ways to assert themselves in the context of a rapidly unfolding reform process under Ramphele's leadership; they also had to come to terms with the changes in the social structure of the student body and the changing institutional framework within which they operated. At the close of the 1990s, the old-style SASCO-type politics was thus superseded at UCT by a new kind of student politics that was itself infused with the entrepreneurial spirit of the Ramphele years.

4.5.1.2 Student Politics and the Entrepreneurial Spirit: Value for Money

Initially, student leaders at UCT were rather ambivalent about the appointment of DVC Dr Ramphele to the post of VC. In the STAC evaluation of VC Selection Working Group, Fuzani noted that for many student leaders Ramphele had been an "unlikely candidate", for some even part of a choice between "two devils" (Fuzani in STAC, 1996). Once Dr Ramphele was in command, student leaders were among the first to feel sidelined by her resolute leadership style. Reflecting on the relationship between the new VC and his SRC years later, Mzukisi Qobo (SRC President 1996/97) commented that Ramphele had been "very contemptuous of student activism on campus. She didn't think much of the [political] role of students on campus" (Interview with Mzukisi Qobo, 19 May 2006). Various contemporaneous articles in *Varsity* corroborate his recollection. In an interview with Ramphele in 1999, Monique Whitaker of *Varsity* stated that "there is quite a strong feeling

[160] E.g. as a consideration in the award of the coveted Distinguished Teacher's Award and in *ad hominem* promotions.

amongst much of the student leadership, across the board, that the university management has somewhat of a contempt for student input" (in "Famous Last Words…", 1999).[161] Other students writing in *Varsity* claimed that the VC had become known for "her top-down autocratic management style", for being "out of touch with the students", and for having "unconsultative dealings with students" (Bondewijn, 1999). SASCO student leaders in particular were aghast at Ramphele's managerialist discourse of efficiency, effectiveness and excellence. Yet, this antagonism should not simply be personalised but needs to be contextualised. An antagonistic relationship between the SRC and University Executive was not peculiar to the Ramphele term. Antagonism towards the management was part of SASCO's political repertoire (e.g. SRC, 1998b). Moreover, it is significant that the contested matters at issue between the SASCO-led SRCs of 1996-1998 and the University Executive rarely concerned the contents of the Ramphele tide of reforms (except for student opposition to outsourcing). Rather, SRC demands and objections were still mostly concerned with matters of social justice and redress related to financial and academic exclusions. Only on occasion would student leaders contest VC Ramphele's leadership style, which they decried as 'unilateral' and 'undemocratic'. As noted above, the SRCs of the second half of the 1990s appear to have been largely unconcerned with, and uninformed about, the substance and magnitude of the institutional restructuring of the University (*SRC Minutes,* 1996-1998). They were effectively marginalised. Thus even though they recognised the autocratic and unconsultative nature of the new leadership style on occasion, they did not realise its specifically managerialist character.

With the new student political landscape of the late 1990s resulting from SASCO's loss of its majority in the SRC of 1998/99 *(see above)* came significant shifts in the relationships both between the SRC and University Executive as well as between the SRC and the student body. In March 1999, the SRC Executive decided to cease its contesting of SRC President Lucian Segami's academic exclusion; Segami's removal from office sounded the death knell of SASCO's protracted demise at UCT and with that its particular style of politics. Segami's replacement by Jerome September as SRC President (with the blessing of the Student Parliament in April 1999) opened the way for a non-SASCO medley of student leaders to "de-politicise" student politics and to re-focus the SRC on its "core business" of representing students in university governance (*SRC Minutes,* 1998-1999; *SP Minutes*, 14 April 1999; SRC, 1999a & 1999b). For most of the remaining months of its term, the 1998/99 SRC operated as a SRC Executive composed exclusively of student leaders from various non-SASCO constituencies: AZASCO, SALSA, HP-'born-agains', and international students. In August 1999, an new SRC was elected, composed half of 'born-agains' determined to bring 'godliness' into student governance, in alliance with independents and international students, and half of SASCO foot soldiers and waverers who had no functioning branch structure as support base (SRC, 1999c). The non-SASCO members dominated from the outset.

[161] Dr Ramphele responded in the interview: "I am not defending the failure to consult them on specifics at a particular point, but the involvement of students is highly valued in this university and there is a long tradition of it […]" ("Famous Last Words…", 1999).

After years of SASCO 'hegemony', the millenarian SRCs of September, Magkatho, Magotsi and Fatyi (1999-2002) sought to distinguish themselves sharply from the previous "ineffective, inefficient and divisive ones" by appearing more professional and inclusive (Interview with Khanyisa Fatyi, 19 May 2006). They set out to make the SRC "student-friendly" and to provide "excellent democratic student leadership in the new millennium" (SRC, 2000). They engaged in a deliberate exercise of branding the SRC and marketing it to different groupings in the student body, the university community and beyond. They sought to enhance the SRC's image with ever-fresh logos, SRC 'merchandise', targeted events and posters campaigns. Yet, the apparently innocent branding and marketing practices also indicated a more fundamental change in the nature of student politics; the new 'management speak' replacing the revolutionary (and racialised) transformation rhetoric of the SASCO-SRCs implied a new and different conception of the SRC as a "business" that provided a range of "services" to the student body at large, to individual students, and to the University as a whole. The SRC identified students and senior management as its main "clients" and viewed the perceptions of students and management as critical to its ability to be effective and influential (Interview with Khanyisa Fatyi, 19 May 2006; *see also SRC Minutes,* 1999-2002). In other words, these SRCs sought to play on a political playing field by the rules of the market.

The new conception of the SRC as a 'business' with senior management as one of its main 'clients' brought about a turn-around in the relationship between student leaders and the senior management. Jerome September's half-year as SRC President inaugurated a *détente* in this relationship, while the SRCs of 1999 to 2002 secured political and financial support for their ambitious projects. The Student Governance Review (SGR) initiated by the 1999/2000 SRC *(see below)* was only possible because it was endorsed by the new VC, Prof Njabulo Ndebele, and championed by the Dean of Students, Dr Loveness Kaunda, to the extent that a top-notch AIMS consultant drafted the SGR's project brief (AIMS Project, 2000e: 2 & SGR Support Team, 2000). Similar projects such as the SRC's business incubator initiative Student Enterprises, the SRC's annual multiculti-international week, the Student Research Institute, and so forth, all effectively relied on political and financial sponsorship from management more than from the student body (Interview with Amos Mboweni, 4 June 2006 & own observation).

The new 'business-like' approach distinctly characterised the manner of operation of these SRCs and their various 'priority projects'. Unlike previous SRCs and long-standing student bodies such as *Varsity,* SHAWCO, UCT Radio or RAG, the new SRCs and their projects no longer operated on an essentially voluntary basis. Student leaders involved in the SGR, Student Enterprises, and the pilot projects of the Student Research Institute, were not only called 'CEO', 'Director: Operations', 'Project Co-ordinator', 'Sales Manager', and so forth, but they were also paid salaries or consultancy fees for whatever work and services they performed. Such remuneration came either directly from the University's coffers (e.g. from the Dean of Students' funds) or from monies which these projects generated themselves (especially in the case of Student Enterprises' businesses) (Interviews with Khanyisa Fatyi, 19 May 2006 & Amos Mboweni, 4 June 2006 & own observations).

These new practices raised novel questions about the 'ownership' of these projects (on which Student Enterprises eventually shipwrecked). More importantly, they are manifestations of an entrepreneurial spirit and an increasing acceptance of exchange and market-accountability as rules in UCT student politics, which are among the characteristics of a new kind of student activism in the context of a rise of managerialism.

Thus, the entrepreneurial spirit and the exchange logic involved in the 'Ramphele tide' of reforms was complemented by, what may be coined, 'entrepreneurial student activism'. In sharp contrast to the old-style student politics inspired by an emancipatory concern for social justice, equity and democracy, entrepreneurial student activism put aside distrust and suspicion of university management; it rather sought de-politicise this relationship and extend exchange-like relations into the student political realm not the least for the benefit of the individual student leaders concerned. Thus, student leaders now expected to be remunerated for the value they added to the University through their 'excellent services' in SRC offices and as student representatives in university committees. A striking example of the extent to which the logic of privatised exchange came to be assimilated into the conception of student-University relations and even into student governance is provided by the institution of 'SRC performance incentives'. After years of deliberation, SRC remuneration was formalised in terms of a system of 'SRC performance incentives' applying to all SRC members[162] that was implemented in January 2004. Accordingly SRC members henceforth received a monthly performance-dependent salary (variably called "stipend" or "incentive" by the Department of Student Affairs and "compensation" or "pay" by SRC members) upon the recommendation of an evaluation panel (Interviews with Edwina Goliath, 28 March 2005 & various members of the 2005/06 SRC). The latter included SRC members and members of the Department of Student Affairs, with the Executive Director: Student Affairs having the final say.[163] According to Ms Edwina Goliath, Director of Student Development at UCT, "the incentive system […] is like a performance management system when we evaluate staff. We have very clear objectives, and then we assess them" (Interview with Edwina Goliath, 28 March 2005; *see also* SRC, 2004: Schedule on Incentives). In addition to the monthly 'SRC performance incentives', a long list of annual student leadership awards (e.g. VC's Student Leadership Award; DVC's Student Leadership Award, cascading down) came to augment the new forms of material rewards linked to performance evaluation of student leaders at UCT. The logic of exchange had come to be so engrained in student politics that its promise of individual material reward was seemingly enough compensation for the implication of the 'incentive system' and 'performance awards', which is that SRC members were henceforth individually accountable for their performance *to a senior manager* (in the last instance). This shift in the locus of accountability of student leaders would have been unthinkable in the 1990s.

[162] By 2004 there were no more sabbatical members in the SRC. The sabbatical SRC members in the SRCs 1997/98 – 2002/03 received stipends in the form of, e.g., free residence and food allowances.
[163] Remuneration for SRC members (other than sabbaticals) was first proposed by the SGR Funding and Incentives' Commission of 2000/01 and thus entered debates ahead of the adoption of the new SRC Constitution in 2004. Criteria for the performance appraisal are based on the 2004 SRC Constitution, in particular Articles 2.33 a-c which stipulate key areas of performance of SRC members and Schedule D, which specifies the portfolio duties of SRC offices in great detail (SRC, 2004).

Moreover, as along with the management-initiated restructuring the balance of power gradually shifted from academic authority and stakeholder representation towards managerialist concerns for market-like reciprocities and performance accountability, 'value for money' could serve as a key principle underpinning student leaders' conception of what they could expect from the University (and conversely what was expected of them). The 'value for money' argument paired exchange and accountability in governance so usefully that it was soon applied in holding management accountable for services and facilities. SRC President 2001/02, Khanyisa Fatyi, illustrates this aptly with an example of one of her SRC's key concerns – the 'space crisis'[164]:

> *"There was overcrowding, they over-enrolled for some courses in the Economics Department in our year and so we had lecture theatres which were brimming. Students were sitting on desks, some were standing on the steps and there was no place to walk…obviously, that was unacceptable given the amounts we pay but also there's security issues as well, fire and so on."*
> *(Interview with Khanyisa Fatyi, 19 May 2006 my emphasis)*

The 'value for money' rationale empowered students as 'consumers' and the SRC (as well as student press) could serve as the voice of the consumer collective; in effect, value for money superseded social justice and democracy as the primary principle underpinning student demands. Once the business-like SRCs of 1999-2002 had spearheaded 'entrepreneurial student activism', their 'value for money' argument was popularised by *Varsity* and reproduced by the subsequent SRCs led by the ANC-YL even though student activism itself again became more political in nature. Thus, whether it concerned the unfriendly administrative secretary or long queues on registration day, students had learned to complain that "the poor service we receive after all [is] hardly what we're paying for" ("Editorial: The Customer…", 2004; *see also* "One Word to…", 2002 & "Students as Consumers…", 2002). Much of the re-organisation of student and staff transport as well as the parking space debates of 2002 and 2004 came to be framed in this consumerist way. The question "whether as the main clients of the institution, we students receive value for the huge fees we pay" (SRC, 2005c) ran like a scarlet thread through the SRC's submission to the HEQC Audit Panel of 2005. Eventually, in its April Fool's Day edition of 2005, *Varsity* perceptively imagined where it may

[164] The 'space issue/crisis' has several dimensions which cannot be done justice here fully. *Varsity* articles in 2001 and 2002 dealt with space issues: the lack of space for student societies, overcrowding in lecture theatres, food facilities, the library, computer facilities, etc. (e.g. "One Word to…", 2002). The particular issue of academic teaching space arose at least since the end of the 1990s, where it became clear that by using the traditional timetable the existing lecturing facilities could not accommodate the increased student numbers. Thus, the erstwhile lecture-free lunch hour (or "meridian"), which was traditionally dedicated for social lunch and meetings of student societies only, gradually gave way to the academic need for a fuller utilisation of the existing lecture halls (*SRC Minutes,* 1999-2000*)*, leading to the loss of the campus-wide lunch hour. This may be considered one of the greatest blows ever to vibrant student life and organised student power at UCT. The more specific issue of an under-allocation of space by academic departments to specific courses (as Fatyi recalls it) may, however, be due more directly to one of the changes in academic practice introduced by the managerial restructuring: the principle that all use of space had to be costed and charged for. Thus contrary to traditional arrangements, academic departments etc. were costed in terms of their (expected) utilisation of space and this was included in budget estimates as an outcome of the SPF implementation.

all lead to: A university where the Humanities Faculty would be listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and the names of academic departments, like those of the lecture halls, would be up for sale to the highest bidder ("Humanities Faculty will…", 2005 & "Marketing Dept to…", 2005). Thus, a consumerist discourse had emerged in student politics.

The 'Ramphele tide' had therefore significant implications for student politics. Student leaders in the SRC came to terms with the changes in the student body and the institutional framework by 'de-politicising' the SRC initially, setting aside the earlier combative emancipatory approach in favour of adopting a more consumerist discourse, and tuning the SRC towards more business-like behaviour. Thus, student politics itself was infused with the entrepreneurial spirit of the Ramphele years, seeking to reach new 'clienteles', offering improved service and thus aligning its politics with the dominant discourse in an attempt at clawing back some of the influence the SRC had lost in preceding years. Embracing consumerism in organised student politics had itself ambiguous consequences. Consumerist demands of 'value for money' empowered every student individually and provided the SRC with a new principle to underpin some of its demands. Conversely, along with the introduction of individual material rewards for student leaders linked to performance accountability the same rationale also justified a momentous shift in the locus of accountability of student leadership. These were among the manifestations of the extent to which exchange had become the predominant 'quality' of student governance at UCT.

4.5.2 The Emergence of Managerialism and the AIMS Project

After four years of intensive restructuring and reform, a new kind of university was taking shape along with a new way of governing it. The management restructuring initiated during Ramphele's term involving the unbundling of the Registrar's Office, management by strategic plan, devolution to faculties, and the appointment of executive deans, along with new systems of central performance monitoring and evaluation, had moved the University decisively from "a traditional 'administered university' approach" to "a 'managed university' approach" (Gevers, 2000: 2). Faculty restructuring, departmental reorganisation and the introduction of named holistic academic programmes held the promise of academic rejuvenation, inter-disciplinarity and increasing market-relevance. As VC, Dr Ramphele had continued the process of diversifying the University's funding sources, seeking to reduce the UCT's dependence on government subsidies (UCT, 2000). She made effective use of the war chest that she had received at her installation in 1996 (which included donations to the order of double-digit millions of Rands for new building projects) as well as the substantial amounts she had raised during her term. The VC had consolidated the fixed capital stock of the University and introduced systems and procedures that allowed a university with close to 17,000 students and over 800 full-time academic staff members to be managed more efficiently and effectively (UCT, 1997b: 3 & Department of Institutional Planning, 2000). The spirit that issued from management had spread to other spheres, including the realms of student politics, with both intended and

unintended outcomes. The challenge of the post-Ramphele era was to conserve the momentum and move from transformation to sustainability at UCT.[165]

As the 'Ramphele tide' gradually subsided, it emerged that the rapid pace of change had involved a governance transition of its own new order. Yet, there was no clear consensus on what governance at UCT should look like in this new dispensation. One perspective was provided by Council's sub-committee on governance, which in July 2000 presented a structural model of the University to Council based on the premise that "Even though the university remains, legally, a 'public sector' institution, it is a *commercial enterprise* in every sense" (Council Sub-committee, 2000: 1 *my emphasis*). In this model, the faculties were represented as revenue-generating "business units" and students and their prospective employers as among the "direct clients". If this view was acceptable, the report proposed, Council could use it as a model against which to test the current structures of governance (Council Sub-committee, 2000: 2-3; *see also* Council in ODG, 2000: 24). An alternative perspective is implicit in the accusations of 'managerialism' with which the senior management team and inner circle was increasingly faced (ODG, 2000: 99). Thus, Associate Prof Stephen Watson argued that UCT had experienced in recent years

> *"…a bureaucratic-technocratic revolution in which the professors and other lecturers have been demoted (to 'human resources' to be 'managed') while the university administrators (formerly the servants of those professors) have elevated themselves to a position of near total power" (Watson in UCT, 1999a: 36).*

UCT was by no means the only South African university that faced criticisms of this kind at the time. Analysts of higher education transformation in South Africa diagnosed a variety of managerial strategies taking shape in the public universities. Tembile Kulati and Teboho Moja argued in 2002 that the new approaches to university leadership that had emerged in response to the challenges of transformation and market-pressures in South African higher education "rang[ed] from transformative leadership to managerial leadership, to crisis management" (2002: 230). In terms of their analytical scheme (which draws on Trow, 1994), the late 1990s style of university leadership at UCT may be classified as a case of 'strategic managerialism' whereby business-type management techniques were applied in order to run the University more efficiently and effectively without yet threatening the core values of the academy such as academic freedom (2002: 230; *see also* Trow, 1994: 13). And yet, alarm bells began to sound with increasing warnings that the 'managerial turn' at UCT may already be threatening academic freedom and the long-established practices of academic rule (du Toit, 2000b). The governance-related results of the 'Ramphele tide' eventually came under scrutiny in an internal review of university management and governance during 2000, which was also charged with developing a new governance model for UCT.

[165] Burton Clark (2004) provides a range of university case studies on this challenge.

In 1999, the university management returned to the proposal contained in the Strategic Planning Framework to conduct "an internally-driven university-wide audit" of its change management processes (UCT, 1997: 10). This project, which was known as the AIMS Project, was the last major restructuring effort initiated during Dr Ramphele's term. It was simultaneously an integral part of the managerial reforms as well as management's response to the emerging allegations of managerialism. The AIMS Project sought to consolidate the managerial modernisation that had been achieved to date in a new organisational structure of decision-making. Council approved the AIMS Project at its meeting on 3 November 1999. The project group's proposal to Council summarised the purpose of the project as follows:

> *"In essence, AIMS is about securing effective and efficient functioning of the University, in its major decision processes and in its day-to-day operations, such that the academic staff can concentrate on their 'core business' of teaching and research." (AIMS Project, 1999: 3)*

The objectives of AIMS included, *inter alia*, "clarifying the governance arrangements between the centre and the Faculties" and "ensuring that the University's management systems and also its planning and decision structures and processes are aligned with its strategic objectives and operational needs" (AIMS Project, 1999: 2).

The Organisational Design and Governance (ODG) stream of AIMS was charged with conducting the governance review and design, as well as with implementing an appropriate governance model for UCT. Among its related tasks was that of untangling the sprawling network of committees dating back to Luyt's vice-chancellorship which constituted the University's formal governance system and through which it was officially governed collegially and representatively.[166] It may be noted that the AIMS Project's brief included many of the dimensions that the UTF of 1996 had sought to include in a governance review. Significantly, though, AIMS Project documentation never referred to the 1996 agreements. Presumably, they had been forgotten. By 2000, the centre of gravity had shifted decisively from stakeholder-democracy to management.[167]

Interestingly, both the shift of gravity to management and some of the critical perspectives on the emerging managerialism were highlighted in an important document spawned by the AIMS Project, i.e. the Shattock report. British higher education management expert, Prof Michael Shattock, was commissioned by AIMS to carry out a high-level external review of the governance and

[166] In my analysis in this and the next section I will focus predominantly on the committee system. The ODG of AIMS in general, as well as the work of Shattock discussed below, also involved other dimensions of decision-making, such as defining the roles and powers of 'Executive Deans' in relation to faculty, HODs, and the central senior management.

[167] The AIMS governance review is, of course, a model case of the shift of the centre of gravity from stakeholder representatives to management – not least when considering the capacities and resources that were mobilised for the project, including a budget of R 21,123,070.00 approved by Council (AIMS Project, 2001), while the two UTF-related governance reviews (including the implementation of the CSG recommendations) had failed largely due to a lack of capacity and resources (Lewin, 1998b).

management implications of the ongoing restructuring of the University (ODG, 2000: 20 & Shattock, 2000). During his on-site investigations in late 1999 and early 2000, Shattock found that decision-making at UCT had in recent years become "more obscure rather than more transparent to the academic community" with a build up of "layer upon layer of bureaucratic controls" that had "reached crisis point and [was] fuelling quite unnecessary ill feeling" (2000: 3). Shattock argued that management's decision-making lacked transparency and was out of line with the official constitution of the University. He found that the Vice-Chancellor had set up "a heavy-weight informal committee structure which is outside the formal constitutional framework and which communicates uncertainly within the University as a whole" (2000: 11). Shattock's interpretation was that the Vice-Chancellor's Executive Management Meetings (EMM) and the Extended Executive Management Meetings (EEMM) constituted a new managerial core of 'informal committees', separate from the traditional collegial committee system and yet involved in major strategic and academic policy development and implementation issues to an extent which diminished the role of Senate and its key General Purposes Committee (2000: 11-13 & 17).[168]

Shattock's findings provide a revealing perspective on the development of governance at UCT. As I argued above, the UTF and its structures had been largely dismantled in the second half of the 1990s effectively doing away with official (stakeholder-democratic) parallel governing bodies. Now Shattock found that a set of informal heavyweight parallel (managerial) committees had been established (outside the purview of the other stakeholders of the erstwhile UTF triumvirate), which was seemingly working as a management caucus to make and implement institutional policy. The report suggested that a historic (and illegitimate?) regime transition had been underway. Shattock himself was little concerned with historical developments or the specific matter of university democratisation and academic rule, of course. His purpose was more pragmatic in getting the "decision-making machinery" right to enable the University "to take difficult decisions and to concentrate resources where investment pays off best in terms of academic performance" (2000: 2). In this respect, the new set of (managerial) governing bodies that had become operative at 'Bremner' was but one of several examples of problems which had accumulated in the course of rapidly pushing through a wide-ranging and complex reform package. It is against this background that Shattock affirmed that "in universities good internal communication, transparency in decision-making and trust in the organs of governance along with a respect for academic values, are vital pre-requisites". He added immediately: "My discussions did not suggest that UCT was secure in any of these areas…" (2000: 4).

Indeed the most worrying finding of Shattock's investigation was "a deep, and largely mutual, breakdown of relations between the academic community and the central administration (more

[168] Shattock's interpretation was based on the formal primacy of Senate and Council contemplated in the University Statute. The counter-claim would be that the SPF and APF and related projects had all been approved by both Senate and Council, as noted above, and that the EMM and EEMM were only co-ordinating their implementation.

accurately, what is known as 'Bremner')" (2000: 4). In Shattock's view, this breakdown of relations ran so deep that it threatened the gains of the reforms:

> *"This hostility, these systemic problems, have hindered the reforms undertaken so far and will undermine further reforms and the objectives of the AIMS exercise; they must be tackled head on. […] Top heavy administrative costs must be reduced, trust between the two sides restored and inadequate communication systems personal, written and structural rectified." (Shattock, 2000: 15)*

The fast-paced reforms had clearly had a deteriorating effect on trust between the academic community and the manager-academics and professional managers at 'Bremner'. Yet, Shattock noted that the hostility was "largely systemic rather than personal on both sides" - thus indicating a governance problem which may be addressed by reconfiguring governance arrangements (2000: 15). Hence, his governance-related recommendations were mainly concerned with organisational and procedural changes that should focus in the first stage on "reviewing the committee structure as a whole" (2000: 13).

Shattock's findings and recommendations were not received with the same reaction across the University. The VC, for instance, was furious. At a senior management meeting in March 2000, Dr Ramphele apparently delivered 'a tirade' against the Shattock report, arguing that the report was wholly inadequate and lacked a historical perspective. In reality the institution was more transparent than it had ever been in the past, she allegedly argued (Anonymous in Shattock, 2000).[169] Nonetheless, Shattock's findings are difficult to dismiss. Shattock's expert report provides an important external perspective on the state of university management and governance at UCT in 2000, pointing out general as well as specific features of decision-making, which merely corroborate the sense of marginalisation in university decision-making that some academics and student leaders perceived in the closing years of the 1990s. Moreover, the Shattock report came to be one of the key documents that informed both, the discussion document to Council prepared by the Senior DVC, Prof Gevers (2000), as well as the final report of the AIMS governance stream and its recommendations (ODG, 2000: 19-21).[170]

Towards the end of 2000, shortly after Prof Njabulo Ndebele took office as eighth Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town (2000-2008), the ODG of AIMS completed its interrogation of the Shattock report and other documentation as well as the work of its task teams and consultations,

[169] Marginal notes taken by a senior management member in the meeting of 10 March 2000 where the Shattock report was discussed.
[170] Other reports noted as "key documents" in the ODG's final report were the Fielden Report of 1996 (which had proposed a governance review similar to AIMS) and Gevers' Discussion Paper. The ODG report also mentioned new national higher education policy and legislation, the *UCT Act*, *Statute*, and *Mission Statement* and the reports of the ODG's three working groups (on the Role of Deans, on Committee Structures, and on Management Structures) as "key documents" that informed its work and recommendations (ODG, 2000: 19-21).

and prepared a comprehensive report with recommendations for a re-configured model of governance and management to Senate and Council (ODG, 2000). In his report, Shattock had argued that his recommendations were, *inter alia,* an attempt to heal the hostility between the academic community and 'Bremner' and to remove the structural inconsistencies between the official regime of university governance contemplated in the *UCT Act* and *Statute* and the actual operations of governance and management (2000: 4). He had argued that a new model of governance would need to provide for transparent procedures for taking those hard decisions on strategy, planning and resource allocation, which had seemingly been taken in obscurity by the parallel managerial bodies. Governance would need to become more transparent again and instil "a sense of ownership of policy" in the university community as a whole (2000: 12). Now, the ODG's blueprint for governance and management at UCT did not only take these recommendations to heart but went in many respects beyond Shattock's concerns.

The AIMS ODG report took on a more explicitly mediating role between the traditions of collegiality and stakeholder representation in university governance and the integration and consolidation of the new managerialist features of decision-making. This delicate task involved that the report had to send out the right kind of signals. Thus, the ODG argued that its proposals and recommendations were firmly based on "the fundamental premise that a university is an academic community, including both teachers and students, that must preserve and advance the principles of collegiality in order to prosper" and that "co-operative governance", as prescribed in national policy and legislation, "can be understood as broad stakeholder participation in governance". At the same time, the complexity of a university of the size of UCT also required "a high level of professionalism in management and administration" (ODG, 2000: 9). The reconfigured governance system would therefore have to be designed to be effective and efficient as well as consistent with academic values and able to accommodate stakeholder participation in governance (ODG, 2000: chapters 3 & 4). The consequences of these attempts to reconcile managerialism with academic rule and the legacies of two waves of university democratisation for student participation in university governance may best be discussed in relation to the significance of the AIMS Project and some of its specific outcomes.

4.6 Reconciling Managerialism and Democracy in Student Governance

As a regime transition of student governance, the emergence of managerialism in the governance of the University of Cape Town during Dr Ramphele's term as VC may well be conceived as a reverse wave in the process of democratising the University. The first wave of democratisation had brought about a liberalisation of student rules on campus and the inclusion of student representatives and elected representatives of the non-professorial staff in Senate, Council and the University's committee system. The second wave of university democratisation deepened some of these provisions for elected constituency representation and involved experimentation with explicitly stakeholder-democratic forms of governance in the transitional, parallel governance structures centred on the UTF. More importantly, it involved the distinct recognition that governing

bodies needed to be demographically representative of black and women members. As the results of the second wave of university democratisation became formally enshrined in the University constitution, governance at UCT was undergoing another informal transition. By 2000, as the 'Ramphele tide' subsided, it emerged that the rapid pace of change of preceding years had involved governance developments of its own order, involving a rise of managerialism at UCT. 'Bremner' had come to play a role in university decision-making which left other constituencies of the university community, students and the academic sector in particular, feeling marginalised, side-lined and demoted. Academics began to question whether academic rule might be threatened by the governance features that signalled the emergence of managerialism. Meanwhile by the close of the 1990s a new kind of business-like SRC and entrepreneurial student activism had emerged in student politics at UCT steeped in consumerist conceptions of student participation in university governance. At this conjuncture, rather than proceeding with an unmitigated and hard-line managerialist agenda, the university leadership utilised an internal review of management and governance as part of the AIMS Project to adjust some aspects of the institutional restructuring. Within this context, it fell upon the ODG stream of AIMS "to design and implement a governance model … that clearly defines the roles, authorities and responsibilities of the entities which constitute the University" (ODG, 2000: 13).

In this section, I will focus my analysis on the way certain managerial features and managerialist values were made compatible with aspects of academic rule and the legacies of university democratisation relevant to student governance at UCT. For this purpose, I focus first on the restructured committee system. It is by means of this system of statutory governance structures and their committees and working groups that students are formally involved in university-wide decision-making. Thus, I will not be concerned with other important aspects of the work of AIMS and the ODG. I will also not look at the specifics of student involvement in decision-making in Faculty Boards and their committees, academic departments and in the student residences, but only sketch this where appropriate. My argument is that the ODG's work can be understood as a pragmatic 'syncretism' between traditional practices of academic rule and the rising importance of managerial expertise in decision-making, insofar as an extensive committee system was retained, but it was rationalised and the committees and their composition re-designed. With reference to the way the joint criteria of "appropriate expertise" and "representivity" came to be applied to the staff membership of committees, I argue that the ODG designed the conditions for an 'expertise pact' between the rising class of manager-academics (and professional managers) and the senior academics chosen by Senate, while also serving the imperative of demographic representivity in governance. Meanwhile the representation of non-professorial and non-academic staff by means of elected constituency representatives in governing bodies lost significance. I conceptualise the result as a hybrid collegial-managerial regime of governance, which was legitimised effectively by professional expertise and demographic representivity. In a second step, I investigate the manner of formal inclusion of students in the committee system in terms of the two official criteria of "appropriate expertise" and "representivity" and different justificatory claims to the formal inclusion

of students. My analysis suggests a role for student representatives in the new committee system that could hardly be satisfactory: By creating the conditions for an expertise compact in university governance, there was little *political* role that student representatives could play in the restructured committee system. The academic containment of the rise of managerialism at UCT perpetuated the de-politicisation and individualisation of student representation in formal decision-making of the latter Ramphele years. Even though the emergence of managerialism in the late 1990s and its academic containment through the AIMS Project in the early 2000s did not diminish the *extent* of formal student involvement in university governance, it affected the *nature* of formal student representation.

Student politics at UCT thus changed along with the rise and academic containment of managerialism; a change that can also be characterised in terms of two analytically distinct types of student activism: entrepreneurial student activism and emancipatory student politics. I characterise the former as a type of student activism typical in a context of (emerging) managerialism by the way it is permeated by an entrepreneurial spirit and thrives on the logic of individualised exchange and market-accountability. My characterisation of emancipatory student politics, in contrast, is based on a holistic reading of organised student politics in the 1990s and the mid-2000s. It is characterised by the pursuit of egalitarian values in student governance reminiscent of the earlier demands for university democratisation. I close my account by outlining some of the implications of this study for a conceptualisation of good student governance relevant to the South African context.

4.6.1 Continuities and Discontinuities in post-AIMS Governance

The regime of governance of the University of Cape Town after the formal restructuring accomplished by the implementation of AIMS and the new SRC Constitution in 2004/05 shows evidence of continuities and discontinuities in the official conception of university governance, and thus serves to illustrate the complexities of regime change in the university context. I noted in chapter 3 that regime change in general is more often gradual rather than revolutionary, and reformative rather than transformative. Following Mamdani, I also noted that transitions could leave in place residual rules at different levels and in different domains of regime. In the case of UCT's post-AIMS regime of governance, key continuities from the past include the following (with reference to particular governing bodies as per 2005):

- The legacy of the 'ancien régime' of governance, which privileged the role of the academic 'dons' in the governance of academic affairs, can be found at the highest level in such surviving features of academic rule as the bicameral system of governance of Council and Senate (providing for a Senate veto on all matters of academic affairs), the designation of the vice-chancellor as 'chief executive', and a system of numerous permanent committees with some delegated authority.[171] More especially, it is in the composition and powers of

[171] The bicameral system refers to the relationship between Council, which is generally considered the highest institutional decision-making authority of a University (and which by law must be composed of at least 60% of external members), and Senate (which has a majority of academic staff membership), which is responsible for

the University's Senate that the residue of the rule of 'dons' must be found. In the South African context, where a number of other university senates have made the full transition to either purely constituency-based (elected) or fully managerial (*ex officio*) memberships, the traditional *ad hominem* membership of all full professors in the UCT Senate must be considered a legacy of the 'ancien régime' (Hall & Symes, 2001 & Hall *et al*, 2002).[172]

- The composition of Council is also in many ways reminiscent of the early years. It continues to have strong representation of convocation, government and donors as external members, and of professors as internal members.
- The presence of representatives elected by various functional constituencies internal to the university community (in particular non-professorial academic and non-academic staff and students) in Senate, Council, IF, and their committees and working groups is evidence of the impact of the two waves of university democratisation at UCT.
- The formal existence, composition and manner of operation of the Institutional Forum are enduring features of a stakeholder forum originating in the second wave of university democratisation.
- The two representivity clauses in the *UCT Statute* – one applying to all governing bodies and the other specifically to Senate – are a further distinctive legacy of the second wave of university democratisation in the official regime of governance and ensure that the membership of any governing body is representative of historically under-represented groups, in particular black and women members of the University.[173] *(UCT Statute*, 2002 as amended: 36 & 23(l)(j) & UCT, 2005a)

As much as the 'ancien régime' and two successive waves of university democratisation left their enduring marks on the University's official regime of governance of 2005, so did the emergence of managerialism leave its innovative imprint. I will illustrate this with the specific case of the restructured committee system.

4.6.1.1 The Restructured Committee System: Expertise and Representivity

Organisationally, the new governance model after AIMS still involved a system with close to a hundred committees and working groups complementing the statutory governance bodies. However, the ODG exercise had simplified the erstwhile network of sprawling committees with their overlapping authorities. It had rationalised them, re-arranged them in order of responsibilities and divided them into nine "clusters" of bodies with cognate functions so as to introduce greater simplicity and more transparency (ODG, 2000: chap. 8). The committee system was now

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matters of teaching and research. In terms of current legislation, Council cannot decide on issues such as admission criteria or criteria for readmission without the concurrence of Senate. (Hall *et al,* 2002: 31-32; *see also* Republic of South Africa*,* 1997)

[172] Shattock argued that these governance arrangements gave UCT "…a fairly traditional constitution (in Commonwealth terms)" (2000: 11).

[173] Their impact on the demographic composition of these governing bodies is evident. At the end of 2004, Council was composed of an almost equal number of black and white members and more than a quarter of Council members were women. Conversely, Senate used its ability to co-opt members to add about twenty black academics and several women academics to its 2004 membership (UCT, 2005b *my classification*).

structured in a three-tiered 'cascade' of authority and performance accountability with Council and Senate at the top, a parent committee with delegated authority assigned to each cluster (or in one case two parent committees) together with a number of specialised committees and working groups which would 'add value' by dealing with specific and technical matters. The eight institution-wide clusters were: "Research" (dealing mainly with staff research and research equipment); "Academic Management" (dealing with teaching and the academic side of student affairs); "Student Affairs" (dealing with the extra-curricular side of student affairs); "Strategic Planning and Finance"; "Physical Planning"; "Information and Communications Technology"; "Human Resources and Employee Relations (HR)"; and "Audit and Risk Management". There was a ninth cluster dealing with faculty-level committees as well as a number of external bodies and committees with narrowly defined responsibilities that were not assigned to a specific cluster (UCT, 2005a: 15-19 & Hall, 2000: 8; *see* Appendix H). Among the innovations introduced into the committee system was also that the performance of each committee would have to be ensured by an annual effectiveness review (UCT, 2005a). Furthermore, the strategic management approach was cemented in the new committee system with the establishment of a high-level University Strategy Committee as a joint committee of Council and Senate, as Shattock had proposed (2000: 15; *see also* Gevers, 2000 & ODG, 2000).[174]

The criteria for membership of committees are the second element that contributed to a certain reconciliation of academic rule with managerial authority. Apart from the stipulation that committees should be as small as possible, two principles for determining the composition of a committee or working group came to be applied, i.e. that of "appropriate expertise" and that of "representivity" (ODG, 2000: 111). The criterion of "appropriate expertise" was clearly the primary criterion with regard to the inclusion of both academic and non-academic staff of the institution, and in practice, it meant *professional expertise*, taking academic rank (seniority) and/or office effectively as proxies. This application of the criterion of "appropriate expertise" served a key purpose: Whereas traditionally discipline-based expertise had been the source of academic authority in university governance and thus provided a dividing line between academic insiders and managerial/administrative outsiders, the notion of professional expertise was more inclusive; the criterion of "appropriate expertise" could thus cut across the academic/management divide. All senior managers (whether manager-academics or professional managers) could thus be included as full members in the committee system where considered appropriate, typically *ex officio*, based on their managerial expertise relevant to the business of a committee. Previously, professional managers would only have been included as non-voting "assessor members" in the committee system (UCT, 1990). This conceptualisation of "appropriate expertise" prevented any debate about the status of the new class of manager-academics that had mushroomed during Saunders and Ramphele's terms. As *ex officio* members, senior management[175] came to constitute the majority of

[174] However, contrary to Shattock's and the ODG's recommendations, the EMM and EEMM were eventually retained in the form of Senior Leadership Meetings.
[175] "Senior management" refers to "the vice-chancellor, deputy vice-chancellors, deans, executive directors and the registrar" (*UCT Statute,* 2002, as amended: definitions).

members in close to half of all governing bodies. If one adds to these the choice of Senate, their combined share increased to a majority in two thirds of all governing bodies. The remaining third of committees, in which the academic/managerial experts did not make up the majority of members, consisted mainly of bodies where for good reason significant external membership was required (e.g. Council; Council Executive Committee; University Audit Committee) (*see* Appendix H for analysis).[176] Thus, the committee system was re-conceptualised and re-designed in accordance with managerial values of hierarchical arrangement and performance accountability and composed predominantly of *ex officio* members of senior management and members appointed by Senate, both of which could claim as their main source of authority their respective professional (managerial or academic-disciplinary) expertise. In this regime of governance, authority would rest with the most expert and learned. The ODG had designed the conditions for an academic-managerial expertise compact in the committee system.

I concede that more in-depth ethnographic research would be required to confirm the operational reality of the expertise pact in the case of decision-making in specific committees. Much depends on the quality of deliberations and leadership style of a chair. At the face of it, however, the new committee design (together with the changes in management introduced with the 'Ramphele tide') meant that the traditional function of the division of roles and power between the academic and administrative/managerial sectors disappeared.

The results of this conception of "appropriate expertise" still had to be reconciled with the legacy of two successive waves of university democratisation embodied in the second criterion for determining the membership of a committee: "representivity". The notion of 'representivity' implied that in a representative regime of governance, the membership of university committees could not be constituted merely on the basis of expertise; the membership also had to be representative in certain relevant ways. In a traditional system of academic rule, 'representivity' used to refer to academic discipline. University democratisation changed this drastically. I showed above that the meaning of 'representivity' in university governance had been significantly affected twice; with reference to the first wave of university democratisation 'representivity' referred to the appropriate involvement of elected representatives of *functional* constituencies in governing bodies. This was amended in the course of the second wave of university democratisation, where it came to mean also *demographic* representation. Now, in the post-AIMS regime of governance the criterion of "representivity" came to be applied with respect to the representation of staff in governing bodies more in keeping with the sense of *demographic representivity*. More by implication than intent, this would also involve an extension of the involvement of non-professorial academic staff in university governance. The key enabling rules to this end were the representivity clauses written into the *UCT Act* and *Statute* in the wake of the second wave of university democratisation. After the general demographic representivity clause had entered the *UCT Act* in 1999 (followed by the *Statute*), a

[176] The Institutional Forum is the only significant governing body where this composition is reversed and where in keeping with the erstwhile composition of the UTF Exco, the Senate/Executive/Council sector made up only a third of the total composition (*UCT Statute,* 2002, as amended: 30).

Senate-specific representivity clause was added in the *Statute Amendment* of 2004, expanding Senate's powers to co-opt members from a previous maximum of ten to a maximum of thirty-five while stipulating that co-option should be used to increase Senate's representivity of the diversity of academic staff. Read in conjunction with the 'general representivity clause' in the *Statute* (which is a criterion to be applied by the Senate's Nominations Committee in nominating academic staff to university committees), this meant that considerably more (non-professorial academic) black and women staff were included in the composition of university committees as well as in Senate itself (*UCT Statute,* 2002, as amended: 23(l)(j) & 36).[177] Senate's Nominations Committee (consisting of the VC and all DVCs *ex officio,* as well as an Executive Dean, four Senate nominees and two nominees of the Academics Association) could determine top-down who to co-opt to Senate and nominate academics for committee membership (UCT, 2005a: 341).[178]

The Senate representivity clause of 2004 therefore ensured that despite the slow transformation of the demographic profile of the professoriate, black and female members of the academic staff would be represented more adequately in the Senate and the choice of Senate in university committees. At the same time, however, the legacy of the first wave of democratisation involved in the bottom-up constituency-based election and representation of staff of recognised staff bodies (such as the AA) faded into insignificance. Top-down *co-opted* non-professorial academic staff members of Senate could constitute almost *three times* the number of bottom-up elected representatives of academic staff in a Senate that had grown to almost 300 members by 2005 (UCT, 2005a & Appendix H).[179]

With regard to staff, "representivity" therefore primarily came to mean *demographic representivity* and involved the controlled top-down co-optation of non-professorial black and women academic staff to Senate and their increased nomination to university committees cascading down. Conversely, the earlier notion of elected constituency representatives, deriving mainly from the first wave of university democratisation, gradually diminished. The new provisions for top-down co-optation and nomination ensured that the operationalisation of the criterion of "representivity" would not compromise the collegial-managerial expertise-compact by 're-politicising' the committee membership. However, these specific conceptualisations of the criteria of "appropriate expertise"

[177] In 2004, UCT's full-time academic staff equity profile was such that black professors accounted for 9.7% of all full professors (i.e. *ad hominem* members of Senate), 10.8% of all associate professors, 19% of senior lecturers, and 39.3% of lecturers) (Department of Institutional Planning, 2005).
[178] The official objectives of the Senate's Nominations Committee in deciding on the membership of a committee are (1) "to ensure that committee membership best serves the University"; (2) to redress the "historic under-representation of black and women members of the University on committees"; (3) to ensure a certain circulation of staff among committees (by means of term limitations etc.) (UCT, 2005a: 258-260). A member of senior management commented on these official criteria that the committee typically also considers "…and nobody will admit this but I'm telling you its true … whose careers should we advance." He further added "…. it is a cabal, there is no democracy in it at all" (Anonymous interview response).
[179] By comparison, in 1970, the membership of Senate stood at 81, of which 72 were professors (Hall & Symes, 2001: 5). In the course of the first wave of democratisation, lecturer representation in the Senate increased from two to four in 1971 and again in 1974 to eight representatives (van der Horst, 1979: 28). Non-professorial academic staff membership was 11 (eight elected by lecturers and three by Associate Professors) in 1990 and eventually reached 12 after the second wave of democratisation (UCT, 1990 & 2005a).

and “representivity” could hardly be applied in relation to the representation of students in university governing bodies.

4.6.1.2 Student Representation and the Legacy of University Democratisation

To begin with, the post-AIMS prospects for a continuation of extensive student participation in the formal decision-making structures of the University looked bleak. The ODG Working Group on Committees found that students were “over-represented” in university governance, “not able to cope with the load” of committee work, “insufficiently informed to contribute effectively” and thus “[felt] disempowered” by committee membership rather than empowered (AIMS Project, 2000d: 3-4). The working group conceded that in a restructured committee system students should continue to have the right to make representation on matters affecting them directly and could request observer status in committees; however, it considered the extensive provision for formal student participation of the past to be quite unworkable and in need of review. Finally, in its recommendations to the ODG Stream the working group settled for a less controversial proposal, however. “Student leaders in consultation with the Dean of Students [should] review the necessity for student representation on committees” (AIMS Project, 2000d: 3-4; *see also* ODG, 2000).

The issue of student representation on university committees came to be part of the Student Governance Review (SGR) initiated by the 1999/2000 SRC and launched in April 2000.[180] On the whole, the SGR was the first serious attempt since the failure of implementing the CSG recommendations to re-ignite the restructuring of student government and representation at UCT. The entrepreneurial SRC of 1999 had obtained support for the SGR from the Dean of Students (who championed and financed the project), the chair of the ODG stream (who provided consultants to assist with the conceptualisation of the SGR), and the new VC Prof Ndebele (who gladly endorsed it). The work of the several student-run project groups was co-ordinated by a salaried SGR Project Co-ordinator, a paid SGR Editor and a properly ‘incentivised’ Chief Researcher (all full-time students), and overseen by a steering committee composed of student affairs managers and current and former student leaders (SGR Support Team, 2000). The well-managed process soon developed a momentum of its own but eventually lost the confidence of its main stakeholder, i.e. the SRC, which felt that it had lost the ownership of the process to the steering committee (*SRC Minutes*, 20 June 2001). When after some delays the SGR Steering Committee presented a draft final report to SRC and Student Parliament in 2002, the SRC felt so alienated from the project and its recommendations that it disowned and rejected key SGR proposals; neither was there any support emerging for the SGR recommendations from Student Parliament.[181] Instead, the ANC-led SRC elected in August 2002 with Thabiso Monyatsi at its helm

[180] The SGR also dealt with governing bodies established by the SRC Constitution, including the SRC, SP, sector-based student bodies in the residences and faculties, student clubs and societies, and other student bodies such as *Varsity,* UCT Radio, SHAWCO and RAG.

[181] Among the controversial proposals were far-reaching changes to the relationship between SRC and SP. In particular, it was proposed that a 120 member Student Assembly be established, constituted of students that had been elected on the basis of faculty-based constituencies in a single campus-wide partisan election for two years (with an annual bi-election). The SRC would be replaced by an Executive Council which would be appointed by the Student Assembly from its own members (Mojapelo & Luescher, 2001 & SGR, 2002).

proposed a way forward with a 'light' reform that would address only urgent matters (Interviews with Edwina Goliath, 28 March 2005 & Khanyisa Fatyi, 19 May 2006; SRC, 2003 & Student Parliament, 2002).[182] After a further year's work, SP accepted the SRC's limited new constitutional proposals at an emergency meeting on 14 August 2003 so that the SRC election of 2003 could go ahead in accordance with a new governance model ("Emergency Clearance of…", 2003 & "What Potting with…", 2003). The newly elected SRC of 2004/05 thus came to be "the highest decision-making student body in the University" (previously SP had enjoyed this formal status). Furthermore, in terms of the new Constitution, the SRC continued to be charged with "mak[ing] representations on behalf of students in general, and in particular to the Council, the Senate, Institutional Forum, and other bodies and officers of the University" and thus with the appointment of students to the University's committee system (SRC, 2004: 1.6 & 2.1). In the meantime, the implementation of the ODG recommendations had also gone ahead.[183]

Contrary to the initial concerns in the ODG's working group that students were over-represented in university governance, the AIMS exercise actually resulted in a continuation of extensive student representation. *In toto*, students continued to be represented in over a third of the university's committees and working groups (37 of the total of 97).[184] Neither were these student representatives relegated to observer status as had been considered at one stage; they continued to enjoy full voting and speaking rights, formally equal to every other member (UCT, 2005a).

How should the extensive post-AIMS student representation in the University's governing bodies be understood given the initial ambivalence? One part of the explanation is that student representation in the statutory governance structures, i.e. in Council, Senate and IF, was largely prescribed by the minimum provisions in the 1997 *Higher Education Act* and certain post-UTF statutory provisions. Only as far as the committee system cascading down from these governing bodies was concerned, the format of student representation was open to some re-designing. A closer analysis of this system is therefore needed.

In the restructured committee system, student representation differed greatly between clusters and within each cluster. Students continued to be most represented in governing bodies dealing with teaching and learning and extra-curricular student affairs (clustered under "Academic Management" and "Student Affairs" respectively), and to a lesser extent in the high-level committees dealing with strategic and physical planning and finance (clustered as "Strategy and Institutional Planning", and "Physical Planning"). Students had the least (if any) seats in committees dealing with very specialised and technical matters (except in "Academic Management" and "Student Affairs"), the committees dealing with information and communication technology (in the

[182] The reforms included a replacement of the Student Parliament with a Student Assembly that would only have a consultative function (arguably to bring the SRC Constitution in line with the Higher Education Act), the abolition of sabbatical membership in the SRC, and the establishment of a postgraduate students' association.
[183] The SGR project group on representation, which was briefly pulled into the ODG's work, had no objections and only few additions to the ODG's final proposals for student representation in the new committee system (Khumalo in SGR, 2001).
[184] Committee count as per Appendix H.

"ICT" cluster) and academic staff research (clustered under "Research"). Student representation was virtually absent in the cluster "HR" and related committees dealing with the remuneration, promotion and discipline of staff (UCT, 2005a & Appendix H). This pattern of formal inclusion of students in the committee system can be understood in various terms. Firstly, a holistic consideration of student representation compared to the memberships of other university constituencies in the committee system suggests a re-categorisation of the various clusters in terms of constituency-specific domains. Secondly, if student governance in these different domains requires different plausible justifications for formal student involvement in decision-making, we may analyse student membership in the committee system from the perspective of different justificatory claims (*see* chap. 2). Finally, this pattern may then be re-interpreted in terms of the ODG's two official criteria for the design of committee membership, i.e. "appropriate expertise" and "representivity".

In the first place, a certain continuation of a conception of functional differentiation in university governance is evident in the pattern of committee membership, which may be conceptualised in terms of a category/domain of university-wide 'general affairs' and another category of domains which concern matters affecting predominantly one or another internal functional constituency. The 'general affairs' domain deals with system-wide matters of planning, finance and support services. UCT students are generally well represented in high-level 'general affairs' committees, usually providing about half as many members as Senate (e.g. in the University Strategy Committee; University Finance Committee). In the specialised, technical committees and working groups of the related planning clusters students are, however, only represented on committees with explicit user representation (e.g. Management Services Committee), while senior management is represented *ex officio* in greater numbers (as full members). The latter may be deemed appropriate in terms of the new conception of professional expertise. The "HR" cluster must be considered a matter of 'staff affairs' - it excludes students in all committees except those dealing with the appointment of VC and DVCs (in accordance with the UTF-designed search and selection process) and of certain senior staff in the Department of Student Affairs (Interview with Hugh Amoore, 15 May 2006; *see also* UCT, 2005a & Appendix H). The inclusion of students in high-level 'general affairs' governing bodies may be considered either as a matter of the inclusion of an internal functional constituency (and thus in terms of political realism) and/or with a view to the potential student contribution of a "fresh, relatively uninhibited, individual and enthusiastic point of view" and students' "intimate and direct knowledge" as the Corbett Commission used to put it (1974: 23).

The governance of 'academic affairs' was divided by the ODG into a "Research" cluster and an "Academic Management" cluster. Membership of committees in the "Research" cluster is decisively dominated by the professoriate and manager-academics – VC, DVCs, Executive Deans and the choice of Senate. Students are only represented in one of the 15 committees and working groups in this cluster (i.e. the Senate Animal Ethics Committee), but neither in any other committee nor in the parent committee of the cluster. In contrast, in the domain concerned with matters of teaching

and learning governed in the "Academic Management" cluster, students are well represented in all but five of the twenty-one committees and working groups. Thus, students can participate in decision-making on matters such as student admission and progression, examinations policy, the academic timetable, library services, language policy, student funding, etc. Students are most represented in the Distinguished Teachers' Award Committee, providing a third of all members [185] (UCT, 2005a & Appendix H). It is notable and in a sense counter-intuitive that the involvement of students in the governance of academic affairs does not so much build up from the classroom and academic department to institutional level, even though the former are presumably the most important levels of academic organisation for students. Rather, like an inverted pyramid, formal student participation in the governance of academic affairs is weakest at departmental/discipline level (where there are only 'class representatives' liaising individually with lecturers on course-specific matters).[186] There are provisions for student representation in Faculty Boards and their faculty-level committees via the student faculty councils; yet this is still rather limited compared to formal student involvement at the institution-wide level. It has been suggested that extensive student involvement at institutional level (and the inverted pyramid of student representation in academic governance more broadly) is a result of the legacy of student struggles in this domain, which concerned precisely matters of admission etc. much more than curriculum struggles, which mostly involved academics (Interviews with Mzukisi Qobo, 19 May 2006 & Mary Simons, 08 May 2006).

It is in the "Student Affairs" cluster (which deals with the extra-curricular matters of student health, residences, sport clubs and societies, and student orientation) and by including the governing bodies established in terms of the 2004 SRC Constitution[187] in addition to those committees that centre on the University Student Affairs Committee that one can discern, perhaps, an element of 'student rule' or 'student self-government'. The SRC Constitution is, however, not particularly helpful to understand the extent and nature of such student self-rule. Student governing bodies contemplated in the SRC Constitution such as a residence's House Committee and a faculty's Student Council are not in any substantial way subject to the authority of the SRC or accountable to the SRC; they are operationally and financially independent of the SRC. Rather they are constituted in terms of their own constitutions, which are adopted by the University Student Affairs Committee (i.e. the parent committee of the cluster), and they have elected representatives as members. House committees are accountable through house meetings (in residences) to the resident students and their resources typically derive less from the SRC (than from sources such as levies). The specific role of administrative financing and oversight over these student bodies is

[185] The DTA Committee is the only committee that evaluates individual academic staff performance in which students are directly involved.
[186] According to Ludwe Mbhele, the class/course representative system is dysfunctional in some faculties and departments (Interview, 11 April 2006).
[187] The SRC Constitution provides for the establishment of an SRC (as does the *UCT Statute* and the *Higher Education Act)*, a Student Assembly (and its standing committees), House Committees in the Student Residences (as do the Residences Rules), Faculty Councils to organise student representation in the faculties and on Faculty Boards, and a system of class representatives, as well as various other structures (SRC, 2004 & UCT, 2005c).

performed by the sector-specific committees under USAC (e.g. the Residences Committee) that were established originally as 'hybrid committees' with a half staff/half student membership during Sir Richard Luyt's term as VC (e.g. UCT, 2005c: Rule 10.1 & *see above*). However, through the AIMS work, committees like the Residences Committee and the Student Societies and Organisations Committee have ceased to have a 50% student membership and came to be composed of a majority of *ex officio* managers and Senate nominees. This change makes the 'responsible student self-government' look more like the erstwhile paternalistic arrangements again. Still, in the "Student Affairs" cluster of committees and especially in the residences sector, key features of the two waves of democratisation have certainly been retained along with a sense of partnership in student governance (UCT, 2005a & Appendix H).

In summary, formal student involvement in university committees of different clusters may therefore be understood in relation to the following conceptions of students:

- Formal student involvement in the committees dealing with general university affairs (such as planning, financing and strategy) may be understood in terms of a conception of students as a political constituency or the role that an individual student representative can play in providing a student view on a matter;
- In staffing affairs, students are generally excluded except where as a legacy of the history of student political activism in the 1990s they are involved as a constituency in VC and DVC selection processes or as an affected group which is consulted in some staff appointment the Department of Student Affairs;
- In academic affairs, students are certainly not considered peers ("Research"); yet as junior members of the academic community, they have become included in some aspects of academic governance. Formal student involvement in this domain at institutional level must be considered mainly, however, a legacy of political activism and possibly in terms of the potential benefit of the role that an individual student representative can play in providing a firsthand account of the student view on a matter;
- In extra-curricular student affairs, the plausible justification for student involvement relates to the recognition of certain political freedoms and rights of students as 'adults' and in terms of students as the main 'users' of the services and facilities affected by decisions taken in committees in this cluster.

Thus, the political realist and consumerist justifications for student involvement provide the most comprehensive and plausible rationale for the pattern of student inclusion in institution-level governing bodies. If the realist interpretation points to the origins and helps understand counter-intuitive patterns of formal student inclusion, I argue that the consumerist justification is central to understanding the operative role of student representatives in a committee system that is dominated by professional experts.

Based on the foregoing analysis I argue that the ODG's two committee membership criteria of "representivity" and "appropriate expertise" were reconciled with regard to student representation by making them coterminous. On the one hand, in relation to students, "representivity" is applied primarily to mean *functional* representation (i.e. the representation of an internal functional constituency whose interest may be affected). Student representatives are typically appointed by the SRC (or any other body stipulated in the *Statute* or terms of references of a committee) to serve on university governing bodies in keeping with a conception that students form a distinct constituency or stakeholder group within the university community. Moreover, no students are appointed to the committee system specifically in order to enhance its demographic representivity.[188] On the other hand, 'expertise' never means professional expertise in relation to students. Students by definition cannot claim to have "appropriate expertise" in this sense; rather it refers to the expertise that has been gained from being a student. Thus, both criteria - "representivity" and "appropriate expertise" - come to mean 'being a student'. In the former case it means 'student' in a functional sense, i.e. as contrasted from staff etc.; in the latter case it refers more specifically to the 'ordinary expertise' involved in being a student which requires being exposed to an experience as a student to the extent of being 'qualified' to give a successful firsthand account thereof.

There remains only one significant inconsistency in this conception of student representation. "Representivity" as *functional representation* conceives of students in terms of an organised political *collective*, while "appropriate expertise" as *student expertise* conceives of the student in terms of an *individual* user/client. It appears that this inconsistency was precisely resolved by the continued insistence on a system of representation that conceived of student representatives as (individually empowered, independent) trustee-representatives rather than as delegates of the SRC/student constituency (with the exceptions discussed above). The implication of these conceptions of student representation for the role of individual student representatives in university committees is substantive. Conceived as a 'user-representative' within a political system dominated by professional experts, the default role of student representatives was suitably to give a firsthand and trustworthy testimony of 'student experience'; that was enough. A more political conception of student representation was not only counter-productive; it was inconsistent with the regime of governance. The consequent role of a student representative in the committee system can be conceptualised in terms of that of a mere 'witness'.

By means of the courtroom metaphor, multiple dimensions of the unsatisfactory nature of student representation in the collegial-managerial regime of governance can be illustrated. The role of the

[188] However, at the time of this study, the SRC was in the process of developing a 'Student Leaders' Equity Charter' by which it sought to provide guidelines to the SRC and other student governing bodies for the appointment of students into "positions of influence" (e.g. a Head Student in a Residence House Committee) which would ensure demographic representivity on student governing bodies. It is significant to note that the SRC's draft guidelines went beyond the (second wave-) concern with the equitable representation of historically under-represented groups (i.e. women and blacks) and proposed a more general formula concerning race and gender representivity which would ensure equitable representation of any race or gender group (SRC, 2005e & Interview with Keran Boyd, 28 March 2006).

professional experts in the university committee system – senior academics, manager-academics, and professional managers – can be likened to that of a college of judges whereby a judge is conceived as "a person who decides or helps to decide questions or issues that are unsettled or in controversy" and is (or is assumed to be) in "possession both of superior knowledge, experience, or wisdom, and of the power to determine the truth by weighing critically and impartially the merits of a case" (*Merriam Webster's*, 1984: 475). This role can then be contrasted from that of students (and others who cannot claim professional expertise), who may have the firsthand knowledge of a witness and may be asked to make a contribution from the perspective of their distinct experience, but whose influence on the outcome of a decision is always mediated by the role of the judges (*Merriam Webster's*, 1984: 761).

The SRC soon came to perceive the role of student representatives in the collegial-managerial regime of university governance designed by AIMS as highly unsatisfactory, especially once student activism at UCT became re-politicised by an external impulse in the first years of the 2000s. The emergence of political party branches on campus brought more politically astute students back into the SRC. They expected to be recognised in keeping with the policy of 'co-operative governance' as equal partners in university governance, as the political representatives of the 'weighty' student constituency, over and above being mere 'users' of university services. Thus, it did not take long for this more activist student leadership to consider the way students had become formally involved in decision-making as a form of *dis*empowerment.

4.6.1.3 Organised Student Power revived: The Emergence of Political Party Branches and the SRC Withdrawal

The decline of the 'traditional' student political organisations at UCT during the second half of the 1990s and their intermediate replacement in the millenarian SRCs by a medley of charismatic Christians (or 'born-agains'), independents, and international students, was followed in the early 2000s by the ascent of members of student branches of the youth wings of political parties into the SRC.[189] Henceforth student politics could serve as a site of recruitment into political parties and of training for party politics; more importantly for our purposes, this development also revived a more vibrant and activist student political climate on campus as student leaders again established direct links to local constituencies as well as to national politics. It also induced a more ambitious expectation on the part of student leaders of their role in university governance.

The ANC YL branch at UCT was at the centre of the change in the student political climate. It mustered merely 28 members in 2000 but grew almost tenfold after a re-launch in 2001 ("ANC Youth League…", 2001). By 2004, the ANC YL registered 216 paid-up members - by far the largest paid-up membership of any student political organisation on campus at the time – while, in

[189] Political parties were only allowed onto the UCT campus ahead of the 1994 national election and thereafter. Previously, they were not allowed to canvass on campus and could not establish student branches. The latter was possibly due to, *inter alia*, the incompatibility between the SRC's Open Membership rule and the *Prohibition of Political Interference Act* of 1968 which enforced segregation in political parties (Republic of South Africa, 1968: Section 2a).

contrast, the revived SASCO-UCT counted just 33 members that year. In addition, a campus branch of the Inkatha Freedom Party (24 members in 2004) had also been started in 2001, the Communist Students' Society became a branch of the re-launched national Young Communist League (YCL i.e. the youth wing of the SACP), while the Democratic Alliance also opened a student branch, which after its re-launch in 2004 (now as the Democratic Alliance Students' Organisation/DASO) grew into the 'official opposition' in the SRC of 2005 ("IFP at UCT", 2001 & "DSS Challenges Student…", 2001).[190] Even the small African Christian Democratic Party contemplated opening a campus branch. In contrast, AZASCO and the Pan-Africanists disappeared from UCT in the 2000s and His People campus church reduced its involvement in UCT student governance (Department of Institutional Planning, 2006 & Appendix G; *see also* Interviews with Jan Kuehne, 18 September 2006 & Sicelo Mbambo, 15 June 2006).

The replacement of student political organisations aligned to liberation movements with campus branches of the youth wings of national political parties, and the rise of the ANC YL and DASO in particular, signified changes at multiple levels of governance. On the one hand, it was a reflection of the changing macro-political context and the gradual consolidation of multi-party politics in South Africa. On the other hand, it was an expression of the changes in the social composition of the UCT student body discussed above. The ANC YL in particular was able to attract a diverse group of students (in terms of class, race and gender) who joined the organisation for a variety of reasons; the revived SASCO branch, in contrast, continued to represent predominantly working-class African students at UCT (in 2004 SASCO was 100% black). By 2004, the ANC YL was not only the largest but also the most inclusive student political organisation at UCT: its paid-up membership counted 168 African students (77.8%), 20 Indian students (9.3%), 16 white students (7.4%), and 14 Coloured students (5.6%) (Department of Institutional Planning, 2006). For some of its members, the campus ANC YL represented their political convictions and for others it was a point of entry to pursue their ambitions for a political career; some also claimed that those who joined expected that they would gain useful political connections and political credibility for their BEE aspirations[191] (Interviews with Siphiwe Hlongwane, 28 April 2006; Sicelo Mbambo, 16 June 2006; Amos Mboweni, 04 June 2006 & Jerome September, 13 June 2006 & "National Politics Infiltrates…", 2003). Either way, the new student political landscape resulted in student access to new political institutions on campus with links to the local and national political arenas and in a re-politicisation of campus activism that almost immediately expressed itself in the SRC's politics.

As the ANC YL candidates, in alliance with SASCO and the communists, started to win SRC elections in 2002, the UCT SRC again came under the influence of more politically astute students.[192] On the one hand, the SRC continued to aim at "raising the standards and levels of

[190] The DA enjoyed nationally the status of being the official opposition after the 2004 election.
[191] BEE stands for Black Economic Empowerment.
[192] When the ANC YL was re-launched in 2001, a number of members of the 2001/02 SRC led by Khanyisa Fatyi (which all had been elected as independents to form a medley of would-be SASCOites, 'born-agains', and international students) joined the ANC YL and attempted to form an ANC YL caucus in the SRC. In the last weeks of the term of the 2001/02 SRC, the ANC YL-aligned SRC members together with one or two

professionalism" in the SRC; on the other hand the new political leadership was determined to "transform the SRC, its image and character" ("And your New…", 2004). The language of the ANC YL-led SRCs became more combative compared to what it had been during the four entrepreneurial SRCs led by September, Magkatho, Magotsi, and Fatyi. Some things changed and some remained the same. The annual re-branding and re-visioning exercise continued even during the terms of the more leftist SRCs, albeit the flavour shifted towards 'working-class chic' and 'Soweto bling'. Thabiso Monyatsi's SRC of 2002/03 replaced the smart blazers that the 2000/01 SRC had re-introduced as SRC uniforms with bright orange municipal workers' overalls sporting in large print: SRC @ Work ("UCT United against…", 2003: picture). Political and social activism led by the SRC and student societies (e.g. Treatment Action Campaign and Habitat for Humanity) re-awakened. The ANC YL, DASO, and IFP branches competed to invite prominent politicians as visiting speakers and thus revitalised political debate on campus. The SRC also began to focus student attention on wider socio-political issues, such as the invasion of Iraq by the US-led allies (against which it organised a protest march to the American Consulate in Cape Town). Student grievances were also tackled in a more activist fashion. Overcrowding on the Upper Campus and in the student residences sparked some mass mobilisation, and in March 2003, the SRC organised a protest march against sexual harassment and rape on the campus (in which the VC joined the marching students at the head of the column) ("UCT United against…", 2003). The impact of the HIV/Aids pandemic amongst students came increasingly into focus (SRC, 2003). In addition, student solidarity with the working classes re-awakened too. In October 2003, students joined outsourced workers in a strike as the Workers-Students Alliance, protesting against the dismal conditions of employment of outsourced workers at UCT ("Strike!", 2003).[193] Thus, as the baton was passed from the 'born-agains' and independents to the ANC-YL alliance, social justice and transformation issues returned more vociferously to the forefront of the SRC's political agenda.

As levels of student political interest and activity increased in and outside the SRC, the gulf between student leaders' expectation of their role in university decision-making and the reality they encountered in governing bodies widened. This culminated in July 2005 in the most serious student-induced governance crisis that UCT had experienced since the early 1990s. Already the relationship between the 2003/04 SRC led by Sicelo Mbambo and VC Ndebele had not been easy to the extent that when Ndebele's term of office came up for renewal, the SRC called upon Council

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waverers got the upper hand and decided to impeach the SRC President, eventually succeeding in expelling Fatyi from the SRC in a palace coup (Interviews with Khanyisa Fatyi, 19 May 2006 & Amos Mboweni, 4 June 2006).

[193] Protests continued in 2004 with 4,585 students (approximately a quarter of the student population) signing a petition in support of the adoption of a 'code of good practice' for providers of outsourced services to adhere to in their terms of employment ("Workers' Cause Marches…", 2004 & "Supercare Workers Exploited", 2006). Similarly, Aids activism and campaigns to focus students' attention on wider social and political issues also continued into the mid-2000s. Among campaign highlights of 2006 were the rally of the Treatment Action Campaign against the dismissal of the Deputy Minister of Health, and the Wall – a barricade fixed for a week on Jammie Plaza dividing the North wing from the South wing of the Upper Campus in order to highlight the continuous conflict in the Middle East (and, of course, the Wall) ("atTACk on Apathy", 2006 & "The Writing on…", 2006).

not to renew his contract[194] (*SRC Minutes*, 22 April 2004). The 2004/05 SRC inherited this uneasy relationship with the university leadership. Still, the fiery young lions led by Nqobizitha Mlilo had great expectations of co-operative governance, arguing that "the equality of the parties is the foundational assumption" (SRC, 2005b: 18). And the SRC tried hard to live up to its side of the bargain. After all, the SRC Constitution, duly adopted by the University's Council on June 2, 2004, clearly stipulated that the SRC is "the primary governing body on all issues of student governance" (SRC, 2004: Preamble). Thus, the 2004/05 SRC took its representative mandate very seriously, putting special emphasis on collective leadership based on principled agreements and discipline. Unlike previous SRCs, the SRC studied the agendas of university committees beforehand, occasionally caucused for common positions ahead of key committee meetings, conducted research and regularly consulted with the student leadership in the faculties and the residences, and even prepared several position papers detailing the collective SRC (or student leadership) perspective on crucial issues (including a 60 page-long submission to the HEQC Audit panel) (*SRC Minutes,* 2004-2005 & SRC, 2005a). Occasionally, student representatives were asked to report back to the SRC after committee meetings about the proceedings and decisions (*SRC Minutes,* 2004-2005). In these ways, by operating a representation system of mandated delegates and emphasising collective leadership, the SRC attempted to show itself a responsible steward in its student leadership role and maximise its influence in university governance.

However, the 2004/05 SRC quickly grew very unhappy with its part in the operation of university governance. Its student emancipatory agenda was thwarted; in actuality, students were powerless to affect decisions in governing bodies while the university leadership appeared indifferent towards the matters that the SRC raised, did not take the SRC seriously and thus undermined the SRC's role as a partner in co-operative governance (SRC, 2005b & 2005d). Among the matters which the SRC raised with the university leadership were student concerns about the proposed new academic timetable, the overcrowding on campus, numerous student complaints emerging from the student climate survey, the slow pace of transformation in the race and gender staff profile and, most pressingly, student transport problems associated with an inadequate shuttle service (e.g. *SRC Minutes*, 25 February 2005). However, little came of this and student representatives reported back to the SRC a litany of frustrations and grievances arising from their participation in university governance.[195] Eventually, when the Principal's Circular[196] with the latest academic timetable changes was received in the SRC offices only on the day that the deadline for objections to items expired, the SRC couldn't help but sense a conspiracy (Interview with Sicelo Mbambo, 15 June

[194] In its note to Council the SRC argued that it had resolved not to support Ndebele's re-appointment because Ndebele had not addressed students' concerns and had failed to address transformation issues. The SRC also complained about the overcrowding of lecture theatres, the increases in fees, and the ongoing tug-of-war over the new academic timetable (*SRC Minutes*, 22 April 2004).

[195] Student representatives on committees reported, *inter alia,* that they would be brushed off when they requested information or, when they insisted, they would simply be given piles of documents; committee meetings were scheduled during times when student representatives were in lectures; when the SRC issued an ultimatum about the problems with Jammie Shuttle, management engaged in delaying tactics (*SRC Minutes*, 25 February 2005).

[196] The Principal's Circular is an officially published notice acting as an unconvened meeting of Senate with recommendations which are carried unless a member of Senate objects.

2006).[197] And apparently no issue was "important enough for the VC to handle it" (*SRC Minutes*, 16 March 2005). The SRC came to realise that in order to be taken seriously by the university leadership, it first had to engage in public protests (SRC, 2005b: 17-19 & *SRC Minutes,* 2004-2005).

Thus, over and above its disciplined internal operation and protocols, and its frequent consultations with student leadership in the residences, faculties and by means of the Student Assembly, the 2004/05 SRC decided to use various activist strategies to have its voice heard. It issued press statements, made poster campaigns and held regular mass meetings - even on the Medical School campus - reminiscent of the NUSAS-SRCs of the 1980s. It showed its dismay with university officials' handling of the Tladi/Hahn tragedy by joining the Transformation Alliance protests in March and April 2005 and using this platform to raise a number of concerns about transformation and leadership at UCT (Alliance, 2005).[198] By mid-April 2005, the newly appointed DVC Student Affairs, Prof Thandabantu Nhlapo, came to perceive "an unhealthy sense of mistrust between Bremner and the student body" (*SRC Minutes,* 18 April 2005). In this context, the SRC's frustration with its lack of effective voice in university governance and the perceived lack of responsiveness on the part of senior management came to a head. The occasion was Council's decision to implement the new academic timetable in June in spite of the SRC's hurried objection to the proposals in Principal's Circular that it had received late. Evidently, successive SRCs had been 'outplayed, outwitted and outlasted' on a matter to which students had consistently objected.[199] It was at this point that *Varsity* reported for the first time that "the SRC is considering a boycott of UCT's highest decision-making bodies, in a bid to emphasise the disempowerment of the student body in these committees" ("Student Voices Suffocated…", 2005). That boycott eventually came to pass following the July meeting of Council and the debate on the fee increment; finally, the SRC played the last card up its sleeve: withdrawal from co-operative governance.

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[197] According to Mbambo the tug-of-war about the academic timetable had begun precisely in the same way with a Principal's Circular. Mbambo's SRC (2003/04) felt that accepting the new academic calendar via a Principal's Circular in November 2003 had been a strategic move by senior management to sideline the SRC (whose members would either be preparing for or writing exams at that time and were probably unaware of the significance of the Principal's Circular) (Interview with Sicelo Mbambo, 15 June 2006).

[198] Prof Brian Hahn (Department of Mathematics and Applied Mathematics) tragically died after having been assaulted by Dr Maleafisha Tladi, a former student of Hahn and graduate of the University ("Attack Spurs Racial…", 2005). Apart from the tragedy of Hahn's death, the way in which the University reported the assault became a contested issue. An alliance of staff bodies (i.e. the Academics Association, Black Caucus, Black Staff Association, Employees Union, and NEHAWU-UCT) and the SRC protested publicly that the reporting "was potentially racist" ("Transformation Under…", 2005). In the face of these accusations, VC Ndebele responded that he sensed a "historic moment" (in "Transformation Under…", 2005). He later assembled his entire senior leadership group (23 senior academic and administrative managers) plus the Chair of Council to meet with ten Alliance representatives (including two SRC members) to thrash out the issues. Shortly after, the VC presented a 'transformation vision' for his second term and responded point by point to the Alliance's demands (Alliance, 2005; UCT, 2005e & 2005f; Interviews with Edwina Goliath, 28 March 2005 & Sicelo Mbambo, 15 June 2006).

[199] Student objections concerned especially the shortening of 'swot week', examination week and the length of exams. The 2004/05 SRC commented in response to Council's timetable decision in June 2005 that "student voices [were] suffocated" at UCT (even though the SRC's intervention had actually yielded impressive results and improvement to the new timetable) ("Student Voices Suffocated…", 2005 & "Timetable 2006 Ready…", 2005; Interviews with Hugh Amoore, 11 May 2006 & Sicelo Mbambo, 16 June 2006; *see also* "Editorial: Where Were…", 2004; "Has the SRC…", 2004; "No New Calendar…", 2004; "The Struggle Continues…", 2004 & "Calendar 2006: SRC…", 2005).

On 27 July 2005, the third ANC YL-led SRC at UCT announced the unprecedented move of the withdrawal of all student representatives from Council, Senate and all university committees.[200] Moreover, the SRC wrote letters to the Minister and Department of Education urging them to intervene ("SRC Boycotts -…", 2005; SRC, 2005a & Budlender & Nhlapo, 2005). The immediate context of the SRC's withdrawal of student representatives was that of the debate on fee increases in the July 2005 meeting of Council and actually involved a disagreement on the nature of student representation itself (Interview with Martin Hall, 18 May 2006). The SRC President, as a member of Council appointed by the SRC for a two year term, demanded that the decision on the fee increment for 2006 be deferred (after Council had offered a compromise between the proposal of senior management and the SRC's proposal) so that he would be able to caucus with the SRC and renew his mandate relating to the fee increase. Council refused, arguing that student representatives on Council were not delegates of the SRC but appointed in their personal capacities and were supposed to decide on their own judgement or abstain from the decision. For the SRC this was the last straw. How could the SRC President not be conceived as a representative in Council of the student constituency? In consultation with the Student Assembly, the SRC decided to withdraw the student representatives it had appointed to Council and to all other bodies in the University's system of committees (Interviews with Martin Hall, 18 May 2006 & Sicelo Mbambo, 16 June 2006; SRC Boycotts –…", 2005 & *SRC Minutes,* 2004-2005).

The withdrawal put the SRC temporarily into an extremely powerful negotiating position. As a formal consequence of the withdrawal, specific university committees (such as the parent committee of the "Student Affairs" cluster as well as other committees in this cluster) were unable to meet since they would not be quorate. Moreover, the SRC's appeals to the Minister and the Department of Education were very irritating to senior management (*SRC Minutes,* 19 August 2005 & anonymous interview responses). A week into the withdrawal, the SRC agreed to hold talks with senior management, but the tension was so high that the SRC stipulated a number of unprecedented conditions. It demanded that talks should be co-chaired by the chairperson of Council and a representative of the national Department of Education (but eventually agreed that the Chair of Council could act as sole chair); that the SRC could have a lawyer present to advise it (for which the University agreed to pay a fee); and that the SRC would be party to the draft of a final document resulting from the talks (Budlender & Nhlapo, 2005 & "University Pays to…", 2005). Three meetings between senior management and members of the outgoing 2004/05 and incoming 2005/06 SRCs, chaired by the Chair of Council, Adv. Geoff Budlender[201], took place over a period of five weeks and resulted in a draft Memorandum of Agreement on co-operative governance and fees. The process of drafting the Memorandum was concluded in November 2005 (Budlender & Nhlapo, 2005).

[200] During much of the 1990s, the SRC boycotted Council and Senate where students had previously been represented as observers. That boycott did not extend to the entire committee system, however.
[201] Budlender had been UCT SRC President in 1972. In 2005, he was a member of Council elected by convocation for the period of July 2004-June 2008 (UCT, 2005b: 1 & *above*).

The main thrust of the agreements on governance expressed a commitment by the university leadership to be more sensitive to the needs of student representatives and to capacitate students for more effective student representation in committee work. Specific agreements included that "the University will ensure the orientation and proper induction of the new student leadership"; "committee chairs will be sensitised to the needs of student representatives and will be encouraged to ensure that the SRC positions on issues is clearly recorded"; "the SRC [will] be allowed a short Question and Answer session at the beginning of Council meetings"; and an agreement on holding a monthly *imbizo* between student leaders and senior management as an opportunity for informal exchange. Other parts of the Memorandum were concerned with making the decision-making system as a whole more transparent and opening up deliberation on the University and its development to the wider university community. This included proposals for holding an annual University Assembly and for improving communication between the governance system and the student body by creating a Student Circular (Budlender & Nhlapo, 2005: 3 & Annexure A).

Most of these proposals were not new; many had even been tried before at UCT. The Commission on Student Governance of 1997 and the Student Governance Review of 2001 had made many similar recommendations to address the 'inherent weaknesses of student governance' *(see above)* and improve the capacity of student representatives and the SRC (e.g. regarding sabbatical membership, training for student representatives, and establishing a SRC policy research unit) (CSG, 1997 & SGR, 2001). Moreover, many of the proposed measures had previously been operative at UCT but had been discontinued. Thus, in the early years of West's role as DVC Student Affairs there had been at least *fortnightly* informal briefings (lunch) between West and the SRC Executive, which served precisely the role of capacity- and trust-building in a politically volatile era (e.g. *SRC Minutes,* 1990-1993). The role of a Student Circular used to be performed for decades by comprehensive and professionally prepared SRC (and SRC Executive) minutes, taken by the SRC, typed by a secretary and then distributed to key university offices and published on the SRC's notice boards across all campuses. In addition, the SRCs used to publish term reports, which were tabled for noting by governing bodies, most notably Council, and which *Varsity* drew on for regular reporting on SRC business. The University Assembly had also been a governance device used previously by VC Dr Saunders to galvanise a much divided university community at critical points in the 1980s and early 1990s.[202] The matter of a dedicated question time for student representatives in governing bodies, legal services for the SRC, and generally better stakeholder involvement in university decision-making had also been previously discussed, most recently at DVC Nhlapo's meeting with the SRC in April, when he promised to table these matters for

[202] During Saunder's vice-chancellorship the University Assembly served the following specific purposes at different times: to register the University's rejection of the quota bill in 1983 and to reiterate the University's demand of academic freedom; in response to the escalation of violence in 1986, to reaffirm the University's commitment to non-racialism, and to call for an end to apartheid, the release of political prisoners, and an end to the state of emergency; as a means to condemn the violence that accompanied the strike by the transport and general workers' trade union on campus and to call for peace on campus and in the country at large in 1991; and to ceremoniously adopt the University's new mission statement in 1996 (Saunders, 2000: 143; 173, 230-234 & 253).

consideration in Council (*SRC Minutes,* 18 April 2005). However, there was no scintilla of the original and fundamental disagreement on the nature of student representation in the Memorandum.

Thus, a political confrontation between the SRC and senior management in which issues of a fundamental nature were at stake had been turned into a technical exercise. Certainly, the agreements on governance were a genuine affirmation of student representation in university decision-making. The agreements on committee inductions and other forms of capacitating student representatives held the promise of addressing the sense of alienation that students experienced in committees (e.g. Interviews with Keran Boyd, 28 March 2006; Ludwe Mbhele, 11 April 2006 & Martin West, 18 May 2006); they may even be interpreted as ways of introducing students formally to, and thus acknowledging, a more central role of students in committees. Along with new methods of 'soft accountability' (such as Q&A times, a beefed-up IF, an annual University Assembly, and the Student Circular), the Memorandum of Agreement included important management 'concessions' to student leadership. Moreover, an improved relationship between student leaders and management might even dispel the myth that there was a managerial conspiracy, which strategically exploited weaknesses of student representation.[203] Nonetheless, this was clearly not the founding moment of a third wave of university democratisation ushering in a post-managerialist regime of governance. Quite in contrast, the negotiation process and agreements had skilfully re-configured a political confrontation in managerialist terms. The problem had become how to *improve* the existing type of student representation, capacitate individual student representatives and familiarise them more quickly with the business of a committee. While the agreements implicitly acknowledged that student representation had inherent weaknesses, the way these weaknesses would be 'remedied' was not going to affect constellations of power in the decision-making process in any significant way. The agreements sought to restore and generate trust in the relationship between SRC and senior management with the sole effect to improve the incorporation of students in the existing academic-managerial compact.

After the first day of negotiation between the SRC and senior management on October 3, 2005, the incoming 2005/06 SRC led by Siphiwe Hlongwane agreed to redeploy student representatives into university committees. Divided internally and in search of a "common agenda" as it were, the new SRC was satisfied that their predecessors had shown management that "students must be taken seriously" and was content in believing that "management [had] realised that without students nothing much can be done… they are the biggest stakeholders" (Interview with Siphiwe

[203] In many interviews, a number of conspiratorial 'managerial strategies' were mentioned, typically implicitly or in passing, which on closer analysis make student representation at UCT appear more like 'Survivor UCT'. Apparently management could 'outplay' student representatives by overburdening committee agendas so as to obfuscate the real issues and occupy committees with nitty-gritty technical stuff while broad issues of policy were passed elsewhere; management could time decisions so that they would be taken during student representatives' long down-time (i.e. during exam or vacation weeks); it could 'outwit' student representatives by informally consulting more widely and then question whether a student representative's view in a committee represented the 'genuine' student view or not; and finally management could always 'outlast' a problematic student leader if all else failed, given that an SRC's term of office was merely a year (Interviews with various student leaders and members of management).

Hlongwane, 28 April 2006).[204] Yet, the redeployment of student representatives marked what emerged clearly in the course of 2006: The dramatic developments in student politics of 2005 had reached their climax in August 2005 already. The momentum was not maintained across the hand-over from one SRC to the next and without activist student pressure the formal negotiation process was not about to address the immediate issues the SRC had raised nor transform student participation in university governance in any significant way (e.g. "Fees Skyrocket again…", 2005). After the draft Memorandum was concluded in November 2005, it was left to the chair of Council together with the DVC and the new SRC to pursue the agreements further and eventually implement those matters that had been agreed upon, channel the second set of agreements to other bodies for decision, and continue negotiations on some final points that still needed to be resolved. The SRC withdrawal, which had briefly challenged managerial rule on its own grounds, resulted in an improved incorporation of representative student participation in the existing collegial-managerial regime of governance.

Thus, the SRC withdrawal could be regarded as merely one of many passing episodes in the relationship between student leadership and university management; one that may soon be forgotten. However, in terms of my research problem of the relation between university democratisation and the rise of managerialism in university governance, the SRC withdrawal and its outcome sum up a range of issues, while also raising more general questions of the place of students in university governance. In that sense, the episode matters a great deal.

4.6.2 Managerialism, University Democratisation and Good Student Governance

The emergence of managerialism at UCT resulted, on the one hand, in many benefits accruing directly and indirectly to students as 'clients'. On the other hand, it also brought about a transition of student governance involving changes in student activism and the formal involvement of students in university governance that ran in some ways counter to the legacies of the earlier waves of university democratisation. The rise of managerialism of the late 1990s was contained by means of a new model of governance designed and implemented by the AIMS Project. I argued that AIMS designed the conditions for an expertise-pact between senior academics, manager-academics and professional managers in internal university decision-making, issuing in a collegial-managerial regime of governance. Thus, on the one hand, 'strategic managerialism' was consolidated at UCT; on the other hand, the analysis also showed that the distinct outcomes of the two waves of university democratisation had interacted very differently with the rise of managerialism. The involvement of elected representatives of staff constituencies in university governing bodies was significantly diminished whereas an alternative conception of representation, i.e. that of demographic representivity, took its place as new governance rule. Accordingly, student representation in the committee system was also transformed. Thus, whereas the distinct legacy of the first wave of university democratisation at UCT was diminished and transformed by the rise of

[204] The 2005/06 SRC ended up spending much on internal leadership divisions (e.g. "Ex-SRC President...", 2006; "SRC in Hot Water…", 2006; "SRC Report Card", 2006; "SRC Treasurer Calls…", 2006 & "Third SRC President", 2006).

managerialism, demographic representivity as the distinct outcome of the second wave actually facilitated the rise of managerialism by providing a new definition of representivity that could generate legitimacy for a regime of governance constituted predominantly by persons conceived as professional experts rather than elected constituency representatives and senior academics.

Even though the collegial-managerial regime of university governance that was consolidated during Prof Ndebele's term as VC continued to provide for extensive student representation, the nature of student representation had changed. On the one hand, the students' formal 'right' to participate as full and equal members in university governance continued to be officially recognised in keeping with the legacy of two successive waves of university democratisation. There was student representation in over a third of the University's close to 100 governing bodies at institutional level (including Council, Senate, and the Institutional Forum and their committees and working groups). However the students' insertion in the academic-managerial compact left little room for more than a default role of the student representative as a mere 'witness' to the student experience in the formal decision-making processes at institutional level.[205]

The managerialisation of university governance and the changes this involved for formal student representation occurred over a period when student activism was undergoing important transformations of its own. By 1995, student leadership encountered various and complex problems of its own that issued in the 1995 SRC election debacle and contributed to the demise of the transformation process centred on the University Transformation Forum. By the turn of the millennium, the effects of managerial modernisation on student politics could be observed at multiple levels: in the student body, in the landscape of student political organisations and the SRC, and in a new kind of depoliticised student activism. A re-emergence of a more politicised student activism was eventually stimulated by the launch of student branches of the youth wings of political parties and their ascent to the SRC in 2002. This re-politicisation of student leadership led to a rejection by student leaders of the nature of their formal inclusion in collegial-managerial governance and culminated in the SRC's withdrawal (with the blessing of Student Assembly) of all student representatives from the University's governing bodies in mid-2005. The account of changes in student politics over this period provides relevant material for a brief summation of a range of issues implicated in university democratisation and the rise of managerialism for student participation in university governance.

4.6.2.1 Entrepreneurial and Emancipatory Student Politics and Managerialism

From the account of student politics in the decade to 2005, two analytical types of student politics involving different values and dynamics, and responding differently to characteristics inherent in managerialism can be inferred. I have referred to them so far as the depoliticised entrepreneurial student activism of the business-like SRCs and the politicised emancipatory student politics of the SRCs led by students aligned to the ANC YL (and to some extent the SASCO-led SRCs of the

[205] As noted formal student involvement at faculty level and in the running of student residences also continued.

1990s). *Entrepreneurial student politics* is characterised by the entrepreneurial spirit that permeates it, which is something that can accompany the emergence of managerialism. As a type of activism it is reactive, responding to senior management's central role in governance and seeking to expand opportunistically the scope of SRC services and the influence of student leaders into new domains. Like the university, student leaders conceive of students as their 'clients'. Student leaders' aim is to offer quality services to distinct clienteles and they are ready to accept 'value for money' as the principle against which their performance is evaluated. (Conversely, they may also articulate demands on the University leadership in terms of 'value for money'.) For their involvement in student leadership, the entrepreneurial students expect commensurate remuneration: salaries and credentials. Exchange is the key rule in student governance, which also involves a shift in the nature and locus of accountability of student leadership from collective political accountability of elected student leaders to the student body to individual performance evaluation of student leaders ultimately by a senior manager. Thus, the SRC becomes integrated within the student administration of the University. Accordingly, the role of student representatives in decision-making structures also ceases to be a political one; it is depoliticised and individualised, whereby students provide user-feedback on their individual experience of university services and facilities to decision-makers. Individual private benefits may be considered the core motivation of the entrepreneurial student activist.

By contrast, the political strategy of *emancipatory student politics* is rooted in a more complex combination of partisan, sectoral and generalised interest orientations. The latter is evident especially in the advocacy of egalitarian values in decision-making. Student leaders' conceive of themselves as the vanguard of an oppressed and marginalised group and their objective is to transform the existing power-relations in the university. As a type of activism, it is pro-active, principled, and relies for its effectiveness on broad-based activist support in the student body. One of the key strategies of emancipatory student politics is the forging of ties with other marginalised groups on campus (e.g. the class-based student-workers alliances or race-based transformation alliances observed at UCT) as well as off-campus alliances (e.g. with unions, political parties or a sympathetic national government). The offer of student representation in university decision-making bodies may be considered a 'poisoned chalice' by the principled emancipatory student; at best, a student representative may serve the function of a mandated delegate and 'watchdog' for students. All in power stand accused; accountability (and distrust) becomes the key rule in student governance. One of the effects of emancipatory student politics is a high degree of politicisation in the student body.

While I have characterised entrepreneurial and emancipatory student politics as distinct analytical types of student politics, empirically they significantly overlapped in the case of UCT. Thus, the entrepreneurial SRCs of 1999-2002 fiercely opposed the financial exclusion of students and strongly advocated for a demographically representative student and staff profile, even though this was not necessarily consistent with the rest of their politics (e.g. "State of Emergency…", 2001 & "A

Brief Report…", 2002). Conversely, even the most emancipatory SRC of recent years, the 2004/05 SRC, was concerned with getting its marketing and branding right, underpinned its demands for quality education by declaring that, after all, "…students are the clients of UCT", and readily accepted stipends and other individual awards for SRC members whatever the implications thereof (SRC, 2005c: 36 & *SRC Minutes,* 2004-2005). Moreover, while entrepreneurial student politics may even be considered a type of student activism typically prevalent in the context of (emerging) managerialism, emancipatory student politics seems more widely applicable insofar as it is characterised as a principled student struggle for greater equality and freedom in the university and beyond.

The two analytical types of student politics further illustrate how student politics affects, and is affected by, regime transitions of university governance. Thus, the developments in student politics at UCT in 2005, culminating in the SRC withdrawal from co-operative governance, were a first significant (albeit aborted) student attempt to challenge the rise of managerialism in decision-making and to revive a quest for more egalitarian and democratic governance at UCT. As I showed above, formal student representation in university governance was a legacy of two waves of university democratisation at UCT. The sense of disempowerment by means of student representation perceived by the SRC of 2004/05 can be understood in terms of a regime transition at UCT associated with the rise of managerialism. The withdrawal can be considered a rejection by student leaders of the way the rise of managerialism at UCT had interacted with the legacy of university democratisation. I also showed that the negotiation process between SRC and University leadership that followed the withdrawal quickly succeeded in transposing the emancipatory demands of students into merely technical questions, thus emptying the students' demands of their substantive content and depoliticising the conflict. In other words, the dominant regime of governance was immediately reaffirmed. The result of the episode - issuing in an improved incorporation of student representatives in collegial-managerial governance - may be considered yet another concrete outcome of the interaction between managerialism and university democratisation relevant to student participation in university governance.

In these ways, the extant regime of governance of the University of Cape Town represents a series of conscious and unconscious choices between at least two irresolvable and opposite tendencies with substantial implications for students and beyond: depoliticisation of student 'politics' or contributing consciously to the political socialisation of students. In concluding, I will briefly consider the more appropriate of these alternatives in view of a conceptualisation of 'good student governance' relevant to the South African context.

4.6.2.2 Conceptualising Good Student Governance

The analysis of student politics and governance at the University of Cape Town has highlighted the application of various theoretical elements of the student governance approach that are relevant to a conceptualisation of 'good student governance'. These elements include the consideration of

different justifications of formal student participation in university decision-making (involving different conceptions of 'student') which relate to the applied typology of ideal-type regimes of student governance (*see* chap. 3, fig. 3). Moreover, I illustrated the application of the notion of different domains and constituencies of university governance and their interrelation, as well as the related consideration of the appropriateness of student involvement in decision-making in a particular domain. Appropriate student involvement in a specific domain of governance relates to a justification appropriate to that respective domain. On the one hand, the analysis of an operational regime of student governance obtaining in practice thus renders a picture that is considerably more complex than the regime typology suggests; on the other hand, the typology still provides a useful device for interpreting that picture.

A conceptualisation of good student governance (e.g. for the purposes of developing a code of good governance) should take as its point of departure a consideration of what constitutes the 'good' of student governance in each domain. For this purpose I propose that an appropriate conception of 'student' to be involved in the regime of good student governance of a particular domain ought to be determined *a priori,* followed by a careful consideration of the implications of this conception of 'student' for student involvement in decision-making in this domain. Over and above that, the case of UCT has also shown that a predominant conception (or predominant conceptions) of 'student' can be discerned at any one point in a regime of student governance obtaining in practice overall. Thus, for example, the 'ancien régime' involved the predominant conceptions of 'student' as 'minor', 'future elite' and 'junior member of the academic community', whereas in the most recent collegial-managerial regime of governance the conception of 'student' as 'user' and 'client' predominates. A conceptualisation of good student governance must consider the predominant conception of 'student' involved in a regime of good student governance overall in terms of its appropriateness to the wider context within which it is to be applicable. Again, the ideal-type regimes of student governance developed in chapter 3 offer useful material for this purpose.

Based on the investigations of student politics and governance at UCT it appears that in this institution the 'good' of good student governance is located closer to the centre of the regime typology than to any one ideal-type regime in particular. With reference to the analysis of student politics and governance in the late 1990s and early 2000s I therefore argue that there is potential for re-opening the discussion on the governance model of this institution in general, and the formal involvement of students in decision-making in particular. More especially, I argue that there is need to review the extent of involvement of professional managers and manager-academics in university decision-making (perhaps reassigning them to the largely defunct category of 'assessor members' in governing bodies), while considering conversely ways of extending and substantiating the involvement of students and non-professorial staff. In short, I argue for a certain re-politicisation and re-democratisation of university governance. By way of closing, I will sketch a brief defence of this stand making specific reference to South African higher education policy.

National higher education policy envisions an important role for universities in the transformation and substantiation of democracy in South Africa. The Council on Higher Education, a statutory body charged with advising the Minister of Education, argues that the case for public higher education in South Africa (and state funding of public universities) is tied up with the social and public value of higher education and its contribution "to the good of society" (Council on Higher Education, 13). For the CHE this involves "developing a citizenry capable of participating effectively in democratic processes, and thus enhancing the project of democracy" (2004: 14). It thus echoes the *White Paper on Higher Education* of 1997 which purposes higher education

> *"to contribute to the socialisation of enlightened, responsible and constructively critical citizens [by] encourage[ing] the development of a reflective capacity and a willingness to review and renew prevailing ideas, policies and practices based on a commitment to the common good" (White Paper, 1997: 1.3).*

South African post-apartheid policy views higher education as an opportunity for the cultivation of the new citizen - a critically thinking, actively participating member of society steeped in the values and practices of democratic citizenship who will lead the consolidation of the new democratic order.

A conceptualisation of good student governance relevant to a South African university must critically confront the political socialisation mandate in terms of a democratisation of university governance. Accordingly, the *White Paper* notes:

> *"The principle of democratisation requires that governance of the system of higher education and of individual institutions should be democratic, representative and participatory and characterised by mutual respect, tolerance and the maintenance of a well-ordered and peaceful community life. Structures and procedures should ensure that those affected by decisions have a say in making them, either directly or through elected representatives. It requires that decision-making processes at the systemic, institutional and departmental levels are transparent, and that those taking and implementing decisions are accountable for the manner in which they perform their duties and use resources." (White Paper, 1997: 1.19)*

Fulfilling the policy mandate of a political socialisation of students into democratic citizenship along with the democratisation of the university is consistent with, and ought to be an integral part of, the role of universities in society in general (i.e. freeing society from oppressive superstitions, fostering self-reflection and critical thought, and generally contributing to a rational order). Thus, I also concur with Felicity Coughlan *et al'*s general argument that the governance practices of universities have wider significance by "modelling, as they should, the virtues of free public reason to the

citizens of a democracy" (2007: 94). More especially, a latter-day university democratisation could orient itself at the theory of deliberative democracy as Coughlan *et al* (2007) propose.

Good student governance as *conscious* governance should invite an ongoing examination of the democratic credentials of university governance (as it should also in other respects in academic freedom terms). It involves an important public good dimension of higher education, which should be defended courageously against tendencies that run contrary to this ideal.

4.7 Case Study Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the trajectory of change in the regime of student governance of the University of Cape Town and described and analysed the way student politics affected, and was affected by, different regimes of university governance. In sum, I identified three distinct regimes of governance: an 'ancien régime', a collegial-democratic regime and a collegial-managerial regime. These regimes were not seen as so many static conditions; rather I pointed out various gradual changes in university governance and also some more distinct changes in the operational regime with lasting implications for student governance. In particular, I focussed in detail on a number of identifiable transitions in the regime of governance which directly affected the participation of students in university governance. I characterised the three main transitions as a first wave of university democratisation of the late 1960s to the early 1980s, a second wave of university democratisation starting in student affairs in the late 1980s and beginning to affect 'mainstream' university governance in the course of the 1990s, and the emergence of managerialism in the second half of the 1990s.

The characteristics of the distinct operational regimes of student governance discussed in the foregoing sections can be summarised as follows:

- *Ancien régime* (1918-1950s). Adapted from the Scottish model of university governance and predominantly donnish in character and internally oriented, while also embedded within the cultural dynamics of white South Africa at the time. Paternalistic in student governance. In the course of the 1950s and 1960s the ancien régime became gradually bureaucratised while student governance was somewhat liberalised by involving students increasingly as junior members of the academic community in matters pertinent to the academy and as young adults in matters of student affairs.
- *The collegial-democratic regime of governance* (1970s-mid-1990s). A still largely inward-oriented regime of governance with the professoriate forming the core of academic rule but allowing substantial functional representation of junior faculty and students at most levels and in most domains of university governance. In the course of the 1980s and 1990s, the central administration played an increasingly more important role culminating in the emergence of 'soft' managerialism in the second half of the 1990s and thus leading to a more peripheral role of students in university governance.

- *The collegial-managerial regime of governance* (2000s). A regime of governance dominated by professional (managerial/academic) experts in which demographic representation has overtaken the representation of functional constituencies in significance. While formal provisions for student participation in university governance remain in place, the operative regime of governance deters a substantive political role of students in most domains of university governance.

Moreover, I identified a number of experiences of regime changes:

- Firstly, after a decade of gradual *laissez-faire liberalisation* of the 'ancien régime' of student governance, I identified a distinct attempt by the university authorities to rail in student activism and re-focus student politics in the mid-1960s *inter alia* by means of the imposed SRC Constitution of 1966. I conceptualised this episode as a brief 'reverse wave' in the process of liberalising and democratising student governance at UCT.
- Secondly, I characterised the changes in the regime of university governance (including student governance) during the term of Sir Richard Luyt as Vice-Chancellor as the *first wave of university democratisation*. The first wave involved a trend towards a recognition of student rights, less asymmetrical relations of power in student governance (i.e. a liberalisation of student governance), and greater political equality between students and the other functional constituencies in university decision-making by means of the inclusion of elected representatives of students along with those of other functional constituencies in university committees. The developments at UCT at the time can readily be related to similar developments in other universities worldwide.
- Thirdly, I identified a *second wave of university democratisation* at the University of Cape Town as part of the epochal changes and developments in national politics in the late 1980s and early 1990s. At UCT, this issued in the establishment of a University Transformation Forum and related bodies that operated parallel and in interaction with 'mainstream' university governing bodies. I argued that among the outcomes of transition was a further extension of provisions for student involvement in university governing bodies and, uniquely, the requirement for demographic representivity in university governance.
- Lastly, I identified the Ramphele era at UCT as a period of the *emergence of managerialism* at UCT, when typical managerialist features were introduced in university governance along with perceptions of a rise of managerialism. I argued that the resultant 'strategic managerialism' was consolidated in a collegial-managerial regime of governance in which student representation continued to be extensive but by default de-politicised and individualised.

The study has highlighted the pivotal role that transitional structures implicated in these changes have played, including the Diemont Commission (1966), the Corbett Commission (1973/74), the Bradlow Commission (1980/81), the UTF Exco (1994-1998) and the Commission on Student

Governance (1995-1997), the ODG Stream of the AIMS Project (2000/01) and the Student Governance Review (2000-2002), and finally the ad hoc negotiating forum on a Memorandum of Agreement (2005). In retrospect, it is evident that the terms of reference, composition and proceedings of these structures have often foreshadowed their findings and recommendations on student governance and thus the thrust of student governance change that issued from their work.

By means of summary, I attempt to map in figure 4 the dominant regimes of student governance, regime transitions and transitional regimes, against the regime typology proposed in chapter 3. In this regard:

- **1920s** refers to the location of the original 'ancien régime' of student governance on the regime typology;
- **1950s** refers to the substantially liberalised and increasingly bureaucratised 'ancien régime' of student governance;
- **1980s** refers to the collegial-democratic regime of student governance;
- **2000s** refers to the location of the collegial-managerial regime of student governance in terms of my general theoretical conceptualisation.

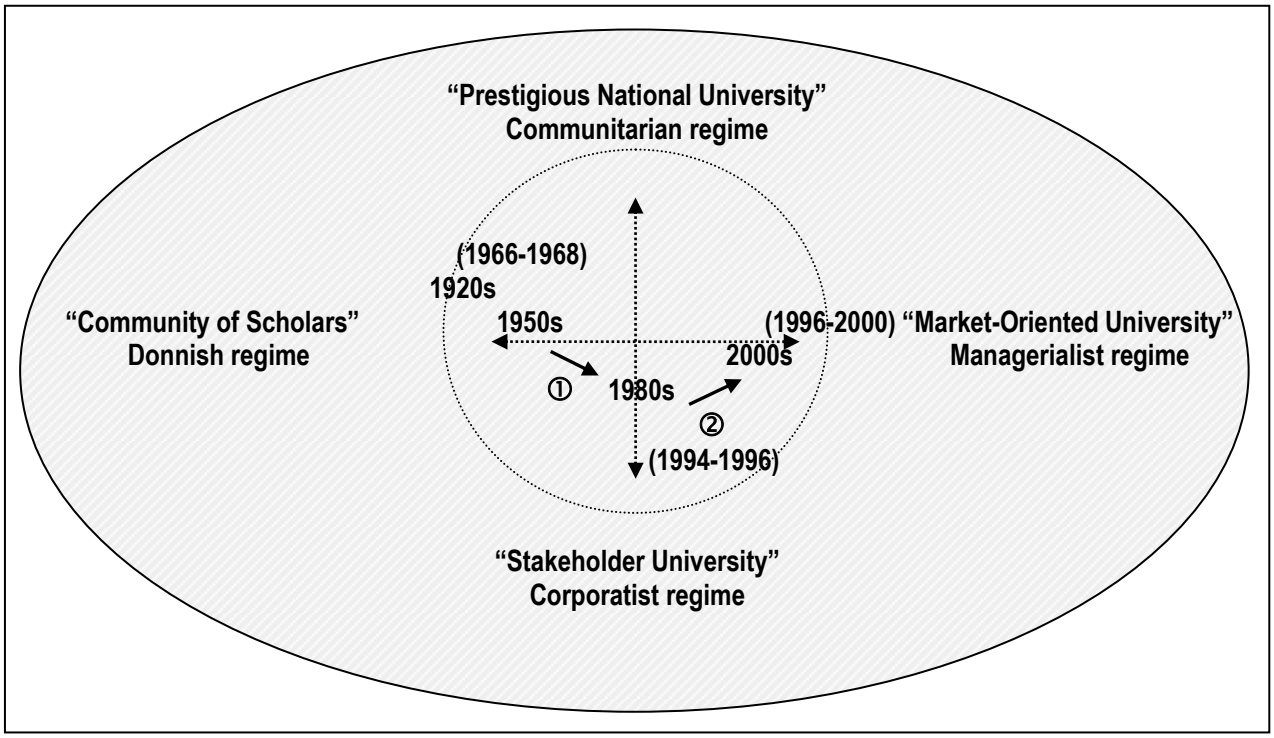
The dominant thrust of the historical regime transitions are indicated in terms of the main direction of regime change:

- The arrow marked with ① indicates the general thrust of regime change involved in the *laissez-faire* liberalisation and first wave of university democratisation;
- The arrow marked with ② indicates the direction of change involved in the second wave of university democratisation and the emergence of managerialism.

Lastly, temporary regimes and transitional parallel regimes are indicated with date-ranges in brackets (in fig. 4). Thus:

- **(1966-1968)** refers to the location of the temporary regime of student governance that was episodically imposed by means of the Diemont Constitution.
- **(1994-1996)** refers to the transitional parallel regime of governance involved in the UTF-centred transformation processes.
- **(1996-2000)** refers to the brief episode of 'strategic managerialism' involved in the 'Ramphele tide' of management-led restructuring of the University of Cape Town.

Figure 4 Regimes of Governance and their Transition at UCT



I have shown in my analysis that within their respective contexts, changes in student governance can be understood by investigating the relationship between student leaders and the university leadership. Student activism and the response to it by university leadership were critical for the emergence of the first and second waves of university democratisation at UCT. Conversely, the initiative of the university leadership was responsible for the brief reverse wave of the 1960s under Dr Duminy and the emergence of managerialism in the 1990s under Dr Ramphele, which respectively led to student activist responses. Among the relevant contexts I have identified macro-political developments (in national politics and higher education politics), politically significant changes in the composition of the student body, especially in the age structure of students (1940s), the class structure of the student body (especially the late 1990s) and the gender and racial composition of the student body (1980s-2000s), and related changes in the organisational landscape of student politics with reference to such organisations as NUSAS, SASO, SANSCO, SASCO, His People, ANC YL, and DASO, amongst others.

In terms of my research question, the case of UCT illustrates that university democratisation and the rise of managerialism in university governance in South Africa did neither necessarily occur simultaneously nor in response to the national regulatory framework. UCT experienced university democratisation in two waves whereby university democratisation in the sense of an extension of the membership of governing bodies to elected student representatives (and representatives of non-professorial faculty) was part of a first wave of university democratisation, which took place mainly in the course of the 1970s. The outcomes of the first wave of university democratisation at

UCT mirrored in some ways those in British universities. Moreover, UCT's experience of the post-apartheid wave of university democratisation in South Africa had its roots actually in campus-based developments of the late 1980s and early 1990s at this University. While the second wave of university democratisation at UCT was profoundly influenced by the transition to democracy at national level, it predated and in some important ways anticipated developments in the sector including the new national regulatory framework for higher education that was adopted in 1997. Among the key outcomes of the second wave of university democratisation at UCT was the distinct rule that the representation of previously under-represented demographic constituencies, especially blacks and women, must be appropriately provided for in university governance. I showed that in the wake of the 'Ramphele tide' of managerial modernisation and the concomitant emergence of strategic managerialism at UCT, a regime of governance came to be designed and consolidated which aimed at reconciling the rise of managerial authority with academic rule. I argued with reference to the re-designed committee system that this academic containment of managerialism was achieved by means of an academic-managerial 'expertise compact'. A feature of the new collegial-managerial regime of governance was that demographic representivity came to supersede functional representivity in significance, thus making the requirement of 'representivity' more readily compatible with the applied criterion of professional expertise in the selection of committee membership. Furthermore, my analysis has shown that the emergence of managerialism does not necessarily affect the *extent* of formal involvement of students in university committees; however, it affects the *nature* of such involvement insofar as the political aspirations of student representatives are frustrated by the depoliticisation and individualisation of their role in the managerialist expertise compact. In the meeting of professional experts, student representatives provide a student view on a matter based on a contemporaneous student experience as their contribution to decision-making. I compared this role of the student representative to that of a mere 'witness' who would be able to give a first-hand account of the student perception and experience of a particular matter the merits of which would be left for the experts (or 'judges') to decided. Moreover, the emergence of managerialism affected student activism in ways discussed with reference to the notions of 'entrepreneurial student activism' and 'emancipatory student politics'. In a residential university with a long and proud history of student activism, challenges to this depoliticised and individualised type of student involvement in university governance were more than likely. Thus, in the final section I discussed a first emancipatory response of student leaders to the disempowerment they perceived to be involved in managerialised student governance. More especially, I highlighted the significance of the actual episode and its outcomes for understanding the interaction between managerialism and university democratisation and its implications for student governance. I concluded by outlining briefly the implications of the study for a conceptualisation of good student governance relevant to South African context.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study set out to investigate critical changes in the involvement of students in university governance. More specifically, it explored this with reference to the interaction between university democratisation and the rise of managerialism in university governance in South Africa. The study proceeded at different levels. On the one hand, I approached the research problem by developing a general theoretical conceptualisation of different regimes and regime transitions of student governance relevant to student involvement in university governance. On the other hand, I conducted an empirical case study of how university democratisation and the rise of managerialism historically unfolded and affected student participation in university governance at the University of Cape Town. In this concluding chapter, I reflect on the outcomes of these investigations of my initial research problem and research questions. In the process, I will highlight what I consider some of the main contributions of this study and point towards its limitations and areas for further investigation.

5.2 The University Democratisation and Managerialism Paradox

The starting point of this study of student involvement in university governance was that a policy that advocated simultaneously a democratisation of university governance *and* management approaches associated internationally with managerial modernisation amounted to a paradoxical proposition. University democratisation and the rise of managerialism relate to historically *successive* stages of the international trajectory of higher education governance; they involve different centres of decision-making that are constituted by different predominant groups in the university. I expected that diametrically opposed tendencies between university democratisation and a rise of managerialism would be evident, especially with respect to the role and significance of students in university governance.

In chapters 2 and 3, I developed a theoretical conceptualisation of student involvement in university governance issuing in a regime typology of student governance. In terms of this typology ‘university democratisation’ and the ‘rise of managerialism’ could be located as regime transitions of student governance within a common analytical framework. In chapter 4, I then conducted an empirical study of student politics and governance at the University of Cape Town, which focused on changes in the formal involvement of students in university governance and the ways in which these changes affected, and were affected by, student activism. The case study produced an unexpected conclusion. Contrary to my initial assumption, university democratisation and the rise of managerialism did not actually occur in such belated and close conjunction in South African universities during the post-apartheid transition of the 1990s as policy writing would suggest. In the specific case I studied intensively, i.e. that of the University of Cape Town, university

democratisation occurred in two distinct waves. The first wave of university democratisation started in the late 1960s – concurrent with the international experience - and the resultant collegial-democratic regime of student governance was fully consolidated well before the managerial revolution started to impact on governance at UCT. A second wave of university democratisation associated with the anti-apartheid struggle and the transition to democracy started in student affairs at UCT in the 1980s, diffused to newly established transitional bodies centred in the University Transformation Forum in the early 1990s, and then spread to the 'mainstream' governing bodies in the course of the second half of the 1990s (and 2000s). Whereas both waves of university democratisation were concerned with including previously excluded constituencies in university decision-making, they were nonetheless significantly different. The first wave focused on the inclusion of students (and non-professorial academic staff) as elected representatives of a *functional* constituency in the decision-making structures of university governance. As also happened in many European and American universities, UCT students became systematically involved among the formal decision-makers in a representatively constituted system of committees. Thus, the liberalised and increasingly bureaucratised *ancien régime* of university governance was superseded by a significantly 'democratised' collegial model during the 1970s. The extent of democratisation was comparable with that of most British universities at the time; accordingly, it did not produce stakeholder-democratic governance as found in the Continental European experience, such as the German *Gruppenuniversität*. It was only in the course of the second wave of university democratisation during the early 1990s that a cluster of transitional governing bodies was established at UCT, which was constituted akin to stakeholder-democratic governance. Stakeholder-democratic governance was, however, neither a dominant nor a lasting characteristic of the second wave at UCT. Rather, the second wave of university democratisation distinctly involved the effort to correct the historical under-representation of black and women members in university decision-making bodies. Whereas the second wave can be readily related to similar developments in South African politics at national level and policy initiatives in the sector, historically the developments at UCT were a first, preceding those at other universities in the country and anticipating new post-apartheid national higher education policy. It was in this context of post-apartheid democratisation that managerialism emerged as a major force in university governance. Understanding university democratisation at UCT in terms of distinct historical transitional experiences within their respective contexts thus opened up the way for a differentiated understanding of the interaction between university democratisation and managerialism and their impact on student participation in university governance.

My analysis of the emergence of managerialism at the University of Cape Town and the attempts at resolving the tensions between managerial features, academic values, and the legacy of two waves of university democratisation showed that managerialism is not necessarily incompatible with governance by representatively constituted committees and extensive representation of students therein. Ostensibly opposed tendencies for formal student participation in university governance involved in the democratic form of university governance and the rise of managerialism

were ‘resolved’ in the regime of student governance of the University of Cape Town in various ways: In relation to the representation of the interests of *functional* constituencies (especially students and organised staff groups) that was an outcome of the first wave of university democratisation, the emergence of managerialism represented in parts a ‘reverse wave’ insofar as the representation of staff constituencies through elected representatives diminished in significance and, concomitantly, the nature of student representation in university decision-making bodies changed from a potentially more substantive political role (involved especially in the conception of ‘students’ as a ‘political constituency’ among other constituencies with elected representatives) to a more depoliticised one where students were included mainly as ‘users’ in a committee system that was otherwise constituted predominantly by ‘professional experts’. The students’ default role in the committee system thus became that of providing an account of the student experience. It was by default individualised and de-politicised as students’ potential influence relied paradoxically on their ability to present a non-partisan, individual and factual account of their experience. I compared this role of the student representative to that of a mere ‘witness’ in a courtroom, while the assembled academic and managerial experts in turn could be conceived as ‘judges’. Even though this accommodation of student representatives resolved the tension between student membership of governing bodies and managerialism in formal terms, the roots and outcome of the 2004/5 SRC withdrawal indicate that the practical result was experienced as acutely disempowering by UCT’s organised student leadership.

In contrast, there was less tension between the distinct outcome of the second wave of university democratisation and managerialism. I noted that the erstwhile demands for more stakeholder-democratic governance of the early 1990s were from the outset contained within transitional governance structures, especially the University Transformation Forum and its Executive Committee, which effectively operated parallel and in a complex advisory capacity to ‘mainstream’ governance structures. The areas in which the second wave of university democratisation provided for an extension of functional representivity in decision-making were affected by the emergence of managerialism in similar ways as the legacy of the first wave. (Exceptions like the representative and public vice-chancellor selection process designed by the UTF, which continues to this day, give UCT in international comparison a ‘democratic edge’.) I emphasised in my study that in historical perspective, the introduction of the new rule of *demographic* representivity constituted the distinct contribution of the second wave of university democratisation to university governance. Demographic representivity in governance had first been an informal arrangement in terms of a racial parallelism in student governance in the late 1980s and early 1990s and eventually became a criterion for the composition of the Transformation Steering Committee of 1993/94 and all later UTF-related bodies. In 1999, demographic representivity became a statutory requirement in all university governing bodies. Significantly, the application of demographic representivity rules in ‘mainstream’ governance coincided with the emergence of managerialism. I argue that the rule served as an important means for generating trust in a context where race still represented a key

social cleavage; it generated legitimacy for the regime at a time of a contested rise of managerialism at UCT.

Accordingly, a differentiated understanding of the relation between university democratisation and managerialism must take account of the different kinds of representation at stake in the two waves of university democratisation. There was only a tension between the outcomes of university democratisation and the rise of managerialism regarding student involvement in university governance where such involvement was presumed to be *substantive* and student leaders presumed to represent a *political* constituency on campus along with other constituency representatives; there was less tension with the conception of university democratisation as a corrective change towards greater *demographic* representivity in decision-making. By creating a new rule of legitimation, the second wave of university democratisation actually facilitated the rise of managerialism at UCT in important ways.

The political dynamics involved in the different tendencies of managerialism and university democratisation for student politics have also been analysed with reference to student activism and the re-emergence of emancipatory student politics in the 2000s in particular. I showed that the manner of inclusion of students in the academic-managerial expertise-compact designed and implemented by the AIMS Project in the early 2000s (involving the role of student representatives as 'witnesses' in the restructured committee system) was unsatisfactory for student leaders and experienced as disempowering. Expertise-based decision-making was fundamentally at odds with the politics of elected representation; so much so that the SRC decided to withdraw student representatives from the university committee system in 2005. The outcome of the negotiations between SRC and University leadership which were thus forced provides an instructive scenario of the managerialist tendency: substantive questions concerning the University, the nature of decision-making in the university, and student representation in particular, were transposed to minor technical matters and to be negotiated *in camera*, thus absolving the University leadership from confronting its critics in a critical and self-reflective manner in public.

The case study of student politics and governance of the University of Cape Town has thus provided rich empirical material for investigating the research problem. It must be noted, however, that the experience of two *historically distinct* waves of university democratisation that I identified at UCT is certainly *not* representative of South African higher education institutions as a whole. It is likely typical only of the subset of historically liberal English-medium universities, which includes next to UCT the University of the Witwatersrand, Rhodes University, and the Natal University component of the merged University of KwaZulu-Natal. Nonetheless, identifying the *analytically distinct* characteristics involved in the two waves of university democratisation at UCT should prove useful for a more general understanding of the different dimensions of university democratisation in the South African higher education context. I believe that similar implications (relating to either *functional* or *demographic* concerns or both) are involved in the relationship between university

democratisation and the managerial revolution in South African higher education more generally. In addition, the conceptualisation of two distinct types of student activism, i.e. entrepreneurial student activism and emancipatory student politics, provides a way of understanding some of the dynamics involved in student politics in a context of managerialism (and its relation to the quest for student influence in the university). In particular, it maps conceptually the fault-line of the interaction between the critical emancipatory interest involved in commitments to democratic decision-making practices and the managerial tendency to de-politicise university governance by reducing substantial and political concerns to the level of technical ones. (In all these respects, similar case studies of other institutional experiences with student governance are obviously needed.) The analysis of student politics and governance at the University of Cape Town may thus provide a rich case for learning even without being a 'representative' case.

The paradox involved in the simultaneous pursuit of managerialism and university democratisation may therefore be more profound than thought at the outset of this study. It involves at one level a choice whether the role of students should be proportionate and substantive *or* marginal in university decision-making; implicit in this is, however, a more fundamental decision as to the vision of the university and the place of the university in society. This choice between two opposing tendencies was outlined aptly in the heydays of university democratisation of the late 1960s by Jürgen Habermas (1971 [1967]: 5-6 & 10) as one between "a reform that smoothly integrates the *depoliticised university* into the system of social labour and at the same time inconspicuously cuts its ties to the political, public realm. *Or* the university asserts itself *within* the democratic system..." by insisting in its own political decision-making on democratic practices. Either one of these choices will accordingly provide a respectively different starting point for considering what good student governance involves. I will now look in more detail at the conclusions that can be drawn from the implications of my empirical study for a general theoretical conception of regimes and regime transitions of student governance before returning to this point.

5.3 Regimes and Regime Transitions of Student Governance

In the pursuit of developing a general theoretical conceptualisation of different regimes and transitions of student governance, I applied Goran Hyden's governance approach (1992, 1993, 1999 & 2000) for a study of changes of student participation in university governance. Hyden's governance approach includes a general and systematic regime typology that relates to an account of different 'qualities of governance', i.e. authority, reciprocity, accountability and trust (Hyden, 1992: 12-15 & 16-20). As part of my application, I developed four ideal-type regimes of student governance drawing on the different ways in which formal student involvement in university governance is justified. The four types were distinguished respectively by different predominant rules of legitimation (*see* chaps. 2 & 3). This typology was amplified in terms of a broader conception of regimes of university governance and related 'visions' of the university. The four visions and associated regime types are:

- *The Community of Scholars:* A vision of the university involving a paternalist donnish regime of university governance that conceives of students as 'minors' and 'junior members of the academic community'. (Academic) authority is the main rule of legitimation in this governance regime.
- *The Stakeholder University:* A vision of the university as a representative democracy governed in a corporatist-democratic fashion and involving a democratised regime of student governance. Students participate as an internal political 'constituency' and the governance regime is characterised by accountability as the predominant rule of legitimation.
- *The Prestigious National University:* A vision of the university as an instrument of a nation (or ethnic or religious community) governed in accordance with the dominant political culture of the nation (or community). The regime of student governance conceives of students as 'beneficiaries' and the 'future elite' of the nation (or community), and trust in political elders (and compliance with external directives) is the predominant quality legitimating this governance regime.
- The vision of a *Market-Oriented University:* This university type involves a managerial-professional regime of governance and a conception of students as 'clients' and 'users' of the university in terms of a neo-liberal, consumerist perspective. This governance regime is characterised by reciprocity as the predominant rule of legitimation.

Moreover, I proposed that regime transitions could be understood in terms of moves *towards* a particular regime type. Thus, I characterised

- moves (or a transition) towards a stakeholder-democratic regime as *'university democratisation'* in general theoretical terms (which may or may not issue in actual stakeholder-democratic arrangements);
- moves towards a market-oriented university as a *'managerialisation'* of university governance (involving a rise of managerialism);
- moves towards the communitarian regime involved in the prestigious national university as *'university nationalisation'* (which need not involve becoming a state or public university), and;
- moves towards the donnish regime of the community of scholars as a *'restoration of academic rule'* (but not necessarily a restoration of 'donnish' rule).

This typology was embedded within the more general theoretical approach to the comparative study of politics and development developed by Hyden. Key to understanding the substantive underpinning of the governance approach is a matrix of two analytical dimensions involving a structural dimension (concerned with the analysis of the underlying constraints to political action in a particular society) and an actor dimension (which concerns the analysis of the dynamic power relations involved in a regime) as well as four qualities of governance derived from their interrelation. In my application, I postulated the relationship between different qualities of

governance and regime types in terms of predominant rules of legitimation. Thus, every quality of governance assumed the role of a predominant rule in one of the four regime types. The correspondence of predominant rules of legitimation between Hyden's general and my applied regime typology of student governance provided the basis for inserting my regime typology of student governance into Hyden's framework.

The case study reported on in chapter 4 constitutes an attempt to apply the conceptual-analytical tools of the 'student governance approach' to an actual instance of student politics and changes in student governance at a particular university. In the course of my empirical investigation, I identified three distinct regimes of student governance that obtained at different periods:

- a donnish 'ancien régime' which became increasingly bureaucratised with the growth of the University in the course of the 1940s and 1950s;
- a collegial-democratic regime introduced from the late 1960s which came to be increasingly bureaucratised in the course of the 1980s and early 1990s, and;
- a collegial-managerial regime with certain democratic features that prevailed in the mid-2000s.

Furthermore, I identified a number of regime changes of student governance with lasting significance to this day, including

- a gradual *laissez-faire* liberalisation of the 'ancien régime' in the 1950s;
- a first wave of university democratisation associated with the vice-chancellorship of Sir Richard Luyt, the work of the Corbett and Bradlow Commissions, and the student activism of the late 1960s and 1970s;
- a second wave of university democratisation originating in student activism during Dr Stuart Saunders' term as VC, bound up with student activism in the late 1980s and early 1990s and the work of the University Transformation Forum and related bodies, and;
- the emergence of managerialism at UCT during the vice-chancellorship of Dr Mamphela Ramphele in the second half of the 1990s and its containment through the work of the AIMS Project.

In addition, I referred to a number of incremental changes and episodic 'reverse waves'. The study also highlighted the pivotal role of certain transitional structures (commissions of enquiry, advisory committees, and the like), established ad hoc to advise the University leadership on matters of student governance at crucial points in the University's governance history.

The various regimes and regime transitions obtaining in practice identified in the case study can be plotted against the abstract regime typology (fig. 4). My case study may thus be located in terms of the various theoretical conceptualisations of student governance developed in chapter 3. This application of Hyden to the context of the higher education and the empirical investigation of student politics and governance at the University of Cape Town has therefore proved to be useful

for analytical and heuristic purposes; moreover, the application has even contributed in some ways to the original framework, as I will indicate now.

5.4 Hyden's Governance Approach revisited

I relied on many of the theoretical conceptualisations in Hyden's governance approach as an analytical framework for the empirical study of student politics and governance at UCT. The rationale for this application was provided in the research design and no particular contributions to the original framework were intended (*see* chap. 1). Nonetheless, my investigation contributed to Hyden's theory. It must be kept in mind, however, that for the purposes of conducting the theoretical case study I did not critically assess Hyden's theory; rather I accepted as given starting points for my applied investigation various theoretical conceptions of Hyden. Thus, I readily agreed with Hyden's conceptualisation of governance as *regime management* along with the notion that effective (or good) governance involves *conscious* regime management with a view towards *enhancing the legitimacy of the political system* and thus the prospect of *regime stability* and *development.* Moreover, I imported key theoretical proposals, including Hyden's contested conception of the governance realm and the related qualities of governance, into my adaptation. Some of the theoretical conceptualisations and proposals are subject to revision and/or extension as became evident in the course of my own application of the theoretical framework. In this way, my investigations did not merely apply Hyden's governance approach but also contributed to that theoretical framework. I consider among the general contributions of my investigation to Hyden's theory the following:

- Firstly, I isolated and explicated the basic conceptual-analytical framework with its theoretical propositions, thus making these more readily accessible and demonstrating the internal coherence, consistency and plausibility of Hyden's governance approach.
- Secondly, my discussion of Hyden's conceptualisation of governance emphasised the potential usefulness of the governance approach for studying the complexities of regime change. Through my application of the governance approach to the case of student governance at UCT, I demonstrated a way of harnessing this potential.
- Thirdly, my application of the governance approach to the university context illustrates a way of adapting Hyden's original theory to contexts very different from the originally intended one. I therefore showed that the governance approach 'travels'.

Moreover, my investigation suggests that there are two substantial theoretical concerns that underpin Hyden's theoretical conception of governance:

(1) in the actor dimension of governance: a commitment to a differentiated notion of 'freedom' and converse responsibilities, and;
(2) in the structural dimension of governance: a commitment to a complex notion of 'equality' in the analysis of political systems.

In other words, the analytical, normative and empirical dimensions of Hyden's theoretical conceptualisation of governance are permeated by an interest in modalities of interrelation between internally differentiated conceptions of freedom and equality in political regimes. Hence, once adapted to the university context and applied in an empirical study of student governance, regime transitions that could be understood in terms of the structural dimension of governance related to greater (or lesser) equality in university governance (whereby the relevant definition of constituencies and social cleavages was contextually dependent), while transitions that involved changes to be understood in terms of the actor dimension of governance related to greater (or lesser) (individual and collective) student freedom. It may be due to these underlying substantial concerns involved in the governance approach that some of Hyden's critics considered his conceptualisation of governance "…as synonymous with democracy" (Haynes, 1991: 537). To explore these issues in any serious sense would require theoretical work beyond this study, however.

5.5 Student Politics and Good Governance in the Higher Education Context

Studying student politics as governance also offers the possibility for a normative analysis. Hyden's notion of a governance realm (and the converse notion of 'bad politics') illustrates this purpose. Hyden considered good governance as the conscious pursuit of the qualities of the governance realm, i.e. trust, authority, accountability and reciprocity in the constitution and reconstitution of the political system. A combination of these qualities would result in a regime of good governance, provided this combination was appropriate to the society concerned. In chapter 3 I proposed in addition to this that a valid normative analysis of regime politics as good governance should involve a critique of domination appropriate to its context.

The investigations of this study suggest that the 'good' in good governance is located closer to the centre of the regime typology than to any one ideal-type, in particular in the applied typology of regimes of student governance. This means that, a regime of 'good student governance' requires rules which provide for accountability and trust between governors and governed by means of both functional representation of constituencies and the representation of other politically significant characteristics (e.g. demographic representivity), as well as rules which provide for (individual) scholarly freedom within a context of (collective) academic rule, i.e. authority and reciprocity, whereby students are appropriately conceived as persons engaged in academic activity. Prioritisation of any of these rules at the expense of others results in, what Hyden might call, 'bad politics'. Thus, in an international perspective, the tripartite German *Gruppenuniversität* may have overstated the case for functional equality and the South African *Volksuniversiteit* the case for demographic homogeneity, thus leading to bad politics in the university (and bad student governance) in both cases. With specific reference to the case of UCT, the 'ancien régime' of student governance was sub-optimal insofar as it involved a too hierarchical and exclusive conception of academic community to the extent of neglecting student rights and freedoms (as *de*

facto members of the academic community and as individuals); while even the current strategic version of managerialism at UCT after its academic containment still shows a tendency to undermine the collective nature of the academic endeavour and depoliticise student governance by overstating the individualistic (and eventually commercial) dimension of the relationship between students and the university. Thus, I reiterated the argument that in the context of a democratising society, higher education offers the opportunity for the cultivation of critically thinking, actively participating democratic citizens. Universities are well placed for the task to contribute to the political socialisation of students into democratic decision-making and a culture of human rights. They have the deliberative resources, a commitment to problem-solving through rational deliberation free of domination, and they play a critical emancipatory role in society in general and for students in particular. Involving students in the affairs of the University will also have benefits to the university itself, in both the short and the longer term. Thus, this study made also a number of proposals on the way the theoretical conceptualisation of student governance and its application to the case of UCT may be employed usefully towards a conceptualisation of 'good student governance'.

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Interviews

Mr Hugh Amoore	11 May 2006 & 15 May 2006
Ms Keran Boyd	28 March 2006
Prof Ian Bunting	29 May 2006
Ms Khanyisa Fatyi	19 May 2006
Ms Edwina Goliath	28 March 2005 (Pilot)
Prof Martin Hall	18 May 2006
Mr Siphiwe Hlongwane	28 April 2006
Dr Jan Kuehne	18 September 2006
Mr Nkosinathi Lungu	04 October 2006
Mr Britt MacLaughlin	08 June 2006
Mr Sicelo Mbambo	16 June 2006
Mr Ludwe Mbhele	11 April 2006
Mr Amos Mboweni	04 June 2006
Dr Mzukisi Qobo	19 May 2006
Mr Jerome September	13 June 2006
Ms Mary Simons	08 May 2006
Prof Martin West	18 May 2006
Mr Lindizwe Zibi	31 March 2006
Anonymous SRC Member	05 April 2006

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Data Collection Sheet

Empirical Dimension	Data Sources
Student Influence and Oversight in University Governance Including the following empirical indicators: (1) Formal means by which students can participate in the political processes and thereby express their preference about higher education policy; (2) Formal methods by which students can hold university leadership accountable; (3) The extent of political participation of the student body in university governance.	Main Source: Official institutional documents (especially, institutional statutes and rules including SRC constitutions, reports of commissions of enquiry into student government, reports on university governance). Other Sources: Newspaper clippings (especially *Varsity* from 1965); Secondary literature on UCT and student politics in South Africa and at UCT (including dissertations); and administrative records. Additional Sources for the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s: SRC reports and minutes; reports and minutes of the Student Parliament (1990s); reports and minutes of the University Transformation Forum (1994-1998); Interviews with student leaders and senior university leaders (1990s and 2000s); Record of the membership of university committees and working groups (2005 only); Participant observation (1999-2001).
Responsible and Responsive University Leadership Including the empirical indicators: (1) University leaders' disposition towards student participation in university governance; (2) Extent of openness and responsiveness of policy-making to students' preferences; (3) Extent of university leaders' adherence to the *official* regime of governance.	Main Source: Official institutional documents (especially reports of commissions of enquiry into student government including minority reports) and other administrative records. Other Sources: Newspaper clippings from *Varsity* (a main source from 1965); Secondary literature on UCT and student politics in South Africa and at UCT (including dissertations). Additional Sources for the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s: SRC reports and minutes; reports and minutes of Student Parliament (1990s); Reports and minutes of the University Transformation Forum (1994-1998); Interviews with student leaders, senior university leaders, and other university staff (mainly 1990s and 2000s); Participant observation (1999-2001).
Informal student activism Involving the following empirical indicators: (1) Student leaders' disposition towards university leadership (incl. hidden transcripts and protocols of student politics); (2) Incidences of student political activism linked to intramural student grievances; (3) Student leaders' perceptions of the benefit of participation in university governance.	Main Source: Newspaper clippings (especially *Varsity* from 1965) Other Sources: Secondary literature on student politics at UCT (especially dissertations on student activism) and in South Africa (until 1990); Interviews with student leaders and university leadership. Additional Sources for the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s: SRC reports and minutes; reports and minutes of Student Parliament (1990s); Interviews with student leaders, senior university leaders, and other university staff; Participant observation (1999-2001).
Social Reciprocities Specific empirical indicators related to this dimension include: (1) Extent of (political) equality between and within different university constituencies; (2) Extent of (political) tolerance between different social and functional groups in the pursuit of higher education politics; and (3) Representivity of associational student and staff bodies and university and student leadership.	Main Source: Official institutional records and secondary literature on UCT; Institutional planning data (1990s and 2000s). Additional Sources for the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s: Newspaper clippings (especially *Varsity* from 1965); SRC reports, minutes and other records; Interviews with student leaders, senior university leaders, and other university staff (1990s and 2000s); Reports and minutes of Student Parliament (1990s); Reports and minutes of the University Transformation Forum (1994-1998); Records of the membership of student clubs and societies (1996-2004).

Appendix B: Contact Sheet Example – Current Student Leader

THIERRY M LUESCHER
University of Cape Town
Department of Political Studies
PhD Candidate
March 2006

1. CONTACT SHEET

DATE, PLACE, TIME

INFORMED CONSENT TO INTERVIEW? Y/N

NAME: (optional) **CONFIDENTIAL? Y/N**

INSTITUTION:

POLITICAL ROLE / MAIN POSITION:

BASIC STUDENT DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

M/F B/W/I/C* NSFAS Y/N UG/PG RES/DAY STUDENT

Other:

ACADEMIC INDICATORS

Previous Qual & Inst.

Current Qual & Inst.

Year of Study

STUDENT POLITICAL AFFILIATION INDICATORS

S Pol Affiliation Other Pol Affiliation

Position SRC/SG Membership UG

Previous Positions:

Other:

Appendix C: Interview Outline – Current Student Leader

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY
The purpose of the study is to investigate student participation in the governance of the University.

The study is supervised in the Department of Political Studies and, once completed, will be submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a PhD.

PURPOSE OF THE INTERVIEW
Interviews with student leaders are made so as to gain insight into the perceptions and experiences of student leaders of the governance of the University and their participation therein.

RESEARCH AREAS AND QUESTIONS

Area of Research – University as Civil Society: Student Body and Staff Body
Interview Dimension-1: What kind of politically significant groups exist in the higher education polity? Are individuals or groups treated in an equal fashion?

Area of Research – Student Influence and Oversight
Interview Dimension-2: What is the extent and nature of students' participation (and by comparison of other constituencies) in the governance of higher education? Do students have influence and oversight?

Area of Research – Student Leader Activism and University Leadership Responsiveness
Interview Dimension-3: What is the disposition of the university leadership (and the student leadership) towards the student body (and by extension the university as academic community) and towards student involvement in higher education governance? Is the leadership responsive and responsible?

Appendix D: Letter from the Supervisor

Department of Political Studies

Room 5.33 · Robert Leslie Social Science Building · Upper Campus
University of Cape Town · Private Bag · Rondebosch 7701
Cape Town · South Africa
Telephone: +27 21 650-3381
Fax: +27 21 689-7574
e-mail: politics@humanities.uct.ac.za

6 February 2006

To Whom It May Concern:

Data and Interview Request for Doctoral Research
"Student Governance in Transition"

Mr Thierry M Luescher is registered as a PhD Candidate in the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town. He conducts research on the participation of students in the governance of South African higher education.

His research involves collecting empirical data and conducting interviews with research subjects on student governance related issues in a number of case study higher education institutions. In compliance with the UCT Code of Research Ethics Mr Luescher's dissertation proposal and project has been approved in terms of the general research ethics requirements. Confidentiality of interviewees and restricted institutional data will be provided if requested. Informed consent will be obtained prior to all interviews.

I would appreciate if you afford Mr Luescher the support and provide him with the data that he requests.

Kind regards,

Prof. Andre du Toit
Honorary Research Associate

UCT Code of Research Ethics:
Please note that all researchers of the University of Cape Town who conduct research involving human subjects are bound by the UCT "Code for Research involving Human Subjects". This code stipulates that researchers must aim doing research "(i) With scholarly integrity and excellence; (ii) With social sensitivity and responsibility; (iii) With respect for the dignity and self-esteem of the individual and for basic human rights; (iv) With reference to clearly specified standards of conduct and procedures ensuring proper accountability". As a participant in this research research subjects have the right to be informed of the nature of the research project and, if they wish, to refuse participation or withdraw participation in the research process at any stage. Moreover, information obtained in the course of research which may reveal the identity of a participant is confidential unless the participant agrees to its release.

OUR MISSION [illegible]

Appendix E: Statement of Intent

"Statement of Intent

The University of Cape Town recognises that it is largely a product of a fundamentally unjust and discriminatory society. This legacy has severely disadvantaged large sectors of the South African population along, amongst others, race, gender and class lines.

UCT acknowledges that this historical background has played a large part in shaping the profile of staff, students and decision-making structures of the institution, as well as the quality of social relationships. UCT further acknowledges that its academic functions and its role in society have been compromised by the effect of societal injustice and discrimination. UCT thus recognises the need for institutional transformation as part of national transformation, and commits itself to contribute to national reconciliation and development.

Therefore, this conference incorporating members of Council, Senate, Convocation, students, academics, workers, executives and administrators commits itself to the process of transformation based on the following principles:

- Inclusiveness of representation and effective participation of all those committed to the promotion of quality higher education.
- Excellence in teaching, research, administration and community service, understood in the context of national priorities and goals.
- Public accountability balanced with institutional autonomy.
- Transparency in decision-making and functional relations within the institution.
- Equity in making the resources of UCT available to all, regardless of race, class and gender constructs.
- Affirmative action programmes to redress the inequalities of the past.
- Collaborative relations within the Western Cape region, the wider national area, within the African Continent, and international arena to promote optimal use of resources and to enrich the academic process.

UCT identifies the following areas, amongst others, as needing serious attention within such a process of transformation:

- all areas of governance
- academic and curriculum development
- access for both students and all sectors of staff
- personal development of students and all sectors of staff
- institutional culture
- funding, finance and financial aid for students, bearing in mind institutional and national imperatives and constraints.
- Drafting a new mission statement" (UTF, 1994: C-D).

Appendix F: Mission Statement, 1996

"Our mission is to be an outstanding teaching and research university, educating for life and addressing the challenges facing our society.

Educating for life means that our educational process must provide:

- a foundation of skills, knowledge and versatility that will last a life-time, despite a changing environment;
- research-based teaching and learning;
- critical enquiry in the form of the search for new knowledge and better understanding, and;
- an active developmental role in our cultural, economic, political, scientific and social environment.

Addressing the challenges facing our society means that we must come to terms with our past, be cognisant of the present, and plan for the future. In this, it is central to our mission that we:

- recognise our location in Africa and our historical context;
- claim our place in the international community of scholars;
- strive to transcend the legacy of apartheid in South Africa and to overcome all forms of gender and other oppressive discrimination;
- be flexible on access, active in redress, and rigorous on success;
- promote equal opportunity and the full development of human potential;
- strive for inter-disciplinary and inter-institutional collaboration and synergy, and;
- value and promote the contribution that all our members make to realising our mission.

To equip people with life-long skills we must and will:

- promote the love of learning, the skill of solving problems, and the spirit of critical enquiry and research, and;
- take excellence as the bench-mark for all we do.

We are committed to academic freedom, critical scholarship, rational and creative thought, and free enquiry. It is part of our mission to ensure that these ideals live; this necessarily requires a dynamic process of finding the balance between freedom and responsibility, rights and obligations, autonomy and accountability, transparency and efficiency, and permanence and transience; and of doing this through consultation and debate." (UCT, 2006b)

Appendix G: Student Club and Societies Membership, 1996-2004

Table 4 Total of Student Organisations and Membership by Inclusiveness, 1996-2004

	1996			2000			2004		
	Inclusive	Exclusive	% Incl.	Inclusive	Exclusive	% Incl.	Inclusive	Exclusive	% Incl.
(1) Student Orgs	34	77	30%	32	62	34%	45	63	42%
(2) Membership	3,729	6,507	36%	3,531	6,951	34%	6,407	6,917	48%

Source: Calculations based on data from the UCT Department of Institutional Planning (2006).
Key: Inclusive = racial demographics of membership is within the range of 80%>black students>30%.
Exclusive = racial demographics of membership is outside the range of 80%>black students>30%.
% Incl. = (1) organisations categorised as racially inclusive as percentage of total organisations;
(2) percentage of students participating in organisations categorised as racially inclusive.
Note: Calculations include only registered voluntary student organisations (as per table below*) and exclude organisations with a membership of three or less paid-up members. The calculations include the Weights Club.*

Table 5 Student Organisations by Type and Membership, 1996-2004

		1996			2000			2004		
Type	Name of Student Organisation	% Black members	% female members	Total	% Black members	% female members	Total	% Black members	% female members	Total
Advocacy	HABITAT FOR HUMANITY	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	38.7	67.0	**491**
Advocacy	TREATMENT ACTION C	97.9	55.3	**47**	n/a	n/a	**0**	54.8	68.3	**445**
Advocacy	AMNESTY INTERNAT.	44.4	59.3	**27**	100.0	100.0	**1**	50.5	65.3	**95**
Advocacy	SHAWCO (VIA RAG)	33.3	26.7	**15**	75.0	25.0	**8**	86.8	56.6	**53**
Advocacy	EARTHLIFE AFRICA	13.2	76.3	**38**	100.0	100.0	**1**	26.5	67.6	**34**
Advocacy	WOMYN'S MOVEMENT	86.7	100.0	**30**	100.0	100.0	**1**	88.9	92.6	**27**
Advocacy	CAREER & EDUC. EMP.	100.0	15.7	**51**	98.3	31.0	**58**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Advocacy	ROTEX-UCT	0.0	71.4	**21**	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Cultural	WINE CULTURAL SOC	5.8	53.4	**223**	10.9	52.3	**375**	46.8	59.5	**491**
Cultural	UCT RADIO	65.4	35.8	**179**	50.0	68.8	**32**	56.9	46.9	**311**
Cultural	BEER APPRECIATION	14.5	43.6	**55**	n/a	n/a	**0**	21.9	14.9	**228**
Cultural	FILM SOC	6.4	49.2	**187**	19.0	52.9	**189**	35.9	57.8	**223**
Cultural	PHOTOGRAPHIC SOC	14.7	51.5	**68**	26.7	66.3	**101**	30.0	64.3	**207**
Cultural	DEBATING UNION	16.7	62.5	**24**	41.5	43.9	**171**	53.3	52.8	**195**
Cultural	AFRICAN FILM RES ORG	n/a	n/a	**0**	86.1	67.0	**115**	94.3	55.7	**88**
Cultural	HLANGANANI SOC	100.0	35.1	**37**	100.0	19.4	**67**	97.6	27.1	**85**
Cultural	UCT CHOIR FOR AFRICA	97.5	46.8	**79**	88.2	56.5	**85**	94.7	57.9	**76**
Cultural	UCT TOASTMASTERS	45.7	40.0	**35**	47.2	44.4	**36**	75.5	65.3	**49**
Cultural	RAINBOW ORG	7.7	15.4	**13**	52.2	34.8	**23**	45.2	38.1	**42**
Cultural	U.C.T. CHOIR	17.1	63.4	**41**	13.1	50.8	**61**	37.8	59.5	**37**
Cultural	JAZZ SOC	92.3	28.2	**39**	n/a	n/a	**0**	71.9	40.6	**32**
Cultural	AFRICAN RENAISSANCE	100.0	36.6	**41**	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Cultural	NEUROLING. PROG SOC	52.6	26.3	**19**	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Cultural	TOLKIEN SOCIETY	6.8	54.4	**103**	10.0	90.0	**10**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Cultural	REGGAE APPRECIATION	79.3	27.6	**29**	100.0	100.0	**1**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Cultural	CREATIVE ANACHRON.	33.3	100.0	**3**	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Disciplinary	BLACK MANAGEMENT F	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	96.7	46.6	**337**
Disciplinary	INVESTMENT SOC	16.7	26.1	**138**	100.0	0.0	**1**	71.7	30.0	**223**
Disciplinary	IMPILO STUDENT SOC	100.0	45.0	**111**	99.6	53.8	**223**	99.3	49.3	**142**
Disciplinary	RURAL SUPPORT NETW.	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	91.3	55.8	**104**

Type	Name of Student Organisation	1996 % Black members	1996 % female members	1996 Total	2000 % Black members	2000 % female members	2000 Total	2004 % Black members	2004 % female members	2004 Total
Disciplinary	BUSINESS TECH. SOC	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	72.7	32.3	**99**
Disciplinary	HISTORY SOC	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	26.5	50.6	**83**
Disciplinary	STREET LAW	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	64.2	81.1	**53**
Disciplinary	BLACK LAW STUDENTS F	100.0	29.2	**48**	95.1	26.8	**41**	90.9	75.0	**44**
Disciplinary	AIESEC-U.C.T.	74.6	53.5	**114**	90.5	60.8	**74**	93.5	29.0	**31**
Disciplinary	DRAMA SOC	75.0	75.0	**4**	22.9	62.9	**105**	100.0	100.0	**1**
Disciplinary	GEOGRAPHICAL SOC	5.6	77.8	**18**	n/a	n/a	**0**	0.0	100.0	**1**
Disciplinary	ARCHAEOLOGY ADV. C.	45.8	58.3	**24**	14.7	67.6	**34**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Disciplinary	BIOLOGICAL SOC	57.1	57.1	**7**	7.1	46.4	**28**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Disciplinary	GEOLOGICAL SOC	37.5	26.8	**56**	71.0	48.4	**31**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Disciplinary	PSYCHOLOGY SOCIETY	41.7	66.7	**12**	48.7	84.6	**39**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Disciplinary	PEOPLE MANAG. SOC	100.0	65.0	**40**	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Faith-based	ISLAMIC SOC.	100.0	36.0	**125**	98.2	45.7	**164**	99.6	36.8	**242**
Faith-based	STUDENTS CHRISTIAN F	100.0	37.9	**103**	100.0	39.3	**107**	98.7	50.4	**224**
Faith-based	KOLBE STUDENTS' SOC	42.5	46.0	**87**	n/a	n/a	**0**	79.8	53.6	**168**
Faith-based	HINDU STUDENTS' SOC	99.1	40.0	**115**	99.2	44.9	**127**	100.0	52.2	**159**
Faith-based	HIS PEOPLE	57.1	46.5	**170**	80.2	52.8	**212**	87.8	64.1	**156**
Faith-based	STUDENT YMCA	7.1	57.6	**85**	22.2	63.9	**72**	30.8	61.5	**117**
Faith-based	BHAKTI-YOGA SOC	54.0	47.7	**176**	50.4	59.9	**349**	75.5	66.0	**94**
Faith-based	STUDENTS FOR LIFE	17.4	21.7	**23**	n/a	n/a	**0**	69.3	62.5	**88**
Faith-based	ANGLICAN SOC	87.0	43.5	**23**	78.9	64.9	**57**	89.3	51.2	**84**
Faith-based	7TH DAY ADVENTIST	98.2	28.6	**56**	97.7	27.9	**43**	96.3	52.4	**82**
Faith-based	CHURCH ON MAIN	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	7.9	57.1	**63**
Faith-based	JEWISH S UNION	0.0	44.4	**293**	1.7	50.6	**178**	3.3	58.3	**60**
Faith-based	CHRISTIAN MEDICAL F	18.5	63.0	**27**	36.0	68.0	**25**	33.3	82.4	**51**
Faith-based	JUBILEE STUDENTS	0.0	41.9	**31**	14.7	41.2	**34**	49.0	62.7	**51**
Faith-based	BAHA'I SOC	55.0	60.0	**20**	55.0	50.0	**40**	34.4	50.0	**32**
Faith-based	LIVELY STONES F	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	96.7	66.7	**30**
Faith-based	STUDENTS' CHRISTIAN A	15.6	50.0	**32**	n/a	n/a	**0**	10.3	51.7	**29**
Faith-based	CHURCH OF CHRIST	100.0	0.0	**1**	n/a	n/a	**0**	66.7	66.7	**24**
Faith-based	PERSPECTIVE MAG	n/a	n/a	**0**	50.0	50.0	**34**	34.8	43.5	**23**
Faith-based	WESLEY GUILD SOC	n/a	n/a	**0**	100.0	39.5	**43**	94.7	73.7	**19**
Faith-based	CRUSADE FOR CHRIST	80.8	38.5	**26**	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Internat.	ZIMBABWE SOC	38.1	29.8	**218**	21.1	35.9	**128**	96.7	42.6	**209**
Internat.	BOTSWANA S ASSOC	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	99.4	38.2	**170**
Internat.	EAST AFRICA SOC	n/a	n/a	**0**	98.2	43.9	**57**	95.7	39.3	**140**
Internat.	NAMIBIAN S ORG	94.7	31.6	**38**	93.9	36.7	**49**	89.3	45.8	**131**
Internat.	LESOTHO S ASSOC	100.0	22.2	**45**	98.0	38.4	**99**	100.0	35.5	**124**
Internat.	ANGOLAN S SOC	n/a	n/a	**0**	84.4	37.5	**64**	96.3	61.5	**109**
Internat.	ABANTU 'Z' SOC	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	96.3	45.0	**80**
Internat.	SWAZI S SOC	98.1	34.6	**52**	95.1	42.7	**82**	98.5	43.9	**66**
Internat.	MAURITIAN S SOC	78.5	33.9	**121**	78.1	32.8	**64**	95.3	32.8	**64**
Internat.	HELLENIC S ASSOC	0.0	57.9	**38**	0.0	57.1	**14**	7.1	64.3	**56**
Internat.	CONGOLESE SOC	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	96.3	33.3	**54**
Internat.	MALAWI S SOC	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	96.2	38.5	**52**
Internat.	GHANA SOC	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	97.9	41.7	**48**
Internat.	REPUBLIC OF CHINA	4.1	47.4	**97**	15.4	40.4	**104**	17.4	41.3	**46**
Internat.	INTERNATIONAL S ORG	n/a	n/a	**0**	83.3	83.3	**6**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Internat.	SALVIK S SOC	83.3	33.3	**12**	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Political	ANC YOUTH LEAGUE	100.0	33.3	**3**	97.4	39.5	**38**	92.6	35.6	**216**

Type	Name of Student Organisation	1996 % Black members	1996 % female members	1996 Total	2000 % Black members	2000 % female members	2000 Total	2004 % Black members	2004 % female members	2004 Total
Political	SASCO-UCT	98.6	43.2	**148**	98.2	32.7	**55**	100.0	18.2	**33**
Political	IFP YOUTH DESK	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	100.0	25.0	**24**
Political	AZASCO	100.0	23.3	**43**	100.0	0.0	**2**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Political	COMMUNIST SOC	80.0	10.0	**10**	91.7	38.9	**36**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Political	PASO	100.0	6.3	**32**	100.0	0.0	**4**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Political	S 4 A WORKERS PARTY	100.0	0.0	**1**	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Sport	WEIGHTS CLUB	66.6	26.4	**1436**	74.8	10.9	**828**	79.0	10.4	**694**
Sport	BALLROOM DANCE SOC	24.1	61.8	**411**	41.3	61.6	**438**	47.4	65.8	**500**
Sport	MOUNTAIN & SKI	6.1	43.9	**540**	12.7	47.3	**747**	17.3	45.7	**468**
Sport	SQUASH	23.8	35.2	**298**	28.0	34.2	**325**	31.7	32.1	**246**
Sport	ATHLETICS & CROSS C	19.1	27.0	**141**	29.5	35.6	**149**	17.4	45.3	**190**
Sport	SOCCER	93.2	23.0	**352**	82.7	17.3	**220**	72.2	31.0	**187**
Sport	GOLF	6.8	5.1	**117**	12.4	16.5	**121**	17.1	20.6	**175**
Sport	TENNIS CLUB	22.2	35.9	**117**	33.1	41.9	**172**	32.1	54.2	**168**
Sport	KARATE – SAMURAI	47.6	35.4	**82**	56.9	57.8	**232**	68.3	58.1	**167**
Sport	YACHTING	2.4	30.5	**82**	6.8	39.6	**192**	9.1	42.1	**164**
Sport	CAPOEIRA	83.3	29.2	**24**	n/a	n/a	**0**	67.9	56.2	**162**
Sport	HOCKEY-WOMEN	8.4	100.0	**107**	11.1	98.4	**189**	11.9	96.3	**160**
Sport	UNDERWATER	2.2	43.5	**230**	4.3	36.6	**186**	4.4	33.1	**160**
Sport	SOCIAL HOCKEY	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	9.4	48.9	**139**
Sport	BASKETBALL	51.8	26.5	**83**	87.0	39.4	**193**	73.9	43.3	**134**
Sport	HOCKEY – MEN	2.9	0.0	**103**	14.4	0.0	**188**	12.0	0.0	**133**
Sport	SURF	7.8	11.7	**77**	5.5	23.3	**73**	14.3	40.5	**126**
Sport	RUGBY	8.8	0.0	**136**	20.4	0.0	**191**	23.3	0.0	**120**
Sport	WATER SKI	1.7	36.4	**118**	7.5	37.1	**159**	6.1	47.0	**115**
Sport	ART OF LIVING – YOGA	81.7	74.6	**71**	n/a	n/a	**0**	26.1	79.3	**92**
Sport	AQUATICS	54.4	61.4	**57**	50.0	56.5	**62**	41.2	58.8	**85**
Sport	ROWING	1.2	43.9	**82**	11.6	44.9	**69**	17.1	42.7	**82**
Sport	WATER POLO	1.1	46.3	**95**	2.4	45.1	**82**	2.6	25.6	**78**
Sport	FENCING	6.7	36.7	**30**	34.0	51.1	**47**	26.0	39.0	**77**
Sport	GYMNASTICS	30.0	47.5	**40**	42.9	40.5	**42**	48.6	43.2	**74**
Sport	WARGAMERS	7.8	33.8	**77**	15.3	23.6	**72**	15.1	37.0	**73**
Sport	CANOE	0.0	0.0	**7**	6.9	42.2	**116**	0.0	34.3	**67**
Sport	NETBALL	76.8	98.2	**56**	73.9	100.0	**88**	59.1	97.0	**66**
Sport	VOLLEYBALL	63.6	50.0	**66**	74.1	56.9	**58**	54.5	56.1	**66**
Sport	SOCIAL CANOE	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**	4.7	42.2	**64**
Sport	CRICKET	28.4	0.0	**74**	36.8	14.5	**117**	34.9	6.3	**63**
Sport	CHESS CLUB	57.1	0.0	**7**	66.7	14.3	**63**	83.0	7.5	**53**
Sport	ARCHERY	36.7	6.7	**30**	40.0	24.4	**45**	35.3	29.4	**51**
Sport	BADMINTON	21.4	39.3	**28**	34.6	32.7	**52**	45.1	49.0	**51**
Sport	CYCLING	4.9	17.1	**41**	16.4	18.2	**55**	8.3	29.2	**48**
Sport	TABLE TENNIS	48.6	14.3	**35**	81.4	13.6	**59**	68.8	20.8	**48**
Sport	TAI-CHI	31.0	40.5	**42**	31.9	57.4	**47**	60.0	48.9	**45**
Sport	KUNG FU	38.1	19.0	**42**	17.9	30.4	**56**	43.9	29.3	**41**
Sport	JU-JITSU	37.2	35.9	**78**	52.3	25.0	**88**	68.4	31.6	**38**
Sport	AIKIDO CLUB	53.2	25.5	**47**	54.2	20.8	**48**	35.3	23.5	**34**
Sport	ATHLETICS – SOCIAL	96.4	19.6	**56**	n/a	n/a	**0**	38.2	67.6	**34**
Sport	ANGLING	4.7	2.3	**43**	56.4	28.7	**94**	4.2	0.0	**24**
Sport	JUDO	45.2	21.4	**42**	45.5	31.8	**22**	36.8	36.8	**19**
Sport	UCT FLYING ASSOC	0.0	0.0	**2**	0.0	0.0	**1**	0.0	100.0	**1**

Type	Name of Student Organisation	1996 % Black members	1996 % female members	1996 Total	2000 % Black members	2000 % female members	2000 Total	2004 % Black members	2004 % female members	2004 Total
Sport	BRIDGE CLUB	25.0	0.0	**4**	0.0	44.4	**9**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Sport	HANG GLIDING	0.0	11.8	**17**	13.0	21.7	**23**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Sport	HEALTH & FITNESS	65.1	96.4	**192**	88.0	96.0	**50**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Sport	MOTOR CYCLE	6.7	13.3	**15**	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Sport	ORIENTEERING	8.3	37.5	**24**	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Sport	PISTOL & RIFLE	72.3	6.0	**83**	54.4	19.0	**79**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Sport	SKYDIVING	9.8	44.3	**61**	15.0	36.3	**80**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Sport	SOFTBALL CLUB	n/a	n/a	**0**	96.9	40.0	**65**	n/a	n/a	**0**
Sport	TRIATHLON	4.8	28.6	**21**	n/a	n/a	**0**	n/a	n/a	**0**
	Grand Total			**10246**			**10490**			**13327**

Source: Calculations based on data from the UCT Department of Institutional Planning (2006)
Notes: Categorisation by type on the basis of the constitutional objectives of student clubs and societies.

Operational definition of racial inclusiveness: Considerations

As a proxy for Hyden's criterion of "the degree of inclusiveness in associational membership" (1992: 16) applied to student governance at UCT, I considered the extent of bridging of the racial cleavage between black and white students in the membership of registered voluntary student organisations. Various studies of student politics at UCT (including Sonaba, 1992; Burrows, 2003 & Davenport, 2004) as well as my own study attest to race as a historically politically highly significant factor in UCT student politics. (Provided that the available data only provided a disaggregation of memberships of student organisation by race and gender, other significant factors, such as class, could not be measured.) In order to develop an analytically useful notion of 'racial inclusiveness' I considered the following:

- Firstly, the UCT student body has a particular racial profile whereby white students constituted about half of the University's student body throughout 1996, 2000, and 2004 (Department of Institutional Planning, 2005). Yet, more black students participate in student clubs and societies than white students (58% black students as against 42% white students in 2004) (Department of Institutional Planning, 2006). This must be taken into account if 'racial inclusiveness' and diversity in the membership of student organisations is meant to involve a degree of *'mirroring'* the racial composition of the relevant student body.
- Secondly, the black student body is considerably more diverse than the white student body at UCT. The black student body (in the definition used in this study) comprises of students classifying themselves as South African Coloured, Indian, and African students (of various language groups), as well as African and Indian students from the SADC region and beyond. (Most international students classify themselves as black students, especially African and Indian.) In contrast, the white student body consists mainly of white South Africans (of various language groups) and some international white students. Thus, a predominantly black student organisation can therefore be expected to be demographically more diverse than a predominantly white one.
- Thirdly, a definition of what constitutes 'racial inclusiveness' and diversity will also imply the converse sense of what constitutes 'exclusiveness'. In considering what might constitute exclusiveness in the membership of a student organisation, I turned to the international students' societies on campus. It must be noted that the data from the Department of Institutional Planning (2006) does not distinguish between South African citizens and international students. There is, however, a *prima facie*

correlation between nationality and race in many cases (e.g. Ghanaians classify themselves typically as 'African' and Greeks as 'white' – their respective student societies are therefore predominantly black or white in membership). Thus, given that it is the explicit objective of international students' societies to organise predominantly or exclusively members of their national group, their patterns of membership can provide an indication of what (racial) exclusiveness may constitute. In 2004, there were 14 recognised international students' societies at UCT. The analysis of their memberships shows that they all have a racially highly skewed composition. In one half, the dominant racial group accounted for over 90% of the total membership; in the other half, the minority group still only accounted for between 10% and 20% of total membership. Thus, I considered that exclusive membership could be defined as a membership body with a single dominant group accounting in the area of 80% or more of total members.

Taking all these considerations into account, I defined two crude thresholds for measuring 'racial inclusiveness'. With reference to UCT (mid-1990s to mid-2000s), a *racially inclusive* student organisation may be defined as an organisation with a membership that includes:

- More than 30% black students, and;
- More than 20% white students.

Thus, for the purpose of this study the range of racial inclusiveness/diversity was defined as 80%>black student membership>30%. Conversely, a racially exclusive organisation has less than 30% black membership or less than 20% white membership.

Supplementary Comments on the Findings

In 1996, less than a third of the 111 registered student organisations could be described as diverse and racially inclusive. By 2000 the total number of student clubs and societies had contracted to 94 and proportionally more societies were inclusive than in 1996 (34% in 2000 as compared to 30% in 1996) but there was a 2 percentage point decline in the number of members of inclusive societies. The latter variance is mainly due to a massive loss of members in the inclusive UCT Weights Club between 1996 (1436 members) and 2000 (828 members). By 2004, the number of active student organisations had risen again to 108 and the trend towards more inclusive societies with more racially inclusive memberships continued, now with 45 of 108 organisations (42%) having racially highly diverse and inclusive memberships (despite the establishment of new societies which are almost by default not racially diverse e.g. Ghana Society). In 2004, 48% of members of student organisations were registered in racially inclusive organisations. If the Weights Club is excluded from the analysis altogether, the proportion of members in inclusive clubs is 26% in 1996, 28% in 2000 and 47% in 2004 (*see* table 4*)*.

The disaggregated analysis by organisational types, individual organisations and racial groups, shows that there was a change (or 'trend') from 1996 to 2004 towards inclusiveness of previously predominantly white student clubs and societies and, to a lesser extent, towards an increasing Africanisation of societies that were already racially inclusive in 1996. At the same time, most of the student societies that were predominantly black and/or predominantly African in 1996 and/or 2000 continued to be black dominated in 2004. *Black students at UCT (and African students in particular) were therefore able to make inroads into previously white-dominated societies (especially white sports clubs, cultural societies and faith-based societies), while they simultaneously established and maintained exclusively black student organisations which did not attract significant white student participation* (especially international students' societies, certain black-labelled discipline-based and cultural societies and certain student political organisations).

Lastly, among the student organisations operating in 2004 there were six organisations reminiscent of the racial parallelism in student life of the 1980s. Two film societies (previously black AFRO and previously white Film Soc, both of which had become racially inclusive by 2004), two choirs (a now inclusive UCT Choir and a still almost exclusively African UCT Choir for Africa), and two Christian student societies both of which are affiliated to the same national body (i.e. the white Student Christian Association and the black Student Christian Fellowship, both racially highly exclusive even in 2004). Furthermore, there are also still explicitly racially dedicated organisations, including the Black Law Students' Society, the Black Management Forum and Hlanganani Society.

Appendix H: Governing Bodies Membership, 2005

Table 6 Membership of University Governing Bodies, 2005

Committees and Working Groups	Total	VC/VC Rep/ DVCs	PASS Office	Acad. Office	Profs/ Senate Appoint.	Acad. Staff Rep	PASS Staff Rep	Other Internal	Council Appoint. (External)	Student Rep	*% Student Rep.*	*SRC Appoint.*
Council	30	5			3	1	1		18	2	*6.7*	*2*
Council Executive Comm.	7	1			1				4	1	*14.3*	*1*
Council Transformation Adv. Comm.	6	2							4		*0.0*	
Institutional Forum	30	2		2	3	3	7		3	10	*33.3*	
University Student Affairs Comm. (USAC)	**12**	**1**	**3**		**3**			**1**		**4**	***33.3***	***2***
Sports Council	12	1	2			1	1			7	*58.3*	*1*
Residences Forum	74		8					31		35	*47.3*	
Student Societies and Orgs. Comm.	14		1		5	1		1	1	5	*35.7*	*5*
Residences Committee	17		4		2			5		6	*35.3*	*1*
Health and Counselling Services Comm.	12		5		3			1		3	*25.0*	*1*
Orientation Co-ordinating Committee	19		10		6			1		2	*10.5*	*1*
University Strategy Committee (USC)	**13**	**5**			**4**				**2**	**2**	***15.4***	***2***
University Finance Committee (UFC)	**9**	**3**	**1**		**2**				**2**	**1**	***11.1***	***1***
Management Services Committee (MSC)	12	1	3	2	4					2	*16.7*	
Fundraising Projects Committee (FPC)	5	2	3							0	*0.0*	
Joint Investment Committee (JIC)	4	1							3	0	*0.0*	
Planning & Budgeting Working Group	8	1	7							0	*0.0*	
University ICT Committee	**17**	**2**	**4**	**1**		**8**			**2**	**0**	***0.0***	
Admin. Computing Co-Ordinating Comm.	8	1	7							0	*0.0*	
ICT User Group (ICTUG)	14		6	8						0	*0.0*	
University Human Resources Comm.	**10**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**				**4**	**0**	***0.0***	
Council Appointments Committee	10	1							8	1	*10.0*	
Educare Committee	10	1	2		1	1	3	1		1	*10.0*	*1*

Committees of Inquiry (COI)	n/a									0	*n/a*	
Council Remuneration Comm.	5	1							4	0	*0.0*	
Council's Standing Review Tribunal for Staff Discipl.	4								4	0	*0.0*	
Employee Relations Management Comm.	12	1	9	2						0	*0.0*	
Committees of Review: Unsatisfactory. Perform.	6	2		1	1	2				0	*0.0*	
Committees of Review: Probationary Service	6	2		1	1	2				0	*0.0*	
Preliminary Investigating Committees	4	1		1	1	1				0	*0.0*	
Selection Comm.: Deans	7	2		1	1	1		1	1	0	*0.0*	
Selection Comm.: Professors	13	5		2	2	4				0	*0.0*	
Selection Comm.: Adjunct Profs (ext.)	13	5		2	3	3				0	*0.0*	
Selection Comm.: Honorary Professors	15	5		2	8					0	*0.0*	
Selection Comm.: PASS staff	6	1	1				4			0	*0.0*	
Consult. Forum: Academic Staff Matters	13	1	3	1		8				0	*0.0*	
Joint Consult. Forum: Employment Equity	35	1	16	8		5	5			0	*0.0*	
University Building & Development Committee	**16**	**1**	**2**		**4**				**7**	**2**	***12.5***	***2***
Prof. Appointments Comm. for UBDC	10		2					4	4	0	*0.0*	
Space Allocation Committee	11	3	1	7						0	*0.0*	
Environmental Management WG	6		3	1	2					0	*0.0*	
Physical Planning and Landscape WG	13	2	4		6				1	0	*0.0*	
University Research Committee	**13**	**2**	**1**		**7**	**2**			**1**	**0**	***0.0***	
Irma Stern Museum Committee	6	1	1						4	0	*0.0*	
Works of Art Committee	9	1	1	2	4				1	0	*0.0*	
Clough Eastern Religions Study Fellowship Comm.	4			2		1			1	0	*0.0*	
Electron Microscope Unit Comm.	9	1		4	1	3				0	*0.0*	
University Equipment Committee	15	5	2	7	1					0	*0.0*	
Ethics in Research Committee	17	6		7	3				1	0	*0.0*	

Fellowships Committee	61	5			56					0	*0.0*	
Publications Award Committee	12	5	1		6					0	*0.0*	
Research Fellows Award Comm.	7	2			5					0	*0.0*	
Senate Animal Ethics Committee	19	5			3	6			1	4	*21.1*	*1*
UCT Press Editorial Board	8	1		1		5			1	0	*0.0*	
UCT/IZIKO Museums Advisory Comm.	10	1				4			5	0	*0.0*	
Vera Davie Study & Research Bursary Comm.	3	1				2				0	*0.0*	
Visiting Scholars Fund Committee (VSFC)	6	1		1	4					0	*0.0*	
Senate Executive Comm. (Senex)	**23**	**5**	**3**	**8**	**4**	**2**				**1**	***4.3***	***1***
Senate	255	5		76	150	12	4		2	6	*2.4*	*6*
Distinguished Teacher Award Comm. (DTA)	15	5			5					5	*33.3*	*5*
Naming of Buildings Committee	12	1			2	1	1		4	3	*25.0*	*3*
Academic Freedom Committee	13	3			3	2			2	3	*23.1*	*3*
Admissions and Progression Comm. (AC)	18	5		7	3					3	*16.7*	*3*
UG Studies Funding Comm.	14	5	3		3					3	*21.4*	*3*
Senate Acad. Planning Comm. (SAPC)	12	1		4	5					2	*16.7*	*2*
PG Studies Funding Comm.	15	5	1	7						2	*13.3*	
Timetable Committee	15	5		7		1				2	*13.3*	*1*
Language Policy Comm. (LPC)	17	1		12		1	1			2	*11.8*	*2*
Examinations and Assessment Comm.	18	5		8	3					2	*11.1*	*2*
Honorary Degrees Committee	14	2		7					4	1	*7.1*	*1*
Board for Graduate Studies	17	5	3	7	1					1	*5.9*	
All Africa House Management Comm.	8	1	4					3		0	*0.0*	*0*
Deferred Examinations Comm.	10	5	1		4					0	*0.0*	
Doctoral Degrees Board (DDB)	12	5		7						0	*0.0*	
Nominations Committee	12	5		1	4	2				0	*0.0*	

Quality Assurance WG (QAWG)	17	1	8	3	3					2	*11.8*	*2*
Library WG (LWG)	18	1	2	10	3					2	*11.1*	*2*
Further Edu. & Training WG	8		3	5						0	*0.0*	
University Audit Committee (UAC)	**5**	**1**							**4**	**0**	***0.0***	
Health and Safety Committees	10		6	1				5		1	*10.0*	
Genetically Modified Organisms Comm.	10	1	2	7						0	*0.0*	
Physical Risk, Safety and Crime Prevention Co-Ordinating Comm.	5		4						1	0	*0.0*	
Radiation Control Committee	30	3	2	25						0	*0.0*	
Risk Management Committee	8	3	3	2						0	*0.0*	
Committees and Boards Not in Clusters/Other												
The University Student Discipline Tribunal of Appeal	4				1				1	2	*50.0*	*2*
The University Student Discipline Tribunal	1	1								0	*0.0*	
Board of Directors Student Loan Fund	9	9								0	*0.0*	
Baxter Theatre Centre Board	10	2	1	1					5	1	*10.0*	
Baxter Theatre Exec Comm.	7	1	1	1				2	2	0	*0.0*	
UCT Foundation Govs Comm.	15								15	0	*0.0*	
UCT Foundation Trustees	7	1							6	0	*0.0*	
UCT Retirement Fund	12		6					6		0	*0.0*	
Prof. Appointments Comm. of Council	4	1							3	0	*0.0*	
Comm. of Procedural Review	3	1			2					0	*0.0*	
Alumni Assoc. Man. Comm.	16									0	*0.0*	

Data generated from and own calculations based on: Committees and Working Group Manual and Membership, 01 July 2005 to 30 June 2008 (UCT, 2005a).
Note: Data excludes Faculty Boards, faculty/dept-level committees and Management Advisory Groups.
Key: Total = total membership of governing body; VC/VC Rep/DVCs = seats allocated to VC, DVCs or their representatives (typically ex officio*); PASS Office = seats allocated to non-academic managers (typically* ex officio); *Academic Office = seats allocated to academic managers (other than VC/DVC; e.g. Executive Deans) (typically* ex officio*); Profs/Senate Appoint. = seats allocated for nomination by Senate; Acad. Staff Rep = seats allocated for elected academic staff representatives; PASS Staff Rep. = seats allocated for elected non-academic staff representatives; Other Internal = residual seats occupied by other internal members; Council Appoint = seats allocated to members of Council (and other external members); Student Rep = seats allocated to elected student representatives; % Student Rep. = seats allocated to students as a percentage of total seats in a governing body; SRC Appoint. = number of student representatives appointed by the SRC (as part of the seats allocated to elected student representatives).*

Appendix I: UCT Demographic Data, 1996-2004

Table 7 Undergraduate Students on National Financial Aid by Nationality and Race, 1996-2004

		South African				International	Total
		African	Coloured	Indian	White	/ other	
1996	**Total NSFAS**	**1284**	**306**	**79**	**110**	**4**	**1783**
	% of SB	12%	3%	1%	1%	0%	17% (of 10674)
	% of NSFAS	72%	17%	5%	6%	0%	100%
	% of group	44%	21%	14%	2%	0%	17%
2000	**Total NSFAS**	**1093**	**296**	**84**	**94**	**3**	**1570**
	% of SB	9.5%	2.5%	1%	1%	0%	14% (of 11501)
	% of NSFAS	69%	19%	6%	6%	0%	100%
	% of group	40%	19%	11%	2%	0%	14%
2004	**Total NSFAS**	**1250**	**420**	**117**	**174**	**2**	**1963**
	% of SB	9%	3%	1%	1%	0%	14% (of 14230)
	% of NSFAS	64%	21%	6%	9%	0%	100%
	% of group	43%	21%	12%	3%	0%	14%

Source: Calculations based on data from UCT Department of Institutional Planning (2005), all figures rounded.
Key: SB = total undergraduate student body; NSFAS = recipients of financial aid from the National Students' Financial Aid Scheme; group = undergraduate SB by race.

Table 8 Undergraduate Year-on-Year Success and Wastage by Nationality, Race and NSFAS, 1996-2004

	South African								Internat.	Total	
	African		Coloured		Indian		White		/ Other		
	Total	NSFAS only	Total	NSFAS only	Total	NSFAS only	Total	NSFAS Only	Total	Total	NSFAS only
1996 Total Students	**2947**	**1284**	**1495**	**306**	**549**	**79**	**4710**	**110**	**973**	**10674**	**1783**
Academic Success*	92%	91%	94%	92%	91%	89%	98%	97%	95%	95%	92%
Academic Exclusion	8%	9%	6%	7%	9%	11%	2%	3%	5%	5%	8%
Financial Exclusion / Drop-Out	3%	3%	6%	7%	4%	4%	4%	5%	5%	4%	4%
2000 Total Students	**2722**	**1093**	**1545**	**296**	**788**	**84**	**5213**	**94**	**1233**	**11501**	**1570**
Academic Success*	91%	90%	95%	95%	96%	95%	98%	99%	95%	96%	91%
Academic Exclusion	9%	10%	5%	5%	4%	5%	2%	1%	5%	4%	9%
Financial Exclusion	5%	2%	3%	2%	1%	0%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Other Drop-Out	1%	1%	4%	2%	4%	2%	4%	5%	3%	3%	1%
2004 Total Students	**2935**	**1250**	**2007**	**420**	**980**	**117**	**6243**	**174**	**2065**	**14230**	**1963**
Academic Success*	92%	89%	95%	94%	97%	98%	98%	99%	95%	96%	91%
Academic Exclusion	8%	11%	5%	6%	3%	2%	2%	1%	5%	4%	9%
Financial Exclusion	2%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	2%	1%	1%
Other Drop-Out	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	0%	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%

Source: Calculations based on data from UCT Department of Institutional Planning (2005).
*Key: *Includes all students who were academically successful and graduated or continued their education at UCT in the following year, as well as academically successful non-completers ('drop-outs') and academically successful financially excluded students; NSFAS = recipients of financial aid from the National Students' Financial Aid Scheme.*

Figure 5 Spectrum of Academic Success and Failure at UCT, 2004

	Most successful	Academic Success Spectrum							*Least successful*
Race / Nationality	**SA white**	**SA Indian**	**SA white**	**SA Indian**	**SA Coloured**	**Inter-national**	**SA African**	**SA Coloured**	**SA African**
Financial Aid	**NSFAS**	**NSFAS**	**Non-NSFAS**	**Non-NSFAS**	**Non-NSFAS**	**N/A**	**Non-NSFAS**	**NSFAS**	**NSFAS**
Academic success rate*	99%	98%	98%	97%	96%	95%	94%	94%	89%
Total 'wastage'	2%	3%	4%	6%	8%	8%	10%	9%	13%

Source: UCT Department of Institutional Planning (2005). Note: Own calculation from real numbers.
*Key: *Includes academically successful 'drop-outs' and financially excluded students; NSFAS = recipients of financial aid from the National Students' Financial Aid Scheme.*