

SOCIALLY JUST PEDAGOGIES: TOWARDS PARTICIPATORY PARITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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Abstract

South Africa remains challenged by persistent poverty and inequality, the ramifications of which are felt across the higher education (HE) sector. Many students enter universities already hindered by socio-economic inequalities as well as discriminatory and oppressive cultural practices which continue to impact on their studies. Whilst considerable effort has been put into transforming HE from within and outside the academy, much still needs to be done to ensure that all students are able to flourish and fully participate as equals on university campuses and within teaching spaces. This study takes up the complex issues around transforming South African HE through an exploration of two undergraduate gender studies modules at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), an 'historically disadvantaged' university which still draws primarily poor and working-class 'black' and 'coloured' students. The study sought to investigate how HE pedagogical practices could be more cognisant of students' multifaceted and often extremely challenging contexts, their diverse prior knowledges and lived experiences, and at the same time ignite in students a desire to tackle injustices and bring about change in their own lives.

A wide range of pedagogies claim a social justice approach, seeking to challenge and disrupt injustices within and outside classrooms. Scholars draw on feminist, queer, critical and decolonial pedagogies, pedagogies of discomfort and critical hope, new materialist and critical posthumanist approaches, an ethics of care, the capabilities approach and Slow scholarship. The thesis provides an overview of this landscape before honing in on Nancy Fraser's understanding of social justice as participatory parity (Fraser, 2009, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Olson, 2008). Fraser equates social justice with parity of participation, that is, the ability of all to participate as peers and equals in all arenas of social interaction including laws and policies, cultures and families, work situations, and civil society. Participatory parity is premised on three dimensions of justice: economic mal/distribution, cultural mis/recognition, and political mis/representation and mis/framing. As Fraser emphasises, whilst it is useful and necessary to examine each of the three dimensions separately for analytic purposes, in reality the three dimensions are intertwined, none is reducible to the other, and none alone is sufficient for participatory parity.

The study had two key aims. Firstly, to explore how thinking with participatory parity might enhance and allow more nuanced understandings of the complexities of injustice in students' lives, and secondly, to consider how these learnings might inform possibilities for rethinking feminist pedagogical practices for social change. The study adopted a post-qualitative feminist methodology, recruiting thinking with the theory (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, 2013) of participatory parity. Data were

generated from 2016 to 2018, primarily through students' tasks and submissions supported by focus groups, observations of, and engagements within the two modules.

Thinking with Fraser's economic dimension revealed the depth and complexities of the material and resource-based challenges facing students on their journeys through HE. Students describe struggling to source adequate finances for a range of basic and essential goods and services such as fees, study materials, affordable and nutritious food, toiletries, transport and suitable accommodation, as well as to find the space and time for studying. Employing the cultural dimension allowed an exploration of intersectional gendered inequalities shaping students' ability to participate as equals in post-apartheid South Africa. Students' narratives about their home lives show that, almost three decades into the democratic era of South Africa, intersectional gendered misrecognition remains pervasive. Whilst students reported some progress towards greater equity in families and homes, at the broader levels of community, culture and religion, heteronormative gender and sexual roles and behaviours remain entrenched, and questioning, transgressing and disrupting norms remains risky. Applying the principle of participatory parity to the Women's and Gender Studies (WGS) pedagogies, particularly the cultural and political dimensions, illuminated ways in which the modules taught in response to and about in/justices. This analysis showed how the pedagogies started with and consistently centred and drew on students' lives and prior knowledges, and opened these up for dialogue and debate amongst differently positioned peers. Discussions and debates on 'real world' examples – with peers, the teaching team and guest lecturers – furthered students' awareness of and insights into injustices stemming from hegemonic norms. Through theory, lectures, guest lectures and conversations online and in class, the pedagogies challenged students to think beyond entrenched, simplistic, essentialised norms and binary thinking, to see ways in which they were both products of and implicated in reproducing misrecognition through social norms and relations, and ways in which those who are marginalised are excluded and lack a political voice. Coming to see injustice as systemic and structural prompted some students to activate for those on the margins, including themselves. Discussing and sharing their moments of agency and activism offered further potential for promoting and deepening understandings of social justice as structural and systemic, for students and their peers.

Whilst important and valuable interventions, these efforts towards feminist and socially just pedagogies cannot escape broader national and global higher education systems and policies, geopolitical knowledge systems, and competitive, marketised neoliberal ideologies. Nevertheless, socially just pedagogies can offer an important contribution through raising awareness of and critically interrogating issues of injustice.

Keywords: pedagogy, social justice, socially just pedagogies, feminist pedagogies, higher education, gender studies, Nancy Fraser, participatory parity, (mal)distribution, (mis)recognition, (mis)representation, (mis)framing, feminist qualitative research, thinking with theory, South Africa



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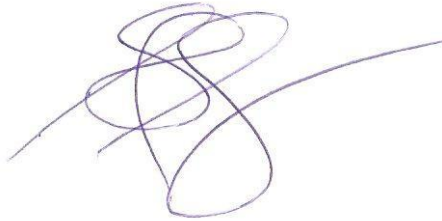
means to be a young person in contemporary South Africa and the joys and struggles in striving for a university degree. Thank you for sharing your life stories.

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Declaration

I declare that *Socially Just Pedagogies: Towards Participatory Parity in Higher Education* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.



Susan Gredley

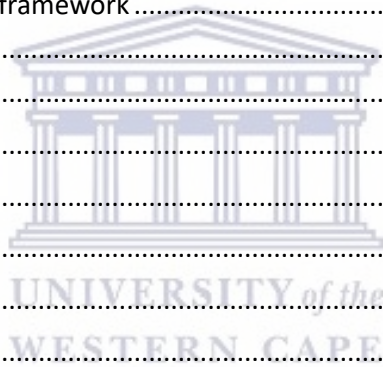
April 2022



Contents

Abstract.....	1
Acknowledgments.....	4
Declaration.....	6
Contents.....	7
List of figures.....	11
List of abbreviations.....	14
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	15
Background and context to the study.....	16
Rationale for the study	19
Social justice as participatory parity	20
Economic mal/distribution	21
Cultural mis/recognition	21
Political mis/representation and mis/framing.....	21
Affirmative and transformative approaches.....	22
Research aims and guiding questions.....	22
Research design and process.....	23
Outline of thesis.....	25
CHAPTER 2: MAPPING THE FIELD OF FEMINIST AND SOCIALLY JUST PEDAGOGIES.....	27
Socially just pedagogies: overview and definitions	27
Feminist pedagogies	29
Foundational feminist pedagogical principles	30
Feminist pedagogies in practice.....	33
Challenges to feminism and feminist pedagogies: neoliberalism and the ‘post-truth’ political landscape	35
Critical pedagogies	35
Critiquing critical pedagogies.....	37
Decolonial theories and socially just pedagogies	38
Pedagogies of discomfort and critical hope.....	42
Feminist new materialist, critical posthumanist, Slow scholarship and ethics of care perspectives ...	43
Conclusion.....	45
CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL JUSTICE AS PARTICIPATORY PARITY	47

Nancy Fraser and social justice as participatory parity	48
Maldistribution, misrecognition and the early development of participatory parity	49
Economic dimension.....	50
Cultural dimension.....	51
Bivalent categories and the imbrication of class and culture.....	54
The development of the political dimension: misrepresentation and misframing.....	56
Remedying injustice: affirmative vs. transformative approaches	59
Economic remedies.....	60
Cultural remedies.....	60
Political remedies.....	61
Nonreformist reforms.....	62
Critiques to participatory parity and Fraser’s current work: new directions, and concluding thoughts	63
 CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROCESS.....	 66
Part 1: A (post)qualitative feminist framework.....	66
Part 2: The research process.....	69
Research design	69
Generating data	79
Data analysis	88
Situating myself in the study.....	90
Ethical considerations.....	92
Conclusion.....	94
 CHAPTER 5: THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION; EXPLORING STUDENTS’ NARRATIVES OF MAL/DISTRIBUTION	 95
Fraser’s economic dimension and mal/distribution.....	97
Resource challenges and constraints.....	98
Finances and funding	98
Transport, accommodation and living arrangements	102
Paths towards ‘success’	105
Finances and funding	105
Transport, accommodation and living arrangements	108
Final discussion and conclusion	113
 CHAPTER 6: INTERSECTIONAL GENDER INJUSTICES SHAPING PARTICIPATORY PARITY IN STUDENTS’ LIVES.....	 115
Fraser’s two-dimensional approach to gender justice	116



Learning normative gender roles and behaviours.....	117
Femininities: Girls becoming women	118
Masculinities: boys becoming men.....	123
Violence against women.....	125
Changing gender roles	127
Marginalised sexualities and genders.....	130
Sexual and gender misrecognition on campus	133
Students entering WGS.....	137
Conclusion.....	139
CHAPTER 7: EXPLORING AND EVALUATING FEMINIST PEDAGOGIES THROUGH THE LENS OF PARTICIPATORY PARITY	140
The political dimension: mis/representation and mis/framing.....	141
Theme 1. Promoting recognition and representation: foregrounding students’ knowledges.....	142
Introducing oneself to the class through blogging	144
Ongoing elicitation of students’ experiences using quizzes and lectures	148
Theme 2. Fostering representation: dialogue and debate across difference with peers.....	154
Dialoguing with peers on the discussion forums.....	155
Theme 3. Disrupting misrecognition and misrepresentation: unsettling and challenging unjust knowledges	162
Revealing structural injustices through the photovoice project	163
Disrupting heteronormative gender and sexuality through guest lecturers.....	167
Theme 4. Challenging misrecognition and misrepresentation: agency and activism towards social justice.....	172
Disrupting normative practices in homes and families	174
Resistance and activism towards social change	176
Conclusion.....	182
CHAPTER 8: FINAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	184
A brief review of the thesis.....	184
Feminist pedagogies through the lens of participatory parity	186
The economic dimension.....	186
The cultural dimension	188
The political dimension.....	190
What this means for pedagogies in HE: the possibilities and challenges in promoting socially just pedagogies	191
REFERENCE LIST	194
APPENDIX A: Example of module outline from WGS2.....	251

APPENDIX B: Example of module outline from WGS3..... 265

APPENDIX C: An example of an information letter given to students..... 271

APPENDIX D: Informed consent forms 273



List of figures

Figure 1. “This is my home!” (Naledi’s photovoice submission, 2017).....	15
Figure 2. Front page of WGS2 module outline, 2018.	71
Figure 3: Front page of WGS3 module outline, 2018.	75
Figure 4. Front page of WGS3 module outline, 2017.	75
Figure 5. Invitation to WGS3 exhibition on campus.	77
Figure 6. WGS3 exhibition launch in the library atrium.....	77
Figure 7. The first quiz in 2018.....	82
Figure 8. An extract from a WGS2 quiz (using Google Forms) which asked students how they learned to do gender.....	83
Figure 9. An example of the landing page of the first quarter discussion forum in WGS2, 2018.	85
Figure 10. An example of conversations within one topic.....	86
Figure 11. “Road to success” (Radhi’s photovoice submission, 2017)	95
Figure 12. “The heel of finance” (Kalum).....	99
Figure 13. “Food crisis” (Sibabalwe)	100
Figure 14. “Distance” (Charlene)	103
Figure 15. “A dangerous route to campus” (Freddie).....	103
Figure 16. “Time & space to study” (Leigh)	104
Figure 17. “Financial stability” (Davina).....	105
Figure 18. “Linguistics bursary” (Mandy).....	106
Figure 19. “Student Christian Organisation” (Nokuthula)	107

Figure 20. “Universal magic” (Neil).....	109
Figure 21. “UWC library” (Precious)	110
Figure 22. “Social support” (Tara).....	111
Figure 23. “My friend’s room in Chris Hani residence” (Pretty)	112
Figure 24. “Representation of what I had to do for the survival of my family” (Liswa)	119
Figure 25. Picture taken by me after Jummuah Salaah at Islamia Mosque (Isra)	120
Figure 26. “New attire and a new name, I am taught to conform to being the tail and my husband the head of the household” (Nandi)	122
Figure 27. “In ending my essay I added this picture of my father cooking in a pink gown. To show that in achieving equality of the sexes males also have a role to play. It is happening; slowly but surely” (Avuyile)	128
Figure 28. “I have chosen to live my life in a pretence” (Umair)	131
Figure 29. “The ball doesn't know if I’m a man or a woman” (Sbu)	135
Figure 30. Lecture slide from the first week of WGS2.....	143
Figure 31. Lecture slide from the 2018 WGS2 class detailing what students said about their gendered experiences in schools.	149
Figure 32. Lecture slide from the 2018 WGS2 class highlighting the main differences between rules for boys and girls in schools.	149
Figure 33. Lecture slide from the 2018 WGS2 class showing students’ responses in 2017.	150
Figure 34. Students from the 2018 cohort describe how they had transgressed gender rules, and the consequences.....	151
Figure 35. Lecture slide from 2018 reporting what students said about systems of social control...	152
Figure 36. Lecture slide from 2016 reporting what students said about systems of social control...	153

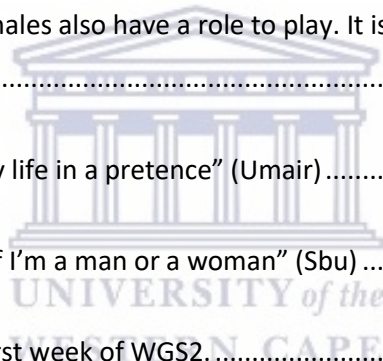
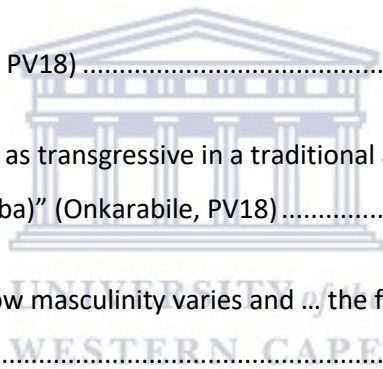


Figure 37. Discussion forum post on being a ‘true African’, 2017.....	155
Figure 38. Discussion forum post on segregated bathrooms, 2016.....	156
Figure 39. Discussion forum post on intersex, 2017.....	157
Figure 40. Responses to the prompt, “The discussion forums helped me make sense of the concepts and ideas covered in this module” (aggregated for 2016–2018).	161
Figure 41. “Mended writing” (Mikki, PV17).....	166
Figure 42. “Looking like a girl” (Mandla, RE18).....	170
Figure 43. Performing ‘appropriate’ masculinity (Mandla, RE18)	171
Figure 44. “A kitchen is just ... a kitchen” (Janey, PV18).....	175
Figure 45. “Fees Must Fall” (Aqilah, PV18)	177
Figure 46. “Queer body seeing [sic] as transgressive in a traditional and explicitly homophobic setting. Still from The Wound (Inxeba)” (Onkarabile, PV18).....	179
Figure 47. “This image speaks to how masculinity varies and ... the fluidity of gender identity and gender expression” (Kris, PV18).....	180



List of abbreviations

B	blog/s
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CHEC	Cape Higher Education Consortium
DF	discussion forum/s
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
DoE	Department of Education
FG	focus group/s
GDX	Gender Dynamix
HDI	historically disadvantaged institution
HE	higher education
HEI	higher education institution
I	interview/s
IDAHOT	International Day Against Homophobia, Biphobia and Transphobia
LMS	Learning Management System
ME	module evaluation/s
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
ODL	open and distance learning
OW	online worksheet/s
PAR	participatory action research
PLA	participatory learning and action
PLA/PAR	participatory learning and action / participatory action research techniques
PV	photovoice submission/s
Q	quizzes
RE	reflective essays
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SASCO	South African Students Congress
SGJ	Sonke Gender Justice
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WGS	Women's and Gender Studies
WGS2	Second-year module: <i>Sex, Gender and Sexuality</i>
WGS3	Third-year module: <i>Research Project</i>

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION



Figure 1. "This is my home!" (Naledi's photovoice submission, 2017)

This is My Home! Here I live with my parents and my six siblings. We don't have electricity in the settlement so we are using the illegal electricity and we do not have proper sanitation. This is a three room shack, with two bedrooms and another room is used for the kitchen and the lounge. I am the first person in my family to be studying in university and everything I look at this shack gives motives to study harder and be able to build my parents and my siblings a big beautiful house. This shack has not made me feel stressed about where I live. However, it gave me power to carry on and work harder so that I can fulfill my parents' dreams and mine too. In university there were times where I was feeling like giving up because of the pressure and stress I was under, but then again I have to come back home to this shack and it reminds me why in the first place I was studying. I know it is not easy to live in this house sometimes because when it rains it rains too. My parents were always reminding me or making statements such as they cannot wait for me to finish so they could have a proper house. That is why I managed to get in my third year because I have always had something that keeps on pushing me to be firm with my studies and to be strong enough to know that if you really want something you figure it out how to make it happen. (Naledi, 2017)¹

¹Naledi (a pseudonym) was a student on a third-year gender studies module at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in 2017. This submission formed part of her coursework. Her words, as with others from student submissions in the thesis, have been minimally edited where necessary for readability, my intention being to keep students' narratives as true to the original as possible. (Most UWC students speak English as a second or third language.) All names are pseudonyms.

Background and context to the study

We live in an unprecedented era of increasingly troubling change. The ramifications of rapid globalisation and accelerating technological advances include widening economic and social inequalities as well as escalating environmental degradation. This is especially true for those in the Global South and reflects the crises of globalised neoliberal capitalism (Fraser, 2013, 2020; StudiumGeneraleUU, 2021). In South Africa, this complexity plays out in particular ways due to the ongoing legacies of colonialism and apartheid. Widely acknowledged as the world's most unequal country, South Africa is constrained by endemic poverty as well as persistent and growing inequalities structured around class, race, gender and other social locations (Odusola et al., 2017; Orthofer, 2016; South African Human Rights Commission [SAHRC], 2018).

The complexity and turmoil of these issues, vividly expressed in Naledi's narrative above, is inevitably reflected in the South African schooling system and across the higher education (HE) sector. Whilst there is debate about the value, purpose and potential of HE in a context such as South Africa (e.g., Allais, 2020; Allais et al., 2019; Vally & Motala, 2014), education continues to be widely regarded as a key driver for lifting people out of poverty and enabling longer, healthier and more socially engaged lives. Recent reports posit a strong relationship between education status and poverty; that the more educated one is, the more benefits will accrue, to individuals, families, communities and broader society (Odusola et al., 2017; World Bank, 2018, 2019). The South African government similarly argues that the higher the qualification, the greater the "potential to eradicate poverty and minimise the impact of ... poverty, unemployment and inequality" (Department of Higher Education and Training [DHET], 2019a, p. 6; Statistics South Africa [Stats SA], 2017). However, over half the population, particularly black² African women and children, those living in rural areas, and those without formal education, live below the poverty line and struggle to access basic services and the material resources necessary to flourish (Stats SA, 2017).

Persistent poverty and inequality mean that almost 30 years into the 'new' South Africa, socio-economically disadvantaged children are severely compromised from an early age. Many will have significant learning gaps by the time they start school, and due to the inequities in the schooling system these gaps grow ever wider as they progress towards matric (DHET, 2019a, 2019b;

² Despite widespread criticism of the ongoing use of apartheid-era racial markers, these persist partly because they are seen as necessary for remedying past injustices. Whilst I understand race as a social construct, I have used racial markers in the thesis as students continue to attribute meanings to them and the markers still have a profound impact on the material lives, experiences and opportunities of students and others.

Van der Berg, 2015; Van der Berg et al., 2016). The fortunate few who manage to gain entry to a university face a range of complex challenges including a lack of ‘academic preparedness’ as well as insufficient financial and other material resources to fund their studies and daily living requirements (Council on Higher Education [CHE], 2010, 2016; DHET, 2019a; Gredley, 2020; Khan, 2020; Swartz, Mahali, Moletsane, Arogundade, Khalema, Cooper & Groenewald, 2018). Additionally, the challenge of learning in a second or third language is a reality for many. This is complicated by the Eurocentric bias of South African HE curricula, still strongly shaped by “racist, patriarchal and authoritarian colonial and apartheid social orders” (Badat, 2008, p. 8), further marginalising African voices (see also Badat & Sayed, 2014; Heleta, 2016; Mbembe, 2016). These multiple issues make the already challenging adjustment to university life and studies even harder for disadvantaged students, impeding their ability to participate as equals with their more advantaged peers (Case et al., 2018; Cooper, 2015, 2019; Langa, 2017). Unsurprisingly, therefore, despite the significant increase in participation rates of black, coloured and Indian students (DHET, 2019a, 2019b), these students remain underrepresented in HE compared to their white peers, and student progress and success³ in HE is still “sharply skewed by race and prior education” (CHE, 2016, p. 7; Cooper, 2015, 2019).

Frustration at the slow pace of social and educational transformation erupted in the form of the #Fallist⁴ student movements in 2015. Whilst student protests and activism were not uncommon in post-apartheid South Africa, particularly amongst historically black and disadvantaged universities (Davids & Waghid, 2016; Hlatshwayo, 2021; Mathebula & Calitz, 2018), the #Fallist movements galvanised students across the country and internationally. In South Africa, students protested against ongoing marginalisation, oppression and prejudice through unaffordable fees and living expenses, endemic and entrenched racism and hetero/sexism, discriminatory language policies,

³ Whilst not a central concept for this study, it is important to note that ‘student success’ and associated terms such as ‘development’, ‘progress’ and ‘throughput’ have been troubled and critiqued over the years. Blunt and decontextualised understandings of success equate it with improved throughput and graduation rates, with more students progressing more quickly through their studies so that they can contribute to a country’s economic growth (Ashwin & Case, 2018; Lange, 2014; Saidi, 2020). More critical perspectives argue that this is a meritocratic understanding which privileges individuals and their ostensibly inherent characteristics and attributes such as intelligence, motivation and talent, and underplays or ignores the role of social structures. This effectively decontextualises students from their socio-economic, historical, cultural and political contexts such as poverty at home and poor schooling, and denies the impact of the higher education institution (HEI) itself, which has its own socio-economic, cultural and political history and context (Boughey & McKenna, 2021).

⁴ The #Fallist movement encompasses #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall, #OpenStellenbosch, the Trans Collective and other groups which emerged from the 2015/2016 student movements. Through these groups, at different times and to different extents, students protested against classism, racism, hetero/sexism, patriarchy, ableism, discriminatory language policies and practices as well as other forms of oppression and prejudice, and advocated for free and decolonised education for all (Chinguno et al., 2018; Langa, 2017).

gender-based violence and ableism, and they sought free and decolonised education for all (Chinguno et al., 2018; Langa, 2017). Through their movements, their successes and challenges, students demonstrated that HE does and should continue to play an important role in challenging and changing the social order. As Richard Pithouse (2016, para. 25) put it at the time: “Universities ... have been thrust into a moment of real political significance and need to rise, in so far as they can, to the occasion.”

Despite slow progress and multiple challenges, there have been efforts to drive transformation in South African HE from within and outside the academy. The Department of Education’s (DoE) 1997 White Paper, ‘A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education’, laid out a bold vision, aims and objectives for the transformation and democratisation of HE. The White Paper (DoE, 1997, p. 7) mandates HE to produce graduates who are “enlightened, responsible and constructively critical citizens”, open to diverse views and ideas, who have “reflective capacity and a willingness to review and renew prevailing ideas, policies and practices based on a commitment to the common good”, and who can engender social change. The DHET reiterated these goals in 2010, recommending the need for socially relevant curricula which support students in becoming socially engaged citizens and leaders. At this summit the Minister of Higher Education and Training conceded that although there had been “profound gains” since 1994, “the overall transformation of the HE sector remains loaded with challenges” (DHET, 2010, p. 6). In the second decade of the 21st century, post-1994 policies remain to be realised: to transform South African higher education institutions (HEIs) into spaces that are equal, democratic, non-racist, non-sexist, accepting of multiculturalism and supportive of human rights (DoE, 1997; DHET, 2019a; Soudien, 2010).

Across the HE sector, universities continue to face severe challenges and constraints, particularly ‘historically disadvantaged’ institutions which “continue to struggle with paucity in terms of funding, geopolitical positioning, human and material resources” (Zembylas & Bozalek, 2017, p. 1). Through the Department of Higher Education and Training, government has intensified pressure on HEIs to increase enrolment (DHET, 2019b), yet funding for institutions and students remains low in global terms (CHE, 2016; DHET, 2013, 2019a, 2019b). And, whilst government funding for HE continues to fall in real terms, study and living expenses continue to rise, and tuition fees have thus become a necessary and increasingly important source of funds for public universities (Ayuk & Koma, 2018; DHET, 2019b; Wangenge-Ouma & Carpentier, 2018). Reflecting global trends, South African universities are increasingly structured by market-driven neoliberal agendas, driven by demands of ‘excellence’ according to global league table systems (inherently flawed and inequitable (Gadd, 2020)), and affected by inequities in the geopolitics of knowledge production (Burke, 2013).

Further, universities are positioned as vehicles for promoting knowledge and skills for economic growth, an approach which disregards inherent structural barriers (CHE, 2016; Le Grange, 2020; Lewis, 2016; Swartz et al., 2019). Covid-19 and the attendant rapid shift to online learning has added another layer of complexity, and the impact on students, their families and HEIs has been significant (Black et al., 2020; Le Grange, 2020; Naidu, 2021; SA News, 2021).

Additionally, students face a range of multifaceted cultural, discursive and material challenges. As Hlatshwayo (2021, p. 4) puts it, although ostensibly “born free”⁵ into the “rainbow nation”⁶, the majority of black students, like their parents before them, remain “shackled in racialized poverty and ... structurally trapped in the townships”. As a large body of feminist scholarship shows, the structural trap includes persistent and pervasive gender and sexual injustices stemming from heteronormative, patriarchal attitudes across religions and cultures (Akintola, 2006; Bhana, 2016, 2017; Bozalek, 2004; Helman & Ratele, 2016; Ngabaza, 2010; Ntombela & Mashiya, 2009; Ratele et al., 2010; Salo, 2004). These intertwined maldistributions and misrecognitions (Fraser, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Olson, 2008) further shape and constrain possibilities for young people to participate as equals with their peers.

Rationale for the study

This study takes up the complex issues around transforming South African HE outlined above, which are often debated at a national or institutional level. Here, however, the issues are explored within a more ‘local’ space: the university classroom. I wanted to investigate how HE pedagogical practices could be more cognisant of students’ multifaceted and often extremely challenging contexts, their diverse prior knowledges and lived experiences, and at the same time ignite in students a desire to tackle injustices and bring about change in their own lives. In other words, I wondered, how can educators teach for social justice in ways which are at the same time socially just?

Given South Africa’s particular history as well as current transnational, globalised, socioeconomic and ecological crises (Bozalek, Zembylas & Shefer, 2018), research into the possibilities and challenges of socially just pedagogies is important. However, there is a dearth of

⁵ A term for the generation born in the post-1994 democratic era.

⁶ The idea of South Africa as a ‘rainbow nation’ emerged in 1994. The term was used to signify a break from apartheid and to promote racial and cultural tolerance and unity in the ‘new South Africa’. It has since been widely critiqued as deeply flawed, falsely optimistic, and contributing to ongoing and deepening structural injustices (Hlatshwayo, 2021).

‘close up’ research which considers the ‘what’ and the ‘how’ of socially just pedagogies in HE, particularly in the South African context. As Badsha (2012) argued 10 years ago, although well-crafted policy exists, relatively little is understood about how to conceptualise and implement socially just pedagogies, nor how they are received and experienced by students. Almost a decade later, scholars continue to argue that more research is needed into pedagogies themselves, to rethink ways in which HEIs and pedagogies can ‘transform’ (Pattman & Carolissen, 2018), and to “advance *just* social arrangements and *just* ways of relating and access so that students and academics feel that they belong and can participate on an equal footing” (Hölscher & Bozalek, 2020, pp. 3–4, emphasis in original).

Social justice as participatory parity

A wide variety of pedagogies claim a social justice approach, seeking to challenge and disrupt injustices within and outside classrooms. Educators and scholars draw on, and critique, a range of approaches including feminist, queer, critical and decolonial pedagogies, pedagogies of discomfort and critical hope, new materialist and critical posthumanist approaches, an ethics of care, the capabilities approach, Slow scholarship and more. In this study I chose to ‘think with the theory’ (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, 2013, 2018) of participatory parity (Fraser, 2009, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Olson, 2008) to facilitate my exploration of socially just pedagogies. Feminist philosopher and political and social theorist Nancy Fraser developed her three-dimensional theory of participatory parity from the late 1980s onward. Over the past two decades in particular it has gained traction amongst education scholars globally and locally. Increasingly it is seen as a comprehensive, pragmatic and valuable normative lens through which to explore and evaluate pedagogical injustices (e.g., Blackmore, 2016; Bozalek et al., 2020; Burke, 2002; Burke et al., 2016; Hodgkinson-Williams & Trotter, 2018; Jackson & Burke, 2007; Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2015; Lingard & Keddie, 2013; Mills et al., 2016).

Fraser equates social justice with parity of participation, that is, the ability of all to participate as peers and equals in all areas involving social interaction such as laws and policies, cultures and families, work situations, and civil society. The principle of participatory parity is premised on three dimensions of justice: economic mal/distribution, cultural mis/recognition, and political mis/representation and mis/framing. Fraser argues that for analytic purposes it is useful and necessary to examine each of the three dimensions separately. Nonetheless, she emphasises that the dimensions are overlapping and intertwined, that none is reducible to the other, and that none of the dimensions alone is sufficient for participatory parity.

Economic mal/distribution

With respect to economic injustice or maldistribution, Fraser (2005, p. 73) explains that “people can be impeded from full participation by economic structures that deny them the resources they need in order to interact with others as peers”. Maldistribution means that students may be impeded from full participation by historical and current lack of access to quality schooling and HE. Further, students may face challenges such as having to take on full- or part-time work and caring for family. All these factors impact on finances and time available for studies. These barriers, which affect historically disadvantaged South Africans most severely, indicate “distributive injustice or maldistribution” (2005, p. 73) and must be addressed through economic redistribution or economic restructuring.

Cultural mis/recognition

In relation to cultural inequality or misrecognition, Fraser (2005, p. 73) points out that “people can also be prevented from interacting on terms of parity by institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value that deny them the requisite standing”. Fraser views misrecognition as occurring when societal claims about supposedly fundamental, intrinsic differences between different groups of people (along the lines of cultural attributes such as gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, language, dis/ability and age) are used to justify the oppression and marginalisation of particular groups, placing some in positions of privilege whilst restricting the lives of others.

Political mis/representation and mis/framing

In terms of political inequality, which takes the form of misrepresentation and misframing, Fraser (2005, p. 75) explains that this “tells us who is included in, and who excluded from, the circle of those entitled to a just distribution and reciprocal recognition”. The political dimension thus “furnishes the stage on which struggles over distribution and recognition” play out and “tells us not only *who* can make claims for redistribution and recognition, but also *how* such claims are to be mooted and adjudicated” (Fraser, 2005, p. 75, emphasis added). Whilst misrepresentation signifies a lack of voice in political decision making, and is therefore a serious injustice, Fraser (2005, p. 77) argues that misframing is the most severe form of injustice and “a kind of ‘political death’” as one is excluded from claims for justice in all three dimensions. In relation to students in HE, questions of representation would pertain to issues of belonging and voice, for example, who decides on and how decisions are made in relation to student organisations, academic and informal campus

initiatives, and so on. Mis/framing pertains to issues of access and exclusion, for example, physical access to a university and epistemological access to the curriculum.

Affirmative and transformative approaches

For each dimension, Fraser distinguishes between affirmative and transformative approaches for dealing with issues of injustice. She views affirmative approaches as ameliorative (Bozalek, 2017; Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012; Hodgkinson-Williams & Trotter, 2018). While they may alleviate or correct inequalities created by social arrangements, they do not disturb the underlying social structures that generate group inequities. Additionally, this approach may have the “perverse effect of promoting [group] differentiation” (Fraser, 2008, p. 33). Transformative approaches, on the other hand, do address the underlying root causes or generative framework; they seek structural reform and to blur differences (Fraser, 2008).

Research aims and guiding questions

The central aim of this study was to draw on Nancy Fraser’s three dimensions of participatory parity to, firstly, consider how they might contribute to enhanced and more nuanced understandings of the complexities of injustice in students’ lives and, secondly, consider how these learnings might inform possibilities for feminist pedagogical practices and contribute to rethinking feminist pedagogies for social change.

Thinking with participatory parity in relation with the data led to four sub-questions:

1. How does Fraser’s economic dimension enhance understandings of the material inequalities which shape and undermine possibilities for students’ abilities to flourish in HE in post-apartheid South Africa?
2. How does Fraser’s cultural dimension enhance understandings of intersectional gendered inequalities that shape and undermine students’ lives in post-apartheid South Africa?
3. How does Fraser’s political dimension enhance understandings of feminist pedagogies in higher education?
4. How might these learnings inform feminist and social justice pedagogical practices and contribute to rethinking pedagogies for social change?

Research design and process

The research site was two undergraduate modules in the Women's and Gender Studies (WGS) department at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), an 'historically black' or 'historically disadvantaged' institution (HDI) in post-apartheid terminology. Located in Cape Town, UWC was founded in 1959 to serve primarily poor and working class 'coloured' families forcibly removed from designated 'white' areas to the Cape Flats following the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950. It became widely referred to as a 'bush college' and today remains "located in an urban wasteland surrounded by underdeveloped industrial land as well as very poor, densely populated communities" (UWC, 2014, p. 3). The UWC student body continues to be over 90% black, coloured and Indian, many of whom are highly disadvantaged students from poor and working-class backgrounds. Despite UWC being one of the most affordable universities in South Africa, most students would not be able to study without financial assistance (UWC, 2017). Two-thirds of students are first generation, many work full- or part-time, and most rely on funding from the troubled National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS)⁷ (CHE, 2017). On-campus accommodation is extremely limited; over 80% of students live off campus (UWC, 2017) and face an often-daunting commute (Rink, 2018). The Covid-19 pandemic and resulting lockdowns exacerbated these challenges and closed UWC's campus for most students from early 2020. Research into the impact of the lockdowns has shown that many students were compelled to work in home-study environments where they lacked access to devices and connectivity as well as essential basic services such as electricity, and were required to take on domestic chores such as caring for younger siblings and grandparents (Black et al., 2020; Czerniewicz et al., 2020; Landa et al., 2021; Le Grange, 2020; Makumbe, 2020).

UWC students therefore face a range of complex, multifaceted challenges. On the one hand, students are marginalised through differential access to a range of material resources which impedes their ability to access and successfully navigate HE. On the other, cultural misrecognition (Fraser & Honneth, 2003) along the lines of race, gender, culture, language, nationality, sexuality, dis/ability and age is a stark and often unexpected reality for many students. These issues,

⁷ NSFAS is a government-funded financial aid system which works in conjunction with universities to fund students in need. The organisation has struggled with administrative and organisational inefficiencies, flaws in the funding model, and a lack of adequate funding. It is unable to fully address the needs of all students and HDIs inevitably suffer most (DHET, 2020; Lewin & Mawoyo, 2014).

foregrounded by the #Fallist movements (Chinguno et al., 2018; Langa, 2017), prevent students from being able to participate as equals with their peers in HE.

The two modules investigated for this project were the second-year *Introduction to Sex, Gender and Sexuality* (WGS2) and the third-year *Research Project* (WGS3). I deliberately chose these modules, firstly, for their location at UWC and the historical and current significance of that context; secondly, for their aspirations towards gender and social justice; and thirdly, as I had been working with the department since 2010 (initially through online teaching and research support and, from 2016, on-campus teaching support). I was therefore familiar with the staff, the modules and some students. Whilst differently conceptualised and taught, both WGS modules claimed a feminist pedagogical approach. Both sought to centre and foreground students' prior knowledges and experiences as a starting point for their learning and in order to explore power differentials in knowledge production both in- and outside the classroom (Clowes, 2018; Clowes et al., 2017; Ngabaza et al., 2018; Shefer & Clowes, 2015). Both aspired to foster independent, critical thinking on the self and students' own lives in relation to social norms (Clowes, 2015a, 2015b; Clowes et al., 2017; Shefer & Clowes, 2015; WGS, 2015), and to promote social justice and social change through cultivating socially aware and critically engaged citizens (Clowes, 2018; Shefer et al., 2020, 2017).

Data were gathered over three years, primarily through students' submissions including anonymous quizzes, online blogs and discussion forums, reflective essays, photovoice submissions and module evaluations. Additional data included my observations of and engagements with students, lecturers and guest lecturers, my engagements with the pedagogies, as well as a series of focus groups and interviews. Throughout the research process, from the early conception of the study through to data generation and analysis, I made use of Fraser's understanding of social justice as participatory parity. In engaging with Fraser's ideas in this way, the study adopted a more post-qualitative feminist methodology, "thinking with the theory" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, 2013, 2018) of participatory parity. In making this a feminist study, I was committed to surfacing and exploring intersectional gendered experiences of power, inequities and injustices, and took an approach that was committed to contributing to the broader project of transforming pedagogies in HE.

Thinking with participatory parity in this way resulted in an analysis structured over three chapters. The first analysis chapter focuses on the economic dimension and material inequalities

facing students in HE; the second draws on Fraser's cultural dimension to explore intersectional⁸ gendered injustices in students' lives; and the third draws on the political and cultural dimensions to explore the WGS pedagogies.

Outline of thesis

Chapter 1 introduces the thesis by setting out the background and context of the study, the study's rationale, the research site and research questions, the theoretical framework guiding the study, and the research design and methodology.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of key theories in the fields of feminist and socially just pedagogies. It introduces some of the complexities around defining and conceptualising socially just pedagogies, and explores feminist, critical and decolonial pedagogical approaches. The chapter includes an overview of pedagogies of discomfort and critical hope, feminist new materialist and posthumanist theories, Slow pedagogies and a critical ethics of care.

Chapter 3 details Fraser's social justice framework of participatory parity which I chose as the study's primary conceptual and analytic framework. Whilst not an educational model per se, Fraser's work is finding increasing traction in HE as the principal of participatory parity provides a rigorous and pragmatic approach to exploring issues of social justice in education.

Chapter 4 outlines the study's feminist and (post)qualitative methodological framework. I explain that whilst conventionally qualitative in some respects, the study also took a more post-qualitative turn through its recruitment of thinking with the theory of participatory parity. The chapter presents the research process including the research design, detailed descriptions of the two WGS modules, data-gathering methods, how I approached data analysis, and self-reflexivity and ethics.

Chapter 5 is the first data analysis chapter. It draws on the economic dimension to investigate the socio-economic and resource-based challenges faced by students through their HE journeys, as reported by students in their photovoice submissions.

⁸ As noted earlier, Fraser stressed that the economic, cultural and political dimensions are interimbricated; all are therefore intersectional as they are, in reality, multidimensional. Intersectional as used here is more specifically aimed at highlighting ways in which gender can never be disentangled from class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality and so on.

Chapter 6 draws on (mis)recognition to explore the complexities and nuances of intersectional gender injustices in students' lives, again drawn from students' own reports on aspects of their gendered upbringings and everyday lives.

Chapter 7 is the final analysis chapter. This chapter focuses on the WGS pedagogies and explores what can be learnt about feminist pedagogies through the lens of participatory parity, in particular (mis)recognition and (mis)representation. The chapter explores ways in which thinking with participatory parity can deepen understandings of feminist and other justice-oriented pedagogies, and what this might mean for approaching and rethinking HE pedagogies for social change.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis and sums up my findings. I outline the value of drawing on participatory parity as a lens for deepening understandings of pedagogies in HE and for pointing towards ways of fostering socially just pedagogies in the South African context. I include limitations of the principal of participatory parity in its application to HE pedagogies, and offer some suggestions for further research.



CHAPTER 2: MAPPING THE FIELD OF FEMINIST AND SOCIALLY JUST PEDAGOGIES

This study set out to explore how the understanding of social justice as participatory parity could be used to contribute to fostering socially just pedagogies in South African HE. As I noted in the Introduction, Fraser's framework has relatively recently gained traction in HE studies as scholars seek to better understand and improve a range of social injustices in teaching and learning contexts. The theory joins a wide, complex and at times contested field of pedagogies with social justice aims and intentions. In Chapter 3, I discuss participatory parity in detail and ways in which it has been used in HE settings. This chapter explores other ways in which global and local theorists, scholars, educators and researchers have understood, analysed and practised a range of pedagogies with social justice intentions.

To map the terrain and some of the complexities of pedagogies for and about social justice, this chapter first discusses definitions of socially just pedagogies. I then explore the field of feminist pedagogies. I discuss four foundational feminist principles, consider ways in which feminist pedagogies are practised, and outline challenges to feminism and feminist pedagogies in the current neoliberal and 'post-truth' regime. This is followed by a discussion of critical pedagogies and decolonial approaches in HE. The latter part of the chapter provides an overview of further important justice approaches including the pedagogies of discomfort and critical hope, new materialist / critical posthumanist approaches, Slow scholarship and the ethics of care framework.

Socially just pedagogies: overview and definitions

Whilst references to socially just pedagogies are relatively recent, the field of pedagogies with social justice as an aim and focus goes back a century or more and is extensive and diverse. Globally and in the South African context, educators and scholars approach socially just pedagogies from diverse theoretical orientations, draw on a range of conceptual frameworks, and practise socially just pedagogies in very different ways. Social justice approaches include critical, emancipatory, radical, feminist, anti-racist and anti-oppressive pedagogies; popular and adult education traditions; and perspectives such as an ethics of care, affect theories, feminist new materialist and posthumanist theories, and Slow scholarship.

As with the term social justice itself, definitions and understandings of socially just / social justice pedagogies are value-laden, contested, and dynamic across contexts and over time (North,

2006, 2009; Tjabane & Pillay, 2011). Despite the complexity, there is broad agreement amongst scholars that socially just pedagogies have two core intentions: firstly, educators strive “to transform policies and enact pedagogies that improve the learning and life opportunities of typically under-served students”; secondly, they aim to equip and empower all students, marginalised and privileged, to themselves work towards a more socially just society (Zembylas & Bozalek, 2019, p. 6). This understanding, which highlights “the process of learning, as well as ... the outcome” (Leibowitz, 2016, p. 219), emphasises that teaching and learning should be “sensitive to students’ cultural/economic/representational needs” and work “toward social justice within society and the world” (Zembylas & Bozalek, 2019, p. 6). There is a tension here, as North (2009, p. 558) notes,

between helping students from historically marginalized communities gain access to and function effectively within social institutions as they currently are and teaching all students ways of knowing and acting that challenge the status quo.

Moje (2007) echoes this tension in her useful differentiation between socially just pedagogies and pedagogies for social justice. She explains *socially just pedagogies* as those that aim for equality of opportunities to learn, including equal access to resources for learning, noting that this is not always within the educator’s control. This approach seeks to equalise access to mainstream knowledge and skills, but it risks reproducing the status quo as it requires students to assimilate into dominant cultures rather than opening up spaces for “many different cultural practices to coexist and even nurture one another” (Moje, 2007, p. 3). This approach aligns with Fraser’s understanding of affirmative remedies for justice, that is, shorter-term, more superficial shifts which can ameliorate injustice (Fraser, 2008). Moje (2007) contrasts this with a *social justice pedagogy* which provides access to mainstream knowledge as well as opportunities to question, challenge and reconstruct that knowledge to effect social and political change. Further, these transformative opportunities would be offered to everyone, even the privileged. This approach is more aligned with Fraser’s understanding of transformative justice – her preferred approach for tackling injustice – in that it seeks to alter the underlying root causes of injustice, advancing structural change and challenging and disrupting group differences (Fraser, 2008).

The definitions above make evident some of the complexities within the field of pedagogies about and for social justice (hereafter primarily referred to as socially just pedagogies), which are reflected in the diversity of approaches to socially just teaching and learning. In theory and practice, socially just pedagogies encompass a range of educational and activist traditions and social movements including feminist, queer, critical, decolonial, feminist new materialist and posthuman approaches. Scholars such as Moje (2007), North (2006, 2008, 2009) and Kumashiro (2009) reject a

one-size-fits-all approach to socially just pedagogies as complex problems do not have easy solutions (North, 2008). The scholars argue that different contexts call for different approaches; that socially just pedagogies must be generated in response to actual learners; that multiple approaches may be necessary to promote politically engaged, critically aware citizens; and that any social justice approach may offer more and less productive opportunities for transformative justice.

Feminist pedagogies

The WGS modules that are the focus of this study are inspired by feminist philosophies, principles and practices and have a clear social justice intent. Like feminism and feminist theory, feminist pedagogies are diverse, contested and constantly evolving, and there is no universally agreed upon feminist pedagogical approach (Almansori, 2020; Spencer, 2015; Webb et al., 2002). Nevertheless, feminist pedagogies are broadly aligned in drawing on feminist epistemologies which question hegemonic, patriarchal and heteronormative Western and Northern ways of knowing and being. Historically, feminist pedagogies have roots in a range of liberatory traditions including Dewey's progressive education approach and Freire's conscientising critical pedagogy, as well as an array of social movements including the conscious-raising practices of the women's liberation and civil rights movements in the latter part of the 20th century (Almansori, 2020; Welch, 2006). However, feminist pedagogies, and the feminist movement itself, have been and continue to be shaped by contestation and critique (e.g., Bailey, 2010; Gronold et al., 2009).

In the late 20th century and early 2000s in particular, black, queer and subaltern feminist scholars, educators and activists such as Alice Walker, Audre Lorde, Angela Davis, bell hooks, Gayatri Spivak, Kimberlé Crenshaw and Chandra Mohanty demonstrated the implicit white, Western, heterosexist, middle-class orientation of dominant feminist thought (Sánchez-Casal & MacDonald, 2002). More recently, decolonial, new materialist and posthumanist thought has been influential, foregrounding concepts of Indigeneity, embodiment, affect, relationality, diffraction, an ethics of care, Slow scholarship and so on (e.g., Bozalek, 2022; Bozalek et al., 2016; Bozalek, Braidotti, Shefer & Zembylas, 2018; Bozalek et al., 2021b; Bozalek & Zembylas, 2016; Hinton & Terusch, 2015; Hölscher et al., 2020; Mountz et al., 2015; Shahjahan, 2015). Approaches such as these continue to take feminist theory in new directions, for, as Thiele (2015) points out, of key importance to feminist thought is its transformative potential and the desire to bring change. It does this through constantly seeking ways to "to think differently, innovatively, in terms that have never been developed before, about the most forceful and impressive impacts that impinge upon us" (Grosz in Thiele, 2015, p. 104).

Foundational feminist pedagogical principles

Around the turn of the 21st century, feminist scholars in the United States and United Kingdom in particular documented what they saw as key principles of feminist pedagogies and how these differed from critical, radical, liberatory and related pedagogies (Almansori, 2020; hooks, 1994; Jackson, 1997; Shrewsbury, 1993; Webb et al., 2002; Welch, 2006). These ‘foundational’ principles, debated and developed over the past four decades, have a strong social justice focus: they include interrogating knowledge, valuing personal life experiences, disrupting traditional teacher/student hierarchies, fostering students’ active participation and ‘voice’, a commitment to building community and collaborative ways of working, an explicit focus on power and inequalities, and consciousness raising to foster activism for social change (Almansori, 2020; hooks, 1994; Maher & Thompson Tetreault, 1994; Morris, 2020; Schoeman, 2015; Webb et al., 2002; Weiler, 1991; Welch, 2006; Zerbe Enns & Sinacore, 2005). Foundational feminist principles continue to be influential for feminist educators, including the WGS lecturers, and are outlined in four (albeit overlapping) parts below: revealing and disrupting power relations, rethinking ways of knowing and being, collaborative learning, and education for social change.

Revealing and disrupting power relations

A core principle of foundational feminist pedagogies is calling attention to and disrupting unequal power relations as well as social, cultural and economic oppressions within and outside the classroom in diverse contexts (Almansori, 2020; hooks, 1994; Webb et al., 2002; Zerbe Enns & Sinacore, 2005). One aspect of this is an attempt to reform traditionally hierarchical student/teacher relationships through calling attention to ways in which teachers have long been positioned as authoritative and even omniscient figures versus learners as “empty vessels” and passive recipients of knowledge (Freire, 2005; hooks, 1994; Jackson, 1997; Naskali & Keskitalo-Foley, 2019; Schoeman, 2015; Webb et al., 2002).

Calling attention to power relations is one way to decentre the role of teacher and democratise classrooms. Feminist educators aim for classrooms in which traditional roles and hierarchies shift, with power, authority and responsibility being more equally shared so that everyone in the classroom is both teacher and learner (Barr & Oliver, 2016; Clowes, 2018; Martin, 2017; Naskali & Keskitalo-Foley, 2019; Webb et al., 2002). As these and other feminist scholars also note, however, even if teachers do aim for more egalitarian classrooms, the structure of a module, its assessment practices and the institution in which the module and the teacher are situated mean that hierarchies and systems of power are inevitable (Bailey, 2010). Additionally, students may

struggle to recognise power relations as socially constructed expressions of privilege and marginalisation (Clowes, 2013). Feminist scholars thus argue that although teachers cannot fully relinquish power, they can draw attention to its operationalisation in and outside the classroom and “communicate to students the rules of the game none of us can escape from playing” (Bailey, 2010, p. 144).

Rethinking knowledge and ways of knowing and being

An important way in which power operates in education is through knowledge hierarchies and boundaries. To counter dominant, normative, taken-for-granted knowledges and ways of knowing, feminist teachers aim for a critical approach which explores the social and political origins of knowledge, reveals relationships between knowledge and power, challenges understandings of knowledge as objective and value free, and questions theory and ways in which theory is generated (Almansori, 2020; Clowes, 2015a, 2015b; hooks, 1994; Morris, 2020; Naskali & Keskitalo-Foley, 2019; Webb et al., 2002). A feminist approach questions rationality, neutrality and disembodied objectivity as the only ways of knowing and being. Instead, knowledge is understood as ‘situated’, embodied, multidimensional, positional, co-constructed, culture-bound, partial and contingent (Almansori, 2020; Haraway, 1988; hooks, 1994; Morris, 2020; Mupotsa, 2020b; Nqambaza, 2021; Schoeman, 2015). An important more recent strand in feminist pedagogy has been the importance of care and affect as vital to ways of knowing and being (e.g., Bozalek et al., 2021b; Kiguwa, 2017; Motta & Bennett, 2018; Mountz et al., 2015; Shefer, 2020, 2021; Zembylas et al., 2014).

In line with rethinking knowledge and ways of knowing, feminist teachers have long sought to educate in ways that are relevant to the concerns of the marginalised (e.g., hooks, 1994; Maher & Thompson Tetreault, 1994). In line with this approach, an important starting point in a feminist classroom is the feminist understanding of the personal as political. This approach problematises the public/private divide, recognises that learners’ experiences are interconnected with the political and social structures which shape their lives, acknowledges that emotions and experiences contribute to knowledge construction, and seeks social change in response to lived experiences of inequality (Dillon, 2019; Frizelle, 2020; Oliveira, 2019). A student’s ordinary, everyday lived experience is therefore often a core text in the classroom and learners are encouraged to explore their own lives in relation to module theory and their broader social context, allowing students to create their own meanings and find their own voices in relation to the material being taught (Boonzaier & Kessi, 2018; Boonzaier & Mkhize, 2018; Clowes, 2015a, 2015b; Clowes et al., 2017; Cornell & Kessi, 2017; Hess & Macomber, 2021; Maher & Thompson Tetreault, 1994; Shefer et al., 2020). Students’ own lives form

the basis for research, social analysis, generating theory, and fostering activism for social change (Hess & Macomber, 2021; Parry, 1996; Weiler, 1991; Welch, 2006).

Feminist scholars argue that the emphasis on students' lived experiences, thoughts and feelings can foster empathy, mutual respect, critical thinking skills, and an understanding of the multiplicity and complexity of 'truths' (Parry, 1996; hooks, 2010). However, they also caution that experience and emotions are not unproblematic and that, whilst valid ways of knowing, they should not be privileged as they too are "permeated with hegemonic meanings" (Lather, 1984, as cited in Welch, 2006, p. 184). Feminist scholars have long recognised that experiences are mediated, selective and partial, constructed in particular places and times for particular audiences (Manicom, 1992). More recently, feminist scholars have argued that experiences, whilst historically and culturally situated and thus already interpretations, are nevertheless important and should be taken into account and reflected upon in teaching and learning (Hughes, 2002; Liinason, 2009; Naskali & Keskitalo-Foley, 2019).

Fostering community and collaborative learning

Whilst individual ways of knowing are valued, feminist educators also understand knowledge as socially and collaboratively produced through students and educators teaching and learning with and from one another (Barkley et al., 2014; hooks, 1994). As such, building community within the classroom, as well as fostering connections and collaborations outside the classroom, are core concerns (Webb et al., 2002; Welch, 2006). Feminist pedagogy seeks to reimagine "the classroom as a community of learners where there is both autonomy of self and mutuality with others" (Shrewsbury, 1993, p. 12). Through sharing their thoughts and experiences, students are positioned as contributors to knowledge creation (Welch, 2006). Building community emphasises connectedness, the value of shared experience, supportive and cooperative relationships, and collaborative forms of knowledge production (Barr & Oliver, 2016; Hess & Macomber, 2021; Oliveira, 2019; Welch, 2006). Feminists have long argued that this approach can allow students to see the personal as political and foster the desire to act for social change:

Students may find connections with themselves, their individual and collective pasts, with others, and with the future. In such a classroom there is a need and desire to move learning beyond the walls of the classroom. Theory can be extended to action, and action can come back to inform theory and that can lead again to action. (Shrewsbury, 1993, p. 13)

Fostering activism and social change

Finally, feminism, in line with its activist roots and as alluded to in the feminist principles outlined above, is an overtly political pedagogical orientation. Feminist educators explicitly seek to attend to oppressive cultural, economic and political practices with the aim of fostering more inclusive and equitable ways of being (Clowes, 2018; Gachago et al., 2018; Hess & Macomber, 2021; Ngoasheng & Gachago, 2017; Shefer et al., 2020). As Ann Manicom (1992, p. 366) put it 30 years ago:

Feminist pedagogy is teaching with a political intent and with visions of social change and liberation – not simply with an aim to have (some) women “make it” in the world of (some) men, but to learn to act in and on the world in order to transform oppressive relations of class, race, and gender. It is teaching, not to change women to fit the world, but to change the world.

Similarly, bell hooks’s (1994) still influential vision is for revolutionary feminist pedagogies which strive to end sexism and sexist oppression, eradicate patriarchy, and transform society through challenging politics of domination wherever they occur. She describes education as the “practice of freedom”, and the classroom as a “field of possibility” in which to “imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress” (hooks, 1994, p. 207). This understanding is closely connected to and draws on Freirean philosophies which emphasise consciousness-raising and praxis, seek to overturn oppressive social structures, and strive for equality and freedom. hooks also emphasises the importance of teaching critical thinking skills for “without the capacity to think critically about our selves [sic] and our lives none of us would be able to move forward, to change, to grow” (hooks, 1994, p. 202). For hooks, critical thinking is at the heart of an engaged pedagogy, the aim of which is to inspire political activism and bring about social change.

Feminist pedagogies in practice

As the above discussion suggests, feminist classrooms are widely understood as spaces which strive to enact feminist principles of equality and freedom through disrupting traditional hierarchies, consciousness raising, foregrounding students as knowledge producers, and enabling participatory, collaborative, egalitarian and empowering opportunities for learning. In practice, though, feminist pedagogies are as diverse as feminist theories, and are applied in a range of settings within and outside formal education spaces. Broadly speaking, feminist educators do not make “assumptions ... about how learning will occur; nor are any particular strategies precluded”

(Barr & Oliver, 2016, p. 101), but they do recognise the value of both curriculum content and teaching methods in facilitating learning (Breunig, 2009).

Feminist educators make use of a range of often creative and subversive teaching methods. These include efforts to use non-canonical, Global South and marginalised texts (Clowes, 2018; Iqani & Falkof, 2017; Murray & Kalayji, 2018; Wånggren, 2018); interactional, collaborative activities such as discussion seminars, online forums and small-group activities (Iqani & Falkof, 2017; Kimmel, 1999); participatory learning and action / participatory action research (PLA/PAR) techniques (Cornell et al., 2018; Kessi, 2018; Leibowitz et al., 2012; Ngabaza et al., 2015; Robinson-Keilig et al., 2014; Shefer et al., 2018; Sutton-Brown, 2014; Wang & Burris, 1997); and arts-based pedagogies (Barr & Oliver, 2016; Hess & Macomber, 2021; Manicom & Walters, 2012).

Feminist pedagogical principles and methods are also used in interesting ways outside of formal teaching and learning settings. Shefer (2018b, 2019) is one example of recent feminist scholarship exploring how transgressive, disruptive forms of creativity and performativity, evidenced through #Fallist students' activism, can inform feminist and social justice pedagogies to "work with entangled 'troubles' and open up new imaginaries" (Shefer, 2018b, p. 183). Koseoglu, (2020) is another: she uses feminist frameworks to analyse open and distance learning (ODL) in a developing country during the COVID-19 crisis. She argues for embracing intersectional feminist pedagogies to tackle human and non-human bias, misrecognition, misrepresentation and unequal participation. Feminist approaches have also been used to rethink workshops and conferences to make them more accessible, inclusive, and better support the professional and personal growth of attendees who may be marginalised by more traditional approaches (Belliappa, 2020; Pownall & Hossain, 2020; Walters et al., 2020).

In the South African context, scholars have noted the long tradition of innovative feminist pedagogies (Lewis, 2018). Whilst in 2012 scholars lamented the "paucity of literature" using feminist theory to interrogate HE (Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012, p. 9), more recently, perhaps energised by the #Fallist movements, the use of feminist frameworks has proliferated. Whilst some scholars continue to find value in foundational feminist pedagogical principles outlined above (e.g., Chirenje, 2016; Schoeman, 2015), there is a growing move towards feminist frameworks such as participatory parity (e.g., Bozalek, et al., 2020; Lockett, 2016; Lockett & Naicker, 2016), care ethics (Bozalek et al., 2021b; Bozalek et al., 2015; Zembylas et al., 2014) and feminist new materialisms / posthumanism (e.g., Bozalek, Braidotti, Shefer & Zembylas, 2018; Bozalek et al., 2021b; Leibowitz, 2017). Participatory

parity, the primary theoretical framework used in this study, is explored in depth in the chapter that follows.

Challenges to feminism and feminist pedagogies: neoliberalism and the ‘post-truth’ political landscape

Feminist pedagogies and teaching gender-related content in HE have been beset by multiple challenges over the past few decades. Feminist teachers are working in and against “a world that is increasingly diverse and in a state of flux” (Barr & Oliver, 2016, p. 98), including contexts of rising far-right nationalist and religious extremism. Examples are the shutting down of established gender studies departments in Hungary (Pető, 2021), and the Taliban ban on women from attending university (Engelbrecht & Hassan, 2021). Feminist scholars, globally and locally, have noted with concern the creeping embeddedness of neoliberal values and practices in the academy. These are manifested in ideals of efficiency and minimal government intervention; individualism, competition and self-sufficiency; and an “aggressive ethic of survival of the fittest” (Lewis, 2018, p. 74) in which everything is economised, marketised, commodified and monetised to serve the global knowledge economy (Bozalek, Zembylas & Shefer, 2018; Burke, 2013, 2015; Hölscher et al., 2020; Lewis, 2018; Manicom & Walters, 2012; Mbembe, 2016; Motta & Bennett, 2018; Shefer & Aulette, 2005; Welch, 2006).

These challenges make it increasingly difficult for feminist teachers to highlight oppressions, disrupt inequalities, and foster feminist and antiracist values and perspectives (Morris, 2020; Wånggren, 2018). Nevertheless, whilst it is acknowledged that “feminist pedagogies do not provide a straightforward solution to the complex power dynamics that circulate around knowledge production and ontological positioning” (Burke & Carolissen, 2018, p. 545), they are seen to offer spaces for highlighting and questioning “structures of privilege and oppression in academia and beyond” (Wånggren, 2018, p. 2) and challenging the “anti-education, anti-expertise and anti-intellectual strands of post-truth populism” (Burke & Carolissen, 2018, p. 544). There is therefore an ongoing interest in drawing on and extending – and challenging – the foundational feminist pedagogical principles mapped out above in order to respond to and reimagine more just possibilities and practices for current times.

Critical pedagogies

Feminist pedagogies are in many ways closely related to critical pedagogies (Almansori, 2020; hooks, 2003, 2010; Nqambaza, 2021) and, notwithstanding strong critiques (Breunig, 2011;

Ellsworth, 1989; hooks, 1994), feminist and social justice educators continue to find inspiration in the critical tradition in their teaching and scholarship. Critical pedagogies have a range of historical roots including Karl Marx's socio-economic theory, the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, and Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony; however, they are most often associated with the work of Paulo Freire in Latin America in the latter half of the 20th century (Almansori, 2020; Breunig, 2009). Through his influential text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (2005) rejected a 'banking' conception of education and instead sought *conscientização*: consciousness-raising education to enable people to identify oppressive cultural, economic and political practices, confront and challenge accepted norms, overturn systems of oppression and bring about social transformation.

Freire (2005) insisted that the learner cannot be separated from their social context. He believed that enabling learners' agency could move them from personal reflection to social action, or praxis. In this tradition, therefore, as with feminist approaches, teaching and learning is understood as a political act rather than a neutral process. Educators are called on to overthrow dominant constructions of knowledge and produce critical citizens who will activate for social change. Learners are taught to recognise and challenge injustices by addressing root causes, to enable people to take control of their lives and free themselves from oppression (Freire, 2005; Giroux, 2003).

Like feminist approaches, critical pedagogies are animated by questions around whose knowledge is valued, how learners can participate as equals in social, economic and political spheres, and how to bring about social change. Critical educators aim to scrutinise the role of power in the production of knowledge, to analyse and equalise "relationships of power between teachers and students, communities and universities, and researchers and subjects", and to hold that a core "purpose of education is the emancipation of oppressed groups" (Saleebey & Scanlon, 2005, p. 2). This critical approach to knowledge, power and hierarchies, with an emphasis on social context and praxis, has been widely taken up by educational scholars interested in issues around race, class, gender and other social injustices (Giroux et al., 1988; Giroux & Giroux, 2004; hooks, 1994, 2010; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007).

Critical pedagogies have been long and widely embraced in the South African context. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was a key inspirational text for anti-apartheid activists (Alexander, 1990; Naidoo, 2015; Vally, 2007). More recently, scholars across the South African HE sector have been influenced by critical pedagogical theorists and frameworks. This has been the case in historically white and advantaged universities (Davis & Steyn, 2012; Gillespie, 2012), historically black and

disadvantaged institutions (Garutsa & Mahlangu, 2014); universities of technology (Ngoasheng & Gachago, 2017), and cross-institutional collaborations (Leibowitz et al., 2012; Rohleder et al., 2008).

South African educators and scholars use critical pedagogies to tackle a range of justice issues from class-based concerns around poverty, inequality, capitalism and consumerism to cultural concerns, primarily around race and gender and the intersections between these (Carolissen et al., 2011; Francis & Hemson, 2007; Gillespie, 2012; Leibowitz et al., 2012). Educators value critical pedagogies for their potential to stimulate innovative teaching and learning methods, foster collaborative and critically reflective practices, reveal and disrupt systemic and structural inequalities within and beyond the classroom, promote personal transformation, and produce critically engaged citizens (Bitzer & Costandius, 2018). However, educators also acknowledge the challenges inherent in a critical pedagogical approach in the context of tenacious historical and ongoing injustices within HE institutions and broader society. Raising issues around power and authority in the classroom can generate conflict and anxiety for students and teachers as both are required to step out of their comfort zones and think or do things that are out of the ordinary (Leibowitz, 2012; Zinn & Rodgers, 2012).



Critiquing critical pedagogies

Notwithstanding their wide-ranging use, critical pedagogies have been interrogated over the years, particularly by feminist scholars. Ellsworth's (1989) influential paper critiqued critical pedagogies for being paternalistic and utopian; stripping classroom discussions and practices from historical, social and political contexts; valuing rational argument as opposed to "an irrational Other ... understood historically as the province of women and exotic Others" (p. 301); being grounded in a simplistic view of power relations based on binary understandings such as oppressor/oppressed; and white, Western, masculinist thinking and vision which makes universal claims and remains abstract and not attentive to the practicalities of teaching and activism (see also Carolissen, 2014; Lather, 1998). Others have raised issues such as patriarchal assumptions as well as the silences and lack of response to women's concerns and feminist thought, for example, around the gendered division of public and private (Jackson, 1997; Lather, 1991; Maher, 2002; Zembylas et al., 2014); overlooking entrenched "unequal positions from which students enter into so-called discussions" (Fischman & Haas, 2013; Jansen, 2009; Zembylas, 2013b); and ignoring the significance of the affective and embodied nature of learning (Almansori, 2020; Cachon, 2015; Tisdell, 1998). Finally, some scholars have noted the limitations of critical theory for making sense of 'troubled knowledge' in post-conflict contexts such as South Africa (Fischman & Haas, 2013; Jansen, 2009; Zembylas, 2013b).

bell hooks (1994, p. 49), who acknowledges a deep debt to Freire's liberatory approach, also critiques critical pedagogies, in particular Freire's sexist language and the linking of freedom with patriarchal manhood "as though they are one and the same". Nevertheless, she argues, there are insights to be learned from critical pedagogies, and feminists must avoid the simplistic trap of either/or Western binary thinking which makes "it nearly impossible to project a complex response" (hooks, 1994, p. 49) to critical pedagogies. Instead, she calls on feminist scholars to engage in constructive criticism of critical and liberatory approaches.

Critical pedagogies remain important to South African scholars and educators. However, as the post-apartheid focus on 'transformation' has been troubled (Lange, 2020; Pattman & Carolissen, 2018), the emphasis and language of social justice interventions has shifted. Conceptions of justice in education contexts are now more likely to be influenced by decolonial theories, queer theory, intersectional feminist analyses, critical Indigeneity, new feminist materialism and posthumanist frameworks, as well as social justice frameworks such as participatory parity and the capabilities theory. The next section elaborates on this shift by looking more closely at decolonial theories, pedagogies of discomfort and critical hope, feminist new materialist and critical posthumanist approaches, Slow scholarship, and the political ethics of care.

Decolonial theories and socially just pedagogies

The 'decolonial turn' has dominated recent local scholarship, particularly since the 2015/2016 #Fallist protests in which students called for decolonising HE spaces and curricula (Costandius et al., 2018; Giloi & Botes, 2017; Heleta, 2016; Hölscher et al., 2020; Jansen, 2017; Jansen & Motala, 2017; Kessi, 2018; Langa, 2017; Le Grange, 2016; Mbembe, 2016; Mqgqwashu, 2019; Modiri, 2020; Morreira, 2017; Mupotsa, 2020b; Mzileni & Mkhize, 2019; Nyamnjoh, 2012, 2016; L. Reddy, 2018; V. Reddy, 2019; Shefer, 2019). Decolonisation and decoloniality – as theory and praxis – are complex, nuanced and slippery concepts (V. Reddy, 2019). Like critical and emancipatory pedagogies, decolonising pedagogies are rooted in struggles against racism, colonialism and imperialism, but with a particular focus on rethinking the dominance of Western epistemology and the Western canon (Bhambra et al., 2018).

Feminist decolonial scholars have foregrounded complexities – and complicated notions – of gender, race and sexuality within and against a colonising project which constructed and enforced racialised, capitalist, heterosexist gender binaries (Lugones, 2007, 2010; Mendoza, 2016; Oyèwùmí, 1997; Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2012). Tlostanova (2021, p.12) describes how legacies of colonialism

persist through “the colonial matrix of power”, that is, “existential, epistemic, affective and other traces of colonialism” which

continue to exist long after colonialism is over and flourish in subjectivities, human taxonomies, disciplines and academic divisions, in the production and distribution of knowledge, in gender and sexual norms and identities, in aesthetic canons and practically all other spheres of life made subservient to the totality of modernity and its darker colonial side.

Decoloniality therefore requires “delinking from the habits modernity/coloniality implanted in all of us” and which continue “to work to negate, disavow, distort and deny knowledges, subjectivities, world senses and life vision” (Walsh and Mignolo, 2018, as cited in Tlostanova, 2021, p. 12).

Calls for decolonisation in the African context are not new (Biko, 1987; Fanon, 1963; Mamdani, 2012, 2018; wa Thiong’o, 1998), with feminist scholars foregrounding complexities around gender and sexuality (Mama, 1984, 1992, 2002; Oyèwùmí, 1997; Salo, 2001; Tamale, 2011). In South Africa, impelled by the #Fallist movement which reenergised debates around untransformed structures, cultures and relationships in education (Bozalek, Zembylas & Shefer, 2018), there has been a shift from the post-apartheid focus on ‘transformation’ to recent emphases on issues such as decoloniality, queer studies, intersectional feminism and critical Indigeneity (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2019; Chinguno et al., 2018; Kumalo & Praeg, 2019; Langa, 2017; Shefer, 2019).

Different forms and aims of decolonisation in HE are explored by Hölscher et al. (2020) who usefully delineate three perspectives. The first stems from Tuck and Yang’s (2012) much-cited paper which asserts that decolonisation is not a metaphor. In this view, decolonisation cannot be disentangled from the urgent need for material and structural reform within universities and in broader society (Hölscher et al., 2020; Maringira & Gukurume, 2017; Modiri, 2020; Mzileni & Mkhize, 2019). In the local context, Modiri (2020) critiques both the metaphorisation of decolonisation as well as its conflation with concepts such as decolonising the mind, developing a critical consciousness, deconstructing knowledge, and curriculum transformation. Whilst acknowledging that these are an important part of “any revolutionary transformation of the social order”, he insists that they cannot be substituted

for the much more uncomfortable task of facing up to the unspeakable horrors of colonial-apartheid, restoring conquered lands, materially dislodging white social, economic and

cultural power, and ultimately rebuilding a new society on the basis of African history, knowledge, and experience. (Modiri, 2020, p. 170)

Along with Mzileni and Mkhize (2019) and Maringira and Gukurume (2017), Modiri (2020) emphasises that decolonising South African HE must include the wider redistribution of resources and cannot be achieved without spatial and material restructuring of the country itself.

The second perspective focuses on disrupting and transforming entrenched institutional cultures (Hölscher et al., 2020). For example, scholars have noted the many ways in which colonialism persists on South African university campuses through statues, architecture, names and symbols, all of which contribute to black students' persistent feelings of alienation (Fataar, 2018; Maringira & Gukurume, 2017; Mbembe, 2016). Further, neo-colonial and neoliberal managerial and bureaucratic approaches are increasingly part of HE institutional cultures which are preoccupied with standardisation, accounting, authority, classification and commodification, and the "mania for assessment" of students, programmes and faculty (Mbembe, 2016, p. 31). Lecturers themselves may perpetuate the status quo, marginalising and oppressing students through demeaning, unprofessional teaching practices, and inappropriate, discriminatory and unreflective uses of their power (Shay, 2016; Vandeyar, 2019).

This perspective includes those seeking to 'Africanise' HE spaces and curricula (Hölscher et al., 2020). Whilst this approach offers potential for transforming HE, when pursued uncritically it can simplify and homogenise Africa and what it means to be 'African', and can create artificial binaries between African versus Western knowledges, identities and so on. (Rudwick, 2018). This essentialising approach risks being exclusionary (Fraser, 2007a). However, Marzagora (2016) puts forward a counteracting argument which sees some value to an Africanising approach. She finds value in Spivak's notion of 'strategic essentialism' – one which is conscious of its own limitations and dangers, but which recognises that in some cases a pragmatist approach can advance political claims and social change.

The third perspective focuses on the ways in which decolonisation is about 'the knowledge project' and epistemic justice, transforming understandings of whose and what knowledge is valued in HE spaces (Hölscher et al., 2020). Many local scholars have noted how South African universities continue to follow hegemonic, Eurocentric, epistemic canons which attribute 'truth' to knowledge produced in the Global North, reinforcing white and Western dominance (Heleta, 2016; Le Grange, 2016; Mbembe, 2016). Untransformed HEIs perpetuate Eurocentric, racist and sexist knowledge, further contributing to students' sense of alienation at universities (Fataar, 2018). To counteract this,

scholars argue that knowledge systems and epistemologies from the Global South should be foregrounded as a way of challenging the dominance of Global North scholarship in the academy (Mbembe, 2016; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2021).

In considering epistemic justice, questions and debates around what transforming and decolonising pedagogies and curricula means, and how to go about doing it, have been prominent (Fataar & Subreenduth, 2015; Heleta, 2016; Hlatshwayo, 2021; Le Grange, 2016; Lockett, 2016; Lockett & Naicker, 2016; Mbembe, 2016; Romano, 2016; Shay & Mkhize, 2018). Mbembe (2015, 2016) argues that decolonisation does not mean shutting out European and other traditions; rather, curricula should re-centre Africa and make efforts to consider issues from an African perspective. This is echoed by Heleta (2016), who emphasises that South and Southern Africa must be at the centre of local teaching, learning and research. Others caution that transforming curricula cannot be done without wider structural changes (Shay & Mkhize, 2018). Fataar and Subreenduth (2015, p. 115) make an argument for curricula which are multi-dimensional and value complexity, which

push students beyond their own realities and experiences by providing multiple perspectives and alternative theoretical frameworks from which to re/read their lived experiences, experiences of the past, what is presented as common sense realities, and the dominant Eurocentric and canonical forms of knowledge.

The rewards of this approach, Mbembe (2016, p. 30) argues, are curricula and classrooms that “encourage students to develop their own intellectual and moral lives as independent individuals” and which foster the “capacity to make systematic forays beyond our current knowledge horizons” essential for current times.

African scholars in diverse contexts have written about the ways in which they have worked towards decolonising modules and curricula. Examples include highlighting Eurocentric and neoliberal norms in sports science (Cleophas, 2020); considering ways to decolonise palaeontology through acknowledging the contributions of side-lined African discoveries and theories (Benoit, 2018); and feminists in academia seeking to disrupt, transform and decolonise patriarchal narratives of human evolution (Pickering et al., 2021). Educators have written about attempts to decolonise through arts-based pedagogies, for example, exploring what radical African music can teach lawyers about socio-economic and geo-political injustices (Fagbayibo, 2018, 2019). Others have investigated the decolonisation of institutional cultures and spaces through photovoice (Kessi, 2018; Ngabaza et al., 2018), poetry (Odendaal, 2017), and embodied art and performative activism (Shefer, 2018b, 2019, 2021). Shefer (2021), who examines #Fallist students’ decolonial, feminist and queer art and performance activism, points to the possibilities of these “[e]mbodied, participatory and creative

modalities” for offering rich, inspiring and ethical pedagogical resources to challenge “hegemonic and violent epistemic practices in higher education”. Further, she argues, using these kinds of pedagogical practices can “open spaces for reimagining bodies, affect and materiality in the clinical, cold and civilising academy where so many feel unsafe, non-belonging, exclusion and violation” (Shefer, 2021, p. 115).

South African scholars have also reflected on the challenges in working towards decolonisation and effecting structural change. For example, Subreenduth (2012, p. 134), who argues that decolonising theories and frameworks can help students critically re-read and re-interpret the world “in ways that go beyond their personal experiences”, also notes the challenges of disrupting unjust racial, political and cultural norms that have been taken for granted. Rink et al. (2020, p. 16) complicate the idea of decolonising knowledge, cautioning that giving “students the tools to remake the disciplines we have inherited is not the same as giving them the tools to dismantle the structure of the university”. Similarly, Zembylas (2015), who in the wake of the student protests explored issues of social justice amongst lecturers at an historically white South African university, argues that decolonising curricula is obstructed by entrenched institutional opposition to change. Challenges such as these (see also Pattman & Carolissen, 2018) highlight the nature of curricula as embedded in institutions haunted by colonial and apartheid pasts, and show the necessity of structural change in transforming HE spaces and curricula (Shay & Mkhize, 2018).

Pedagogies of discomfort and critical hope

Emerging from and building on critical and feminist pedagogical traditions are two connected theories for fostering social justice in and through education: a pedagogy of discomfort and pedagogies of critical hope. A pedagogy of discomfort (Boler, 2013; Boler & Zembylas, 2003; Zembylas, 2015; Zembylas & McGlynn, 2012) is an approach which is grounded in the assumption that

discomforting feelings are important in challenging dominant beliefs, social habits and normative practices that sustain social inequities and they create openings for individual and social transformation. (Zembylas, 2015, p. 1)

As a teaching practice, a pedagogy of discomfort aims to encourage students to move out of their ‘comfort zones’, in a supportive environment, to facilitate exploring and questioning “cherished beliefs and assumptions” and the ways in which dominant values and norms are enacted and embodied in daily habits and routines (Zembylas, 2015; Zembylas & McGlynn, 2012). Emotions –

central to a pedagogy of discomfort – are theorised as relational and political, which “allows us to re-think students’ emotive responses and outbursts as social and relational in nature as opposed to individual and personal” (Kiguwa, 2017, p. 112).

Whilst its proponents have also questioned the ethics of requiring students to engage in emotionally uncomfortable activities, a pedagogy of discomfort is valued as a productive conceptual framework and pedagogic practice. In the South African context, scholars have drawn on a pedagogy of discomfort to explore shame and discomfort in critical citizenship education (Costandius & Alexander, 2019), facilitate critical and transformational pedagogies for student teachers engaging with and across difference (Gachago et al., 2013), theorise their own engagements with discomforting teaching and learning moments (Macdonald, 2013), and explore the transformative possibilities and limitations of teaching spaces permeated with material and cultural inequalities and power differentials (Leibowitz et al., 2010).

Critical hope is another concept emerging from more recent iterations of critical and feminist pedagogies. It is seen as a valuable theoretical and action-oriented pedagogical tool in current times of injustice and despair (Bozalek et al., 2013; Kiguwa, 2017; Leibowitz et al., 2017). As an analytic concept, critical hope recognises the central role and entanglements of the affective, political, intellectual and spiritual dimensions. It is also action-oriented in responding to struggles for transformation in education and the broader social justice project (Bozalek et al., 2013).

Boler (2013) and Zembylas (2013a) distinguish between naïve and critical hope. *Naïve hope* relies on humanist ideals such as equal opportunities, individualism, and a faith that through hard work ‘things will get better’ – “platitudes that directly serve the hegemonic interest of maintaining the status quo” (Boler, 2013, p. 36). In contrast, *critical hope* recognises that we live within historical contexts and systems of inequality which privilege some at the expense of others. This necessitates a

willingness to engage in in-depth critical inquiry regarding systems of domination [and a ...] parallel emotional willingness to engage in the difficult work of possibly allowing one’s worldviews to be shattered. (Boler, 2013, p. 36)

Feminist new materialist, critical posthumanist, Slow scholarship and ethics of care perspectives

A current flourishing field of scholarship is that of feminist new materialisms, critical posthumanism, theories of affect and embodiment, political and feminist ethics of care, and Slow

scholarship. These have had a significant impact on considerations of socially just pedagogies. Whilst these theories have diverse origins and interests, broadly speaking they seek to open possibilities for reimagining more just pedagogical spaces and practices, question liberal humanist assumptions, focus on relational ontologies, critique Cartesian hierarchies and dualisms, and engage “with matter and the non-human/more-than-human” (Bozalek, Zembylas & Shefer, 2018, p. 2). A central concern of new materialist scholars is to bring “back the importance of matter as both ontological and ethical” (Bozalek, Newfield, Romano, Carette, Naidu, Mitchell & Noble, 2021, p. 845); in other words, to make matter matter (Barad, 2007). This call to recognise that matter “is both of substance and significance” (Bozalek, Newfield, Romano, Carette, Naidu, Mitchell & Noble, 2021, p. 845) seeks to move beyond the centrality of discourse exemplified in the linguistic turn, recognising that matter and discourse are inextricably entangled. Whilst in some ways very different from traditional approaches, there is, as Thiele (2015, p. 104) notes, a “strong alliance” between contemporary feminist new materialisms, “which provide new answers for *how* to teach, think, and do differently *what* we have ‘in front of us’” (emphasis in original), and critical feminist thinking exemplified in bell hooks’s notion of ‘practical wisdom’, which invites students to think and share ideas with passion and openness.

Whilst it is impossible to do justice to these ethico-onto-epistemological frameworks here, they are increasingly drawn on globally (Bayley, 2018; Bozalek, Braidotti, Shefer & Zembylas, 2018; Bozalek, Zembylas, Motala & Hölscher, 2021; Bozalek et al., 2021b; Hinton & Terusch, 2015; Jickling et al., 2018; Mackinlay, 2016; Motta & Bennett, 2018) and locally (Bayat & Mitchell, 2020; Bozalek et al., 2016; Bozalek & Zembylas, 2016; Bozalek, Newfield, Romano, Carette, Naidu, Mitchell & Noble, 2021; Carstens, 2017; Leibowitz, 2017; Motala, 2018; Postma, 2016; van Heerden, 2017; Zembylas & Bozalek, 2014) by scholars seeking to reimagine and transform teaching and learning in the age of the Anthropocene and in the face of global growing right-wing populism and endemic injustice and inequality.

An approach rooted in feminist new materialist and posthumanist theories, but with a different and broader emphasis is the Slow scholarship movement (Bozalek, 2022; Dionne, 2021; Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2018; Mountz et al., 2015; Shahjahan, 2015; Stengers, 2018). Slow scholarship advocates quality over quantity, depth of engagement, and connections across disciplinary hierarchies and boundaries. It is about “attentiveness, deliberation, thoughtfulness, open-ended inquiry, a receptive attitude, care-fullness, creativity, intensity, discernment, cultivating pleasure, and creating dialogues between the natural and social sciences” (Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2018, p. 983). Slow scholarship is posited as a counter to the damage wrought by neoliberal, corporatising agendas

in HE through advancing “teaching, learning, reading and writing practices [which] involve close, respectful, inventive and responsive relationships of careful attention to details, doing justice to texts and to students” (Bozalek et al., 2021a, p. 6; see also Bozalek, 2022; Dionne, 2021).

Another feminist framework which has inspired efforts to transform educational spaces and pedagogies is the political ethics of care (Sevenhuijsen, 1998; Tronto, 1993, 2013). Care is positioned as a political and social practice rather than simply a personal disposition or emotion, and it includes the needs of those giving as well as those receiving care. In other words, it is a

species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our ‘world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web.” (Fisher and Tronto, 1990, as cited in Swartz, Gachago & Belford, 2018, p. 51)

Tronto (1993, 2013) provides five elements of care as an ethical practice: attentiveness, or caring about; responsibility, or caring for; competence, or care giving; responsiveness, or care receiving; and solidarity, or caring with. This framework has been widely used in HE studies (e.g., Bozalek & Leibowitz, 2012; Bozalek et al., 2015; Moja et al., 2015; Swartz, Gachago & Belford, 2018; Sykes & Gachago, 2018; Zembylas, 2010; Zembylas et al., 2014). More recently an ethics of care has been connected to feminist new materialisms and posthumanism (Bozalek et al., 2021b; Shefer, 2021). Shefer (2021), for example, draws on an ethics of care framework alongside new materialism and posthumanism to explore what can be learned through creative, experimental approaches to reimagine feminist and decolonising pedagogies and research practices in HE.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided an overview of important theories in the fields of feminist and socially just pedagogies. I started by noting some of the complexities around defining and conceptualising socially just pedagogies. I presented ‘foundational feminist pedagogical principles’, grouped into four philosophies and practices: revealing and disrupting power relations; rethinking knowledge and ways of knowing; fostering community and collaborative learning; and fostering activism and social change. I showed ways in which feminist educators continue to draw inspiration from these principles in their teaching practice, and I outlined challenges facing feminist educators in a world increasingly beset by neoliberal, far right and ‘post-truth’ agendas. I then discussed critical pedagogies, still an important strand in pedagogical theory and practice, and presented critiques of critical pedagogical blind spots, particularly around gender.

The focus of the chapter then shifted to more recent strands of thought. I explored how since the 1990s the emphasis and language of ‘transforming’ South African HE has increasingly shifted towards ‘decolonialising’ HE, along with growing interest in the use of decolonial theory, queer theory, intersectional feminist analyses, feminist new materialist interventions, and so on. I explored the decolonial turn and outlined the pedagogies of discomfort and critical hope, feminist new materialist and posthumanist theories, Slow pedagogies and a critical ethics of care. These strands of thought, which are an important part of the landscape of socially just pedagogies, further demonstrate the complexities of the field and ways in which the scholarship and practice of pedagogies for and about (social) justice is constantly shifting.

Another justice framework finding increasing traction in HE is Nancy Fraser’s (2009, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Olson, 2008) three-dimensional theory of social justice as participatory parity. As noted in the Introduction, Fraser’s framework guided this study throughout. In the next chapter I detail participatory parity, and I come back to it in the Methodology chapter to show how and why I chose it as the study’s key conceptual and analytic framework.



CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL JUSTICE AS PARTICIPATORY PARITY

Over the past three or so decades, feminist philosopher and political and social theorist Nancy Fraser has worked towards a comprehensive and pragmatic approach to injustices plaguing the world today. Her theorising has been central to debates over what constitutes a just society (Blackmore, 2016) and has deeply influenced the way we conceptualise and talk about social justice (Moura, 2016). Her long trajectory of work is situated in the context of ascendant neoliberalism and escalating capitalist crises which, she argues, require new feminist and political imaginaries (Fraser, 2013). She has thus sought to theorise capitalist society historically and as a totality, combining moral philosophy, social theory and political analysis into a 'grand theory' capable of diagnosing, contextualising and addressing contemporary conflicts, tensions and struggles (Fraser et al., 2004; Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

Fraser has long argued against the rigid separation of theoretical and philosophical traditions "too often viewed as antithetical" (Fraser, 2009, p. 11; 2013; Fraser & Nicholson, 1989). Instead, she asserts a commitment to "both structural-institutional critique and the linguistic turn". This commitment aspires to relate both the normative "ought" to a Zeitdiagnose of the "is". It is inspired by both "agnostic poststructuralist theorizing and discourse ethics". In addition, it links historical and political critiques of social power (Fraser, 2009, p. 11). This "capacious genre of critical theorizing" aims to offer tools for exposing injustice and hegemonic power, and to galvanise public efforts – through dialogue and debate – to remedy injustice (Fraser, 2009, p. 11). Fraser's (Fraser et al., 2004, p. 381) call for theorising in which we "situate ourselves historically", "orient ourselves politically" and strive to change that which is unjust, resonates with and infuses the aims and objectives of this study.

This chapter begins with an overview of Fraser's conception of social justice as parity of participation, followed by a detailed discussion of each of the three dimensions of in/justice. Firstly, I discuss the economic and cultural dimensions and how they – initially – came together in a two-dimensional understanding of in/justice. This is followed by the third dimension, the political, and how and why it came to be included in the principle of participatory parity. Next I consider Fraser's conceptions of remedies for injustice in each of the three dimensions, and her useful distinction between affirmative and transformative approaches. Throughout I provide examples from the South African HE context. The chapter ends by noting critiques of participatory parity, Fraser's rejoinders, and ways in which her theorising has shifted over the years.

Nancy Fraser and social justice as participatory parity

In Fraser's view, "the most general meaning of justice is parity of participation" (Fraser, 2009, p. 16), in other words, the ability of all to participate as peers and equals in social life. Participatory parity combines three dimensions of justice: economic mal/distribution, cultural mis/recognition, and political mis/representation and mis/framing. For parity of participation, social arrangements must be such that they allow individuals to participate as equals and full partners within and across all three dimensions in all arenas of social interaction, including laws and policies, employment and the labour market, formal and informal politics, educational settings, families, civil society associations, and so on.

For Fraser (Fraser et al., 2004, p. 378, italics in original), issues become matters of justice when they are systemic as

justice pertains *by definition* to social structures and institutional frameworks. It follows that individual problems become matters of justice if and when they cumulate into a pattern that can be traced to a systemic cause.

Overcoming injustice therefore "means dismantling systemic, institutionalised obstructions which prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interactions" (Fraser, 2009, p. 16). Justice for all is possible when the structures of the economy reflect an equitable distribution of material resources, when institutionalised standards and values reflect equitable patterns of cultural recognition, and when the constitution of political space ensures equitable representation. Fraser is emphatic in pointing out that her interest lies not in individual capabilities, agency or freedom but rather in social interactions. As she puts it:

My approach has a more robust sense of sociality and inter-subjectivity ... Society is a field of social interactions and we need to start out with a more robustly social interactive perspective. (Chhachhi, 2011, p. 11)

Fraser argues that it is useful and necessary for analytic purposes to examine each of the three dimensions separately. Nonetheless, she emphasises that the dimensions are in reality overlapping and intertwined and that none is reducible to the other; thus, none of the dimensions alone is sufficient for participatory parity. As Fraser (2009, p. 21) puts it, "No redistribution or recognition without representation." Lockett and Naicker (2016, p. 190) maintain that this three-dimensional approach

takes us far beyond the individual human rights model to challenging the power relations of global and national political economies that become socially embedded in the practices and norms of institutions.

Fraser (2009, pp. 28–29) sees parity of participation as being both a process in which procedural standards are followed “in fair and open processes of deliberation” and an outcome where “all the relevant social actors ... participate as peers in social life”. As ‘process’, “the principle directs us to ask whether the interlocutors are really able to participate as peers in exchanging arguments about justice and injustice” (Fraser, 2007b, p. 331). As ‘outcome’, “it directs us to ask whether the political decisions that ensue from their discussions will really enhance the fairness of future encounters by reducing disparities in participation” (Fraser, 2007b, p. 331).

Participatory parity has been described as Fraser’s greatest contribution and a highly sophisticated, important and powerful framework for describing and analysing injustice in social interactions (Armstrong & Thompson, 2007; Fraser, 2020; Keddie, 2012; Leibowitz, 2016). Although Fraser has not theorised participatory parity in relation to teaching and learning, as she herself has acknowledged (Fraser, 2020), her three-dimensional understanding of in/justice has gained momentum over the past few years for analysing educational policy, institutions, pedagogies and curricula (Black et al., 2020; Blackmore, 2016; Bozalek, 2017; Bozalek & Boughey, 2020; Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012; Bozalek et al., 2020; Burke, 2013; Clowes et al., 2017; Garraway, 2017; Keddie, 2012; Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2015; Lingard & Keddie, 2013; Morreira, 2019; Ngoasheng & Gachago, 2017; Shay & Peseta, 2016).

Maldistribution, misrecognition and the early development of participatory parity

Core to Fraser’s early theorising of participatory parity was her response to what she saw as the displacement in the latter part of the 20th century of class-related socioeconomic struggles by identity-based struggles for cultural recognition “just as neoliberalism declared a war on social equality” (Fraser, 2013, p. 1). In her debate with Honneth (Fraser & Honneth, 2003), she emphasised that hegemonic, neoliberal capitalism is both economic and cultural, and that the decoupling of a politics of recognition from a politics of redistribution is deliberately built into the structure of modern capitalist society rather than an unanticipated, unintended side-effect. Therefore, to foster justice, both economic redistribution and cultural recognition must be addressed (Fraser, 2008, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

Fraser thus sought to conceptualise “a broader, richer paradigm” (Fraser, 2013, p. 161) in which struggles for recognition “supplement, complicate, and enrich” struggles for redistribution rather than marginalising, eclipsing or displacing them (Fraser, 2000, p. 108). This led her to argue for an approach she called “perspectival dualism” (Fraser & Honneth, 2003) in which the cultural and economic spheres are seen as “co-fundamental and mutually irreducible dimensions of justice” (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 3). This approach acknowledged both the differences between and imbrication of, on the one hand, economic maldistribution (that is, socio-economic, resource-based injustices, which arise when the structures of society generate class inequality), and on the other hand, cultural misrecognition (injustices arising when institutionalised and hierarchical patterns of cultural value generate status inequality for particular social groups) (Fraser, 2008; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). (In her later theorising Fraser, 2009, introduced a third dimension, political mis/representation and mis/framing, detailed below.)

Fraser’s dual perspectival approach understood cultural and economic injustices as equally important obstacles to participatory parity; in fact, “every struggle against injustice, when properly understood, implies demands for both redistribution and recognition” (Fraser, 2008, p. 13). Culture and economy are thus always imbricated. However, for analytic purposes, in order to expose and explore their “distinctive logics”, it is necessary to explore each dimension separately as “only by abstracting from the complexities of the real world can we devise a conceptual schema that can illuminate it” and thus work towards resolving “some of the central political dilemmas of our age” (Fraser, 2008, p. 13; Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

Economic dimension

The first “broadly conceived, analytically distinct” (Fraser, 2008, p. 14) dimension of (in)justice is the economic. Rooted in political-economic structures, it pertains to the “just distribution of rights, resources and opportunities” (Barry, 2005, as cited in Hölscher & Bozalek, 2020, p. 9), and thus affects a person’s ability to interact as an equal with their peers. In this dimension, participatory parity can be prevented or constrained by injustices such as

exploitation (having the fruits of one’s labor appropriated for the benefit of others); economic marginalization (being confined to undesirable or poorly paid work or being denied access to income-generating labor altogether); and deprivation (being denied an adequate material standard of living). (Fraser, 2008, p. 14)

Fraser (2008) refers to these injustices as maldistribution, the remedy for which is some kind of political-economic restructuring, for example, redistributing income and wealth, reorganising the division of labour and transforming basic economic structures.

As noted in the Introduction to the thesis, many South African students have grown up poor with limited access to a range of essential services and resources, facing the kinds of financially precarious circumstances that exemplify Fraser's notion of maldistribution. Access to primary and secondary education is a key resource in this regard. Significant numbers of young people are exposed to education that does not create conditions for them to access tertiary education, or, if they are able to access a university, does not adequately prepare them for HE studies (CHE, 2016). Many students are thus already multiply compromised on entering HE, and as students they continue to face maldistribution in many areas, including a lack of access to sufficient funds for fees, accommodation, transport, food, books, devices, the internet and data or Wi-Fi, health care, and basic services such as electricity and sanitation (Dominguez-Whitehead, 2017; Dominguez-Whitehead & Whitehead, 2014; Firfirey & Carolissen, 2010; Gredley, 2020; Khan, 2020).

Additional forms of maldistribution include poorly paid and exploitative work such as casualisation, which is prevalent in South African HE (Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012; CHE, 2016; Essop, 2020). Working class, poor and mature students may have to work part or full time to support themselves and other family members, which means less free time and less time for study than their middle-class peers (Bozalek, 2017). Scholars have also situated formal, codified knowledge in the economic dimension, arguing that 'school knowledge' (Fataar, 2012) and 'powerful knowledge' (Shay & Peseta, 2016) need to be equitably distributed so that all students gain access to the knowledge needed for HE – that is, epistemological access (Garraway, 2017; Morrow, 2009) – in order to participate as equals in society.

Cultural dimension

The second dimension of (in)justice is cultural or symbolic and, according to Fraser, is "rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication" (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 14). It is concerned with ways in which society assigns attributes to particular social groups and how these attributes are interpreted and either valued or devalued, or in Fraser's terminology, recognised or misrecognised. Fraser (2008; Fraser & Honneth, 2003) argues that societal claims about fundamental or intrinsic differences between different groups of people marked along lines such as gender, ethnicity, 'race', culture, sexuality, language and age are used to justify oppression and marginalisation, normalising and privileging some social actors whilst regarding others as

deficient and restricting their lives. She sees misrecognition as encompassing a range of cultural injustices including cultural domination, that is, “being subjected to patterns of interpretation and communication that are associated with another culture and are alien and/or hostile to one’s own”; nonrecognition, that is, to be “rendered invisible via the authoritative representational, communicative, and interpretive practices of one’s culture”; and disrespect, that is, routine malignment and disparagement through “stereotypic public cultural representations and/or in everyday life interactions” (Fraser, 2008, p. 14).

Importantly for Fraser (2008; Fraser & Honneth, 2003), misrecognition relates to the relative standing of social actors and their ability to participate on a par with their peers in social life. She refers to this as the status model of recognition. In this model, recognition requires that individual group members can interact as full partners in social groups, and misrecognition comes about when institutionalised relations and hierarchies of cultural values deny some people the status of full partners. Importantly, misrecognition, in this view, “does not mean the depreciation and deformation of group identity” (Fraser, 2001, p. 8); it is

not simply to be thought ill of, looked down upon or devalued in others’ attitudes, beliefs or representations. It is rather to be denied the status of a full partner in social interactions with one’s peers. (Fraser, 2000, p. 13)

In emphasising social status over the identity model of recognition, Fraser (Fraser & Honneth, 2003) makes it clear that unlike theorists such as Axel Honneth and Charles Taylor, she is interested in institutional rather than psychological ways of devaluation or misrecognition. Status inequalities are promoted through factors such as regulatory laws, policies, and overt and hidden curricula which are undergirded by institutionalised cultural values constituting

some categories of social actors as normative and others as deficient or inferior: ‘straight’ is normal, ‘gay’ is perverse; ‘male-headed households’ are proper, ‘female-headed households’ are not; ‘whites’ are law-abiding, ‘blacks’ are dangerous. (Fraser, 2000, p. 114)

As Burke (2013, p. 113) points out, Fraser’s conceptualisation of misrecognition is important as it

shifts attention away from individualised blame and deficit discourses ... and places needed attention on transforming those educational [and other social] cultures, practices and structures that are implicated in reproducing exclusions and inequalities.

The status model approach thus situates the problem of misrecognition within the larger frame of modern, complex capitalist societies in which both culture and economy contribute to

social ordering and subordination as “the status order and the economic structure interpenetrate and reinforce each other” (Fraser, 2000, p. 118). Therefore, misrecognition cannot be overcome by a politics of recognition alone: “a politics of redistribution is also necessary” (Fraser, 2000, p. 118).

Fraser (2000) argues that a status model approach has at least three significant advantages. Firstly, it works against tendencies to displace struggles for redistribution with struggles for recognition. Since status subordination is understood as complexly imbricated with economic structures, remedies for injustice must “expressly integrate claims for recognition with claims for redistribution” (Fraser, 2000, p. 119). Secondly, the status model avoids reifying and essentialising identities. In proposing a non-identitarian politics of recognition, one that synergises with redistribution and promotes integration across differences, this model refuses to privilege remedies for misrecognition that simply valorise existing group identities. It thus “avoids essentializing current configurations and foreclosing historical change” (Fraser, 2000, p. 119). Thirdly, “by establishing participatory parity as a normative standard, the status model submits claims for recognition to democratic processes of public justification” (Fraser, 2000, p. 119). It therefore promotes cross-cultural discussion and debate, and works to avoid separatism, group enclaves and “the authoritarian monologism of the politics of authenticity” (Fraser, 2000, p. 119).

In line with her emphasis on the status model of recognition and institutionalised patterns of injustice, Fraser posits the remedy for misrecognition as cultural or symbolic reforms in which those who are devalued, marginalised and oppressed are accorded equal standing and respect, and there are equal opportunities for all “to pursue social esteem under fair conditions of equal opportunity” (Fraser, 2000, p. 32). She notes that this could take a variety of forms; it

could involve upwardly revaluing disrespected identities and the cultural products of maligned groups. It could also involve recognizing and positively valorizing cultural diversity. More radically still, it could involve the wholesale transformation of societal patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication in ways that would change everybody’s sense of identity. (Fraser, 2008, p. 17)

Much has been written over the past few years by students and academics highlighting a range of cultural injustices in South African HE. In this context, forms of status inequality include degrading, devaluing or ignoring students’ prior and everyday knowledges, and according more status to the attributes and values of dominant groups whilst backgrounding and invisibilising those already marginalised in terms of gender, race, language, sexuality, dis/ability, class and so on (Carolissen et al., 2015; Clowes et al., 2017; Leibowitz, 2016; Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2015; Mathebula & Calitz, 2018; Ngabaza et al., 2018; Pattman & Carolissen, 2018; Shay et al., 2016; Shefer et al.,

2017). A prominent focus has been questions around epistemologies and knowledges: whose are valued and foregrounded, and whose are devalued, ignored or invisibilised in educational spaces. These issues have been foregrounded by #Fallist students through campaigns such as #RhodesMustFall, which highlighted marginalisation and oppression through race, language, statues and art, languages and so on (Boroughs, 2015; Magcaba, 2020; Matebeni, 2018), and Open Stellenbosch, which highlighted ongoing injustices around race and language at Stellenbosch University (e.g., Contraband, 2015; Nicolson, 2015). Scholars, too, have drawn attention to pervasive institutionalised Eurocentric norms implicit in pedagogies and institutional policies and practices in South African HE (Bozalek, Zembylas & Shefer, 2018; Bozalek, et al., 2020; Bozalek et al., 2021a; Luckett, 2016; Mbembe, 2016; Osman & Hornsby, 2017; Osman & Maringe, 2019; Pattman & Carolissen, 2018; Tabensky & Matthews, 2015). There has been a particular focus on ways in which universities laud colonial and apartheid era art, statues and symbols and still teach from largely Western and Northern canons and viewpoints, marginalising students' own knowledges, experiences and ways of knowing, and home languages (Heleta, 2018; Mbembe, 2015, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2012, 2016).

South African scholars and students have also highlighted ways in which whiteness, masculinity and heterosexuality remain unspoken norms, implicitly and explicitly institutionalised in South African HE institutions, policies and practices. Thus, to be poor, a woman, transgender, disabled, encumbered by family responsibilities, have English as a second/third/fourth language and/or be from another African country is to be inferior, deficient, unsafe, 'other' and hence less than a full partner in attaining qualitative educational outcomes (Bozalek, 2017; Carolissen & Kiguwa, 2018; Chinguno et al., 2018; Langa, 2017; Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2015; Ngabaza et al., 2018; Shefer et al., 2017). Whilst much of the 'cultural' scholarship has concentrated on race, feminist scholars have explored the nuances of intersectional gendered and sexual practices of exclusion and othering on campus, noting the ways in which these are entangled with and reinforced by race, class, religion and cultural injustices (Clowes et al., 2017; Everitt-Penhale & Boonzaier, 2018; Ngabaza et al., 2015; Ngabaza et al., 2018; Robertson & Pattman, 2018; Shefer, 2018a; Shefer et al., 2020).

Bivalent categories and the imbrication of class and culture

Fraser (2008, p.16) takes care to emphasise that the distinction between the economic and cultural dimensions is analytic and that in reality they are interimbricated:

Even the most material economic institutions have a constitutive, irreducible cultural dimension; they are shot through with significations and norms. Conversely, even the most discursive cultural practices have a constitutive, irreducible political-economic dimension; they are underpinned by material supports. Thus, far from occupying two airtight separate spheres, economic injustice and cultural injustice are usually interimbricated so as to reinforce one another dialectically.

To illustrate this imbrication, Fraser (2008, p. 23) discusses two “paradigmatic bivalent collectivities” of gender and race which she argues have clear elements of both class and status. As this study in many ways speaks to aspects of gender, it is a useful example to explore here.

Viewed from one angle, gender has class-based elements linked to the economic structure of society. For instance, gender is “a basic organising principle of capitalist society” (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 20) dividing paid ‘productive’ labour, usually seen as ‘men’s work’, from unpaid ‘reproductive’ and domestic labour, the latter usually designated ‘women’s work’ and responsibility. Further, women tend to be employed in lower status and lower paid service- and domestic-related occupations. Gender can thus be linked to aspects of maldistribution such as economic subordination, exploitation, marginalisation, dependence and deprivation.

However, Fraser says, gendered maldistribution “is only half the story” (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 20) as gender is linked to status differentiation and cultural misrecognition. As she explains: “gender codes pervasive cultural patterns of interpretation and evaluation, which are central to the status order as a whole” (Fraser, 2013, p. 162). Because of the hegemony of neoliberal capitalist patriarchal systems, the gendered status order not only demeans, marginalises and silences women, but also feminises and thus misrecognises all low-status groups including homosexuals, immigrants, black men, those working as nurses and carers, and so on.

Overcoming gender injustices, therefore, requires a two-dimensional approach which tackles both economic redistribution and cultural recognition (Fraser, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). Further, Fraser emphasises, “virtually all real-world axes of subordination can be treated as two dimensional” (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 25), and in reality, overcoming injustice will likely require joining a politics of redistribution to a politics of recognition.

Central to Fraser’s theorising is her attempt to overcome the tension when distributive and recognitional gender-based claims are made simultaneously (Fraser, 2008; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). As she explains, recognition calls attention to the specificity of particular groups of people and seeks to value or affirm that specificity. For example, an affirmative action policy might pay attention to

promoting people who are women, black or disabled, thus promoting group differentiation. However, redistribution calls for the abolishment of group differences. For example, to equalise gender pay scales one needs to abolish gender as a differentiating category. Fraser (2008) refers to this as the redistribution-recognition dilemma: how can feminists, anti-racists, disability activists and so on seek to simultaneously abolish group differentiation and valorise group specificity? The answer, Fraser concludes, lies in transformative rather than affirmative remedies for injustice (Fraser, 2008, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). In other words, remedies should be sought which address the underlying root causes of injustice rather than those which temporarily alleviate or ameliorate injustice (Hodgkinson-Williams & Trotter, 2018; Hölscher & Bozalek, 2020).

The development of the political dimension: misrepresentation and misframing

From the early 2000s, Fraser (2005, 2009) developed an expanded trivalent theory of justice to account for the impact of globalisation and associated decentring of the frame of the sovereign state which had previously been taken for granted. The modern state, she argues, has operated within what she terms a “Keynesian-Westphalian frame” which assumes a country’s national borders as the appropriate frame for justice, and its citizens as the relevant subjects (Fraser, 2009). The Keynesian-Westphalian frame lent a particular understanding of social justice as being about the ‘what’ of justice rather than the ‘who’. The ‘what’, which concerns the “just ordering of social relations within society” (Fraser, 2009, p. 13), centres around redistribution and recognition, and includes debates around equality before the law, equality of opportunity, equal access to resources, and the ability to participate on a par fully and equally with others. The ‘who’, meanwhile, had been taken as given: a nation’s citizens.

However, Fraser (2005, 2009) argues, the current era of rapid globalisation has fundamentally changed the nature of justice disputes. The territorial state can no longer be assumed as the primary unit of justice. National borders are increasingly destabilised by the operations of transnational organisations and corporations, global media and the worldwide web, and further destabilised by the far-reaching impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on patterns of employment. In addition, a range of issues such as immigration, Indigenous land issues, global warming and climate change, gender-based violence, the ‘war on terror’ and so on affect people across national borders and geographic locations.

The decentring of the national frame has been vividly highlighted by the Covid-19 pandemic. This is evident from, among other things, the rapid spread of the virus through global travel, the ways in which social media facilitated global sharing of lockdown experiences as well as ‘fake news’ and disinformation, and global efforts (and resistances) to sharing and collaborating in research and the distribution of vaccines. The pandemic has amplified and exacerbated existing global and local inequalities such as inequities in the Global South’s access to vaccines. This has put all at risk, including those from the Global North, as many have pointed out, including Fraser herself (Central European University, 2021; Dearden, 2021; Ghosh, 2021; Titanji, 2021). The impact on schooling and HE has been severe, locally and globally, with scholars calling attention to ways in which the pandemic has furthered divides between those with the means and ability to access online learning, and those without (e.g., Fataar & Badroodien, 2020; Czerniewicz et al., 2020).

To account for the particular complexities of these transnational issues, Fraser (2005, 2009) expanded her bivalent theory with the third political dimension which concerns parity of participation in relation to citizenship, representation and political voice. The political dimension itself covers three levels of justice: the ‘what’ (that is, economic, resource-based issues), the ‘who’ (cultural issues) and the ‘how’ (political decision making). Fraser (2005, 2009) terms this political injustice misrepresentation which she sees as operating on at least two levels: ordinary-political misrepresentation and misframing. Political injustices of misrepresentation and misframing arise when some individuals or groups are not accorded equal voice in, or are wholly excluded from, decision making about justice claims.

Fraser (2009, p. 17) recognises that both the economic and cultural dimensions are political in that they are “contested and power-laden” and may require state intervention to adjudicate claims. However, she sees the third dimension as political in a “more specific, constitutive sense”, concerning both “the scope of the state’s jurisdiction and the decision rules by which it structures contestation” (Fraser, 2009, p. 17). The political dimension therefore “furnishes the stage on which struggles over distribution and recognition are played out” (Fraser, 2009, p. 17). It determines who belongs and who counts as a member: “who is included in, and who is excluded from, the circle of those entitled to a just distribution and reciprocal recognition” (Fraser, 2009, p. 17). Further, the political dimension establishes decision rules “tell[ing] us not only who can make claims for redistribution and recognition, but also how such claims are to be mooted and adjudicated” (Fraser, 2009, p. 17).

The political dimension requires a rethinking of both the substance and framing of justice. On one level, which Fraser (2009) terms ordinary-political injustices, the substance of justice now includes the specifically political in addition to economic and cultural injustices, and concerns first-order questions around the 'what' of justice. These injustices arise internally within politically bounded communities when some who already count as members lose their political voice and cannot participate as peers. At this first-order level, "representation has the straightforward sense of political voice and democratic accountability" (Fraser, 2009, p. 147), and misrepresentation at this level denies people "the chance to participate fully, as peers" (Fraser, 2009, p. 19) with those already included within a bounded frame or given political community.

In terms of HE, representational justice means that all students should have a political voice and the ability to influence decisions that affect them. Examples of representation include being able to vote for student organisations and participate in student movements (Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012) and should extend to offering new forms of representation, and new discursive spaces, to allow for students' voices to be heard (Lockett & Naicker, 2016).

At another level, the political dimension includes second-order injustices of misframing. Misframing, highlighted by globalisation, takes place across territorial borders. It occurs when boundaries are established that effectively exclude some groups of people from redistribution, recognition and representation, "say, by casting what are actually transnational injustices as national matters" (Fraser, 2009, p. 16). For Fraser (2009, p. 23), misframing can be seen in global financial markets, investment regimes, governance structures and offshore manufacturing, spaces "which determine who works for a wage and who does not". Misframing occurs in information and communication networks which exclude many from "circuits of communicative power". Injustice also lurks in "the biopolitics of climate, disease, drugs, weapons, and biotechnology, which determine who will live long and who will die young" (Fraser, 2009, p. 23).

Fraser (2009) sees misframing as operating at a meta-political level, concerning questions around the 'who': who should be included in claims for socioeconomic redistribution and cultural recognition, who counts as a member of a political community, who is accorded a political voice, and who does and does not count as a subject of justice. Frame-setting, Fraser (2009, p. 19) asserts, is the "deeper character" of injustice and is among the most far reaching and "consequential of political decisions". Denying people "first-order questions of distribution, recognition and representation" (Fraser, 2009, p. 16) effectively denies them the right to have rights (Fraser, 2009). Those excluded cannot make claims for justice, resulting in "a kind of political death" (Fraser, 2009,

p. 20), and those who suffer misframing “become non-persons with respect to justice” (Fraser, 2009, p. 20). As such, it has been argued that the political dimension should be “assigned a privileged place in Fraser’s theory” (Keddie, 2012, p. 273; Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012).

In HE, misframing would apply if, for example, aspirant and current students are excluded due to a lack of funding for a range of essential and everyday resources or because of language issues, geographical distance / rurality, or refugee or immigrant status. Bozalek and Boughey (2012, 2020) discuss misframing at the level of the whole South African HE system. They argue that there is a major form of injustice still at work which separates and oppresses historically black universities and continues to privilege advantaged institutions within the system.

Remedying injustice: affirmative vs. transformative approaches

For Fraser, overcoming injustice to achieve participatory parity means dismantling institutionalised obstacles that prevent people from participating as equals in social interaction (Fraser, 2008, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). Within each of the three dimensions, she distinguishes between affirmative and transformative remedies for injustice, the key difference being the level at which the injustice is addressed: “whereas affirmative remedies target end-state outcomes, transformative remedies address root causes” (Fraser & Hrubec, 2004, p. 880). For Fraser, affirmative remedies tend to be ameliorative (Fraser, 2020; Hodgkinson-Williams & Trotter, 2018); they “aim to correct inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying social structures that generate them” (Fraser & Hrubec, 2004, p. 880). Thus, while they may – in the short term – correct inequities created by social arrangements, they tend not to disturb the underlying social structures that generate these inequities. In contrast, transformative strategies “aim to correct unjust outcomes precisely by restructuring the underlying generative framework” (Fraser & Hrubec, 2004, p. 880).

An affirmative pedagogical approach would equate with Moje’s (2007) notion of a socially just pedagogy. This would be achieved through addressing inequitable outcomes of education by enhancing teaching and learning practices rather than through disrupting the underlying structures that generate social inequities (Bozalek, 2017). In contrast, transformative approaches address the root causes of maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation. This equates with Moje’s (2007) description of social justice pedagogies. Bozalek (2017) usefully shows how it is possible for a lecturer to use both affirmative and transformative strategies at different times in each of the three

dimensions, and also that in some instances affirmative and transformative practice might be blurred or difficult to ascertain.

Economic remedies

In the economic dimension, an affirmative approach would redistribute resources, for example through loans, charities, feeding schemes, and affirmative action for minority or disadvantaged groups. Whilst these strategies provide succour to the vulnerable, the measures are by their nature short term and may well have the “perverse effect of promoting group differentiation” and thus misrecognition, for example, through fostering an ‘us vs. them’ mentality (Fraser, 2008). A transformative approach, on the other hand, would change the system in which inequities circulate, making entitlements universal so that vulnerable or marginalised groups of people are not regarded as being a burden to society, scroungers or beggars, or as benefitting from special treatment (Fraser, 2013). Transformative strategies would include changes to the division of ‘productive’ and ‘reproductive’ labour and to the ownership of land and property (Fernandez, 2011). For students in HE, an affirmative remedy might be interest-bearing student loans which are most disadvantageous to the poorest, or providing small tranches of funding to help financially precarious students graduate (Gredley & McMillan, 2022). Whilst potentially useful and even necessary, these tend to be short-term, stopgap measures. Transformative redistribution, by comparison, could include fully state-sponsored education for all students, not just those deemed financially needy; the provision of affordable, safe, appropriately serviced accommodation; and affordable or free and safe transport to campus from across the city (Gredley, 2020; Motala et al., 2016; Motala et al., 2018).

Cultural remedies

In the cultural dimension, affirmative remedies would work to redress disrespect or marginalisation by revaluing unjustly devalued group identities whilst leaving intact the content of the identities and the group differentiations that underlie them. An example Fraser gives is mainstream multiculturalism, the aim being to celebrate, not eliminate, group differences (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). An important potential drawback of an affirmative approach is that it can generate backlash against the very groups seeking recognition (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). This has been highlighted in recent times when the #BlackLivesMatter movement sparked an #AllLivesMatter counter-campaign,⁹ and similarly when the #NotAllMen hashtag sought to neutralise the #MeToo

⁹ See e.g., <https://theconversation.com/why-is-it-so-offensive-to-say-all-lives-matter-153188>

movement.¹⁰ Another drawback of an affirmative approach is that it reifies identities which, as noted earlier, has an inherent danger in that it assumes an essential and ‘authentic’ collective identity to which individual members must conform in order to belong (Fraser, 2000). This ‘identity model’ approach to recognition, Fraser argues, represses cultural dissidence and experimentation, “lend[ing] itself all too easily to repressive forms of communitarianism, promoting conformism, intolerance and patriarchalism” (Fraser, 2000, pp. 133-134). However, Fraser does argue that an affirmative approach is at times a useful and necessary step towards justice (Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

Transformative strategies for recognition, on the other hand, acknowledge cultural complexities. They seek to blur, destabilise, proliferate and deconstruct categories rather than entrench identity politics or multiculturalism. Such strategies replace binary essentialised logics and hierarchies with “networks of multiple intersecting differences that are demassified and shifting” (Fraser, 2008, p. 38; Keddie, 2005). The value of the status model approach then is that it does not stop at valorising identities but rather seeks “institutional remedies for institutionalized harms” (Fraser, 2000, p. 116). A transformative approach would alert students in HE to structural cultural inequities. It would include attempts to destabilise and blur hierarchies and binaries through, for example, interrogating what and whose knowledges are accorded less respect and esteem, and who is de/valued in terms of race, gender, sexuality, ability, ethnicity, nationality, religion, culture and so on (Bozalek, 2017; Keddie, 2005). Furthermore, transformative strategies would interrogate knowledge wherever it originates (Michelson, 2020, 2021).

Political remedies

In the political dimension, an affirmative approach involves contesting the boundaries of existing frames (Fraser, 2009). Claimants might seek to redraw frames or create new ones, but ultimately claimants accept the Westphalian grammar of frame-setting as the appropriate frame within which to raise and adjudicate justice claims. The ‘who’ of justice is therefore accepted as those within a state’s borders or, more broadly speaking, those who share membership of a political community (Fraser, 2009).

A transformative politics of framing, on the other hand, contests the ‘who’ of justice, contending that the grammar of state-territoriality is “out of sync with the structural causes of many

¹⁰ See e.g., <https://www.vox.com/2014/5/15/5720332/heres-why-women-have-turned-the-not-all-men-objection-into-a-meme>

injustices in a globalizing world” (Fraser, 2009, p. 23). These injustices, which “belong not to the ‘space of places’ but to the ‘the space of flows’” (Fraser, 2009, p. 23), cannot be solved within a national state or boundary and, as Fraser (2009) argues, to invoke the state-territorial principle is itself an injustice. A transformative approach in the political dimension would therefore take a post-Westphalian view, changing the boundaries of ‘who’ is included in justice claims as well as the way the boundaries are drawn (Bozalek & Boughey, 2020; Fraser, 2009). Fellow subjects of justice would not be constituted by geography but by the all-affected principle, in other words, all those affected by structural or institutional issues that promote advantage or disadvantage (Fraser, 2009). Recent examples of groups claiming justice from harmful structures and institutions and who have applied the all-affected principle across state-territorial boundaries are environmentalists, development and children’s rights activists, Indigenous peoples, feminist scholars and activists, and students.

In the local HE context, Bozalek (2017) gives an example of an affirmative political approach as that of lecturers who include students by encouraging them to draw on their own experiences and reflections in class and online, or through positioning students as independent knowledge producers who have voice and agency in the educational process. This is akin to the authentic learning approach described by Shefer and Clowes (2015). A more radical transformative approach might seek to foster transdisciplinarity or shift lecturer/student dichotomies, reversing roles so that learners become teachers (Bozalek, 2017). Bozalek (2017) gives an example of learning spaces in which PhD students formed online communities of practice and took responsibility for assisting each other; in the process, she argues, binaries were disrupted and education was democratised, “transforming the ‘how’ of engaging as learners as well as the ‘who’ are the teachers and learners” (Bozalek, 2017, p. 105).

Nonreformist reforms

In her earlier conceptualisations of participatory parity, Fraser (1997) argued that transformative remedies were generally preferable “as they are less likely to promote backlash against the beneficiaries, to reify group identities, and to encourage separatism” (Fraser, 2007b, p. 309). However, in her later work (Fraser, 2007b, p. 309; Fraser & Honneth, 2003) she says she “came to appreciate that the distinction is not absolute, but contextual”. Fraser (2007b, p. 309) adds that “reforms that appear to be affirmative in the abstract can have transformative effects in some contexts, provided they are radically and consistently pursued”.

Fraser (2007b, p. 310) thus proposed a compromise between the “practicability of affirmation” and “the radical thrust of transformation”, what she called nonreformist reforms. This

approach, Fraser (2007b, p. 310) argues, “combines the best of both worlds” in seeking reforms that “can engage people’s identities and satisfy some of their needs as interpreted within existing frameworks of recognition and distribution, while also setting in motion a trajectory of change in which more radical reforms become practicable over time”. Transformation is thus still the preferable option, but, as Fraser (2007b, p. 310) argues, the decision about whether to affirm or deconstruct existing group distinctions may be “better left to future generations”. Instead, she emphasises that

what is crucial now is that we strive to bequeath them a society in which the choice can be made freely, unconstrained by relations of domination. This requires dismantling institutionalized status hierarchies, which currently underpin existing group distinctions, thereby leaving the latter to stand or fall on their own perceived merit. (Fraser, 2007b, p. 310)

Critiques to participatory parity and Fraser’s current work: new directions, and concluding thoughts

Fraser’s theorising of social justice as participatory parity has been widely taken up by scholars across disciplines and areas of study, in part because the multidimensional theory offers possibilities for making sense of injustice that shifts debates away from “sterile either/or arguments” (Olson, 2008 p. 8). As Olson (2008) argues, the framework offers a means of working towards the difficult but productive integration of cultural politics with the politics of social democracy – and later the politics of representation and framing – while still acknowledging the tensions. Another reason for the wide resonance of Fraser’s work lies in its “ability to make the presently chaotic scene surveyable and intelligible” (Olson, 2008 p. 8). However, as Keddie (2012, p. 276) notes, this key strength may also be a weakness: the ever-present danger in trying to make chaos intelligible is that it “necessarily delimits and contains”. This, some scholars have argued, falsely separates and polarises different dimensions of justice rather than focusing on important overlaps and intersections (Butler, 2008; Keddie, 2012; Young, 2008).

While Fraser’s thinking has been important in shaping scholarship, it has also been responsive to critique and development, as is evident, for example, in the Olson (2008) edited volume. Most recently Fraser has worked on developing a fourth ecological dimension which recognises the “the deepening and scary ecological crisis” (Osman & Hornsby, 2018; Walker & Wilson-Strydom, 2017) and ways in which it is intertwined with “Cannibal Capitalism”, social

reproduction and the 'crisis of care' (Chhachhi, 2011; Fraser, 2022; Littler & Fraser, 2015; Mosquera, 2021; StudiumGeneraleUU, 2021).

Perhaps due to Fraser's theoretical responsiveness, as well as the rigour of and possibilities offered by participatory parity and its development over the years, her work has been taken up by scholars from a range of disciplinary contexts and backgrounds. However, As Keddie (2012, p. 276) warns, using participatory parity in the "messy terrain" of educational research necessitates "a cautious approach that is cognisant of, and transparent about, the arbitrariness of this boundary making and the often lack of distinctiveness between and amid matters of economic, cultural and political justice". For Keddie (2012, p. 276), "presenting matters of injustice within these categories should not be about fixing them or diluting their complexity and interrelatedness" or imagining some idealised but static or simplified form of justice. Instead, she suggests that Fraser's model of participatory parity should be used as a "productive lens for thinking about and addressing some of the key ways in which different dimensions of injustice are currently hindering the ... participation, engagement and outcomes of marginalised students" (Keddie, 2012, p. 276).

In South Africa, a considerable body of research has arisen over the past decade or so which uses the principle of participatory parity to reflect on socially just pedagogies and educational spaces. South African scholars have found it a productive lens for thinking about a range of aspects of education including leadership, open educational resources, teacher development programmes, curricula and teaching practices. De Kadt (2019), for example, uses parity of participation to evaluate a national academic staff development programme. She argues that in a context characterised by a lack of parity, the programme was able to foster more equitable participation for participants in their own institutions as well as positioning participants to 'give back' as scholars of teaching and learning. Christie (2016) draws on Fraser's thinking to make sense of social justice in a 'post conflict' setting such as South Africa. She notes that education cannot be disentangled from the "broader social arrangement of the political economy" and that Fraser's theory helps to reveal "how the different forms of social injustice, and their different remedies, may easily shift and slip in complex times of change" (Christie, 2016, p. 444).

Whereas Christie's (2016) focus was schooling, Hodgkinson-Williams and Trotter (2018, p. 204) use participatory parity to interrogate open educational resources and practices in the Global South and the extent to which these fulfil their "intention to provide affordable access to culturally relevant education to all". Other scholars have worked at the level of the classroom. Garraway (2017) examines student engagement and epistemological access for undergraduate students in an

extended curriculum programme, and Ngoasheng and Gachago (2017) analyse a pedagogical practice called the privilege walk. Ngoasheng and Gachago (2017) describe participatory parity as a useful lens which allows the acknowledgement of complexities around identities and an understanding of the systemic nature of privilege through foregrounding the socio-political over the personal.

This thesis contributes to this nascent research and current debates about pedagogies for social justice through its 'close-up' focus on two undergraduate gender studies modules. The chapter that follows outlines the research methodology. It explains the study's feminist (post)qualitative framework, provides details of each of the WGS modules, and explains data generation methods and how data analysis was approached through deploying participatory parity. It ends with a discussion of positionality and ethics through the research process.



CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROCESS

In the Introduction I discussed the bold ambitions for HE in post-apartheid South Africa, and outlined persistent and complex challenges facing students. I noted that whilst there have been efforts from many quarters within and outside of academia to transform HE institutions and curricula, much more needs to be done to ensure equity of access to and participation within HE. This study aimed to respond to the challenges through a detailed, close-up exploration of ways in which pedagogies are, and are not, able to contribute to participatory parity in two undergraduate gender studies modules at UWC, a ‘previously disadvantaged’, ‘historically black’ university in Cape Town. UWC was chosen precisely because, almost three decades after the shift to democracy, it continues to draw primarily black and coloured students from poor and working-class backgrounds and remains under-resourced compared to ‘historically advantaged’, ‘previously white’ institutions. Intersecting legacies of marginalisation and subordination thus continue to disadvantage UWC students in a variety of ways. Given this context, the aim of the research was to explore whether and how the pedagogies employed in these modules were able to challenge these inequalities. This chapter outlines and explains the methodological choices made in the pursuit of that aim.

The chapter is divided into two parts. Part 1 outlines the study’s feminist, (post)qualitative, methodological approach. This approach was conventionally qualitative in some respects but also took a more post-qualitative turn through the recruitment of ‘thinking with theory’ (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012); in this case, the theory of participatory parity (Fraser, 2009, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Olson, 2008). Part 2 presents the research process, including the research design, detailed descriptions of the two WGS modules through which I explored pedagogies about and for social justice, data-gathering methods, the way in which I approach data analysis, and finally, self-reflexivity and ethical considerations.

Part 1: A (post)qualitative feminist framework

This study’s methodology was, broadly speaking, underpinned by and located within a feminist framework, drawing as it did on Fraser’s work alongside feminist research principles, and in some ways it took the form of a fairly conventional qualitative study, as outlined below. However, it was also substantively influenced by Jackson and Mazzei’s (2012, 2013, 2018) more post-qualitative approach of thinking with theory in qualitative research.

As a feminist study, the methodological framework was underpinned by distinctive theoretical, political and ethical concerns that shape feminist methodologies despite enormous diversity and debate across and within feminist research traditions (Bailey, 2007; Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006; Fonow & Cook, 2005; Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). These principles include: a commitment to surfacing and exploring power, inequity and injustice, in particular in terms of gender and gendered experiences of social life but also other aspects of identity such as sexuality, race, class and so on; an approach that is values driven, action oriented and committed to fostering social change; a desire to open up space for the voices, knowledges and experiences of women and other marginalised people; a recognition of all research as inherently political, biased and lacking in neutrality; attending to feminist ethics and morals; and an awareness of critical, reflexive research practices (Bailey, 2007; Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006; Fonow & Cook, 2005; Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002).

The study employed conventional qualitative research elements in that it aimed to explore, describe and deeply understand a particular situation or context by drawing on a range of qualitative data gathered through immersion in a naturalistic context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006; Maxwell, 2012; O'Leary, 2009). Further, the study's aims were overtly political, not confined to the individual but allied with the collective (Mazzei, 2017, p. 677), and sought to surface, interrupt and challenge "structures of power and systems of domination" within and beyond the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 80; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006; O'Leary, 2009; Willis, 2007).

However, a key point of departure from a more conventional feminist qualitative methodology was that I drew substantively on Jackson and Mazzei's (2012, 2013, 2018) post-qualitative approach of thinking with theory (see also Lather, 2013; St. Pierre, 2011). Jackson and Mazzei argue that current times and contexts – "situations which we no longer know how to react to, in spaces which we no longer know how to describe" (Deleuze, 1989, as cited in Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. vii) – call for new ways of thinking methodologically and philosophically. In response, Jackson and Mazzei call for centring theory in the research process; in other words, theory is regarded as "not only useful, but *essential*, for without theory we have no way to think otherwise" (2013, p. 269, emphasis in original). The call to 'think otherwise' is a call to "shake us out of the complacency of seeing/hearing/thinking as we always have, or might have, or will have" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013, p. 269) in order to "produce something new" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013, p. 262). Jackson and Mazzei (2013, p. 261, emphasis in original) therefore

challenge qualitative researchers to use theory to think *with* their data (or use data to think *with* theory) in order to accomplish a reading of data that is both *within and against interpretivism*.

Drawing on Deleuze, Jackson and Mazzei term this approach 'plugging in'. As a "methodology-against-interpretivism", plugging in "disrupts the centering compulsion of traditional qualitative research" and instead offers researchers opportunities for "cutting into the center, opening it up to see what newness might be incited" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013, p. 262). Jackson and Mazzei (2012, 2013) emphasise plugging in as a process rather than a concept and argue that given current complex times, this working of theory and data together provides an alternative to simplistic, decontextualised ways of working with data and data analysis which reproduce "what we already think, know, and experience" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013, p. 269). It thus resists hegemonic thinking and offers a way to "decenter some of the traps of humanistic qualitative inquiry" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013, p. 262), including decentring the subject who is assumed to present truthful and accurate self-representations; de-emphasising themes, patterns and coherent meaning; and avoiding the privileging of voice, especially "that voice which we can easily name, categorize and respond to" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013, p. 263). My study does not wholly avoid these qualitative humanistic 'traps'. However, starting with theory is a quintessential post-qualitative approach which opens up possibilities for "imagin[ing] and accomplish[ing] an inquiry that might produce different knowledge and produce knowledge differently" (Lather, 2013, p. 635).¹¹

To think with theory means to begin an inquiry with a 'problem' and a 'concept', such that the inquiry will be "shaped by the problems posed in working the concept and problem together" (Mazzei, 2017, p. 676). Mazzei (2017) terms this a minor inquiry. Such an inquiry "does not begin with the subject, or method, or the desire to give an account. It begins with a problem in the midst of an inquiry" (Mazzei, 2017, p. 676). This approach does not involve a rejection of the "methods and methodologies employed within the current epoch of social science inquiry but [represents] a call for experimentation from within research, constructing a continuum of variation around knowledge production" (Mazzei et al., 2018, p. 3).

¹¹ Also in line with post-qualitative imperatives, the study took an approach which had "an overt ethical orientation towards change" (Kuntz, 2021, p. 216), acknowledged its social and historical embeddedness, and sought to act "in ways that have beneficial consequence, however contingent the grounds are for that action" (Carlson et al., 2020; Rosiek, 2021, p. 241). Bhattacharya (2021) offers an argument against setting up fixed boundaries between the qualitative and post-qualitative. The boundaries, she argues, are blurred, and she draws on both schools of thought. She therefore refuses the label of post-qualitative researcher as "traditional forms of qualitative research cannot be essentialized any more than post-qualitative approaches" (Bhattacharya, 2021, p. 182).

In this study, or inquiry, the ‘problem’ is that of entrenched and pervasive injustices in South Africa and South African HE, and the challenges and affordances of teaching and learning in the face of these injustices and inequalities. The study sought to reach a better understanding of ways in which pedagogical choices might challenge these pervasive injustices through a detailed exploration of two undergraduate modules in the WGS programme at UWC, modules which seek to promote social justice and teach in socially just ways. The ‘concept’ used to explore this problem was Nancy Fraser’s theorising of social justice as participatory parity within and across three imbricated dimensions: socio-economic, cultural and political concerns. Thinking with this theory informed my methodological approach and the research process, detailed in Part 2 below.

I now turn to discussing the research process, starting with an overview of the research design and detailed considerations of the two WGS modules. This is followed by methods of data production and a discussion of data analysis through the lens of participatory parity. The chapter concludes with an examination of reflexivity and ethical considerations.

Part 2: The research process

Research design

In considering the design and form of this case study, I found Thacher’s (2006) argument useful, and one which aligned with my more post-qualitative approach described above. He notes that case studies have traditionally been explanatory and seen as either good for identifying causal relationships (‘causal case studies’) or shedding light on people’s worldviews, motives, behaviours, and so on (‘interpretive case studies’). Neither of these explanatory, qualitative approaches adequately described my ‘minor enquiry’ (Mazzei, 2017). Instead, in starting with the problem of injustice, and thinking with the theory of participatory parity, my approach was more aligned with Thacher’s (2006) third type which, he suggests, contributes to a different kind of theory: the ‘normative case study’. This approach, which favours evaluation over explanation, is concerned with “what *should* be (norms, values, or ideals) rather than solely with what *is* (empirical phenomenon)” (Schwandt & Gates, 2018, p. 615, emphasis added). Further, Thacher (2006, p. 1635) says, the normative case study is explicitly committed to social justice and fostering change, and aims to contribute to the “ideals and obligations we should accept”. In these respects, my approach – as minor inquiry – aligned well with a normative case study in that it took a “committed pose” (Thacher, 2006, p. 1637) to social justice through using participatory parity to ‘think with data’.

As there is no single understanding of ‘case study’ nor ‘case’ (Schwandt & Gates, 2018, p. 600), a critical question for researchers employing this approach is “What is this a case of?” (Schwandt & Gates 2018, p. 601). In this study, the “phenomenon of interest” was socially just pedagogies, and the unit or instance allowing this phenomenon to be explored were the two undergraduate gender studies modules at one university in Cape Town (Schwandt & Gates, 2018, p. 601). I now turn to detailing the two modules which formed the research site, starting with an outline of my involvement in the modules.

As explained in the Introduction, I started working with the WGS department in 2010, primarily providing online educational and research support. From 2015, also the year in which I started my PhD, I became more actively involved on campus, providing teaching support for WGS2 and WGS3, two modules offered by the department. Due to my familiarity with the modules and department, and the department’s feminist and social justice orientation, I chose these modules as two ‘portraits’ (Walters, 2007) through which to explore socially just pedagogies. I focused on gathering data from WGS2 from 2016 to 2018, and from WGS3 in 2017 and 2018. During this period, I played a number of roles: assistant lecturer, tutor, student consultant, marker, researcher and (less visibly) a student myself. I was acutely aware of ways in which these roles, responsibilities and positionalities shifted and altered the power dynamics between myself and the students, and how this might impact on the research process. Towards the end of this chapter, I reflect on some of the potential impacts of these varied, overlapping roles. First though, I introduce in more detail the two modules that were central to this study.

Case 1: Introduction to Sex, Gender and Sexuality (WGS2)

Introduction to Sex, Gender and Sexuality (WGS2) was, during this study, a 10-credit module that ran in the first semester of second year. It was the first of five undergraduate modules feeding into a major offered by the WGS department. As in previous years, students who registered for the module were taking it as an elective or as a major in WGS, and most were engaging with feminist theory for the first time (Clowes, 2015a, 2015b). In 2016 there were 58 students registered for the module, 85 registered in 2017, and 124 registered in 2018. In contrast to the general student population, these were primarily black and coloured women with a handful of men and non-binary students each year.

As the module name suggests, WGS2 aimed to provide students with an introduction to contemporary debates in feminist theory. The module aimed to consider and explore questions of power, subordination, discipline and control by using gender as a lens connected to intersecting

issues of sexuality, race, class, culture, religion, ethnicity, language, and so on. The module was structured around three themes: gender, biological sex and sexuality. The module outline (see *Figure 2*) advised students that

You might think you already know most of what there is to know about these things, so this module aims to surprise you – to make you think more carefully about some of the ideas most of us take for granted ... Prepare to have some of your most basic ideas challenged! (WGS2 module outline, 2018. See *Figure 2* and Appendix A)


Lectures, tutorials, assignments & assessment WGS212

Welcome to *Intro to sex, gender & sexuality*

This course aims to introduce you to contemporary theorising and debates around sex, gender and sexuality. You might think you already know most of what there is to know about these things, so this course aims to surprise you – to make you think more carefully about some of the ideas most of us take for granted. We begin by drawing on ideas you would have encountered last year, about 'objectivity' and 'truth' and what counts as knowledge. So you'll be asked to think *critically* about common sense (hegemonic) ideas that there are just 2 sexes (male and female) and you'll engage with arguments from biologists that dividing human beings into just 2 biological sexes (male and female) is a reductive social construct. You'll hear, for example, from people who have bodies that simply don't fit into the category male or female.

You'll also be thinking critically about the hegemonic idea that there are just 2 genders (masculine and feminine) and you'll engage with theorists who suggest that gender is something we do rather than something we are. You'll focus on a case study of one society in which a two gender system is normative and the ways in which each individual within that society is implicated in maintaining and reproducing that particular gender regime. You'll also explore societies that have more flexible gender regimes, with 3 or even more genders. We will end the course thinking about what these understandings of sex and gender might mean for our understandings of human sexuality. Prepare to have some of your most basic ideas challenged!

2018



1 | Page

Figure 2. Front page of WGS2 module outline, 2018.

The professor who convened the module, and who had been employed at the institution for 16 years at the time I began my study, has published several papers on her teaching practice. In this writing she has reflected on her positionality (in relation to the students she teaches) as “a white middle-class feminist educator 30 or more years older than most of my undergraduate students” which, she has argued, limits her “understanding of what it means to be a young, gendered and raced person in contemporary South Africa” (Clowes, 2015a, p. 160). In recognition of these limitations, a core intention of the module was thus to recognise and draw on the prior knowledges

and material realities of students' everyday gendered lives, and to place these at the centre of the curriculum (Clowes, 2015a, 2015b, 2018). The module aimed to draw on these 'baseline knowledges' – the things students already know and believe about gender, sex and sexuality – “to frame and inform the debates, discussion and theorising that are central to the module” which, the professor argued,

helps facilitate more meaningful learning, offers opportunities to identify and address misunderstandings and misconceptions, and presents possibilities for teachers, as well as students, to learn. (Clowes, 2018, p. 365)

WGS2 began by reflecting on the concepts of 'objectivity' and 'truth' as well as what counts as knowledge (see *Figure 2* and Appendix A). Students were introduced to feminist theory that critiques hegemonic binary understandings of sex and gender, as well as the ways in which these categories express socially constructed power differences. Students examined ways in which society maintains and reproduces normative two-gender social systems, discussed societies with more flexible gender regimes, and explored what social constructions of sex and gender mean for sexuality.

Each of the themes was covered through a series of lectures (twice a week) and tutorials (once a week) structured around local and global theory and research. Also featured each year was a range of guest lecturers who were gender activists and/or experts in their fields. Guests from 2016 to 2018 included Patrick Godana from Sonke Gender Justice;¹² gender / sex activists from Gender Dynamix;¹³ current WGS postgraduate students; and an ex-doctoral student and academic, Dr Nadia Sanger, whose research was used in the module (Sanger, 2008, 2009). Presented as lectures, these aimed to be relatively informal sessions of 20 to 30 minutes of presentation followed by dialogue and discussion.

WGS2 used a blended learning approach (Rowe, 2012; Rowe et al., 2013). Before lectures, students were asked to prepare set readings, submit short online worksheets engaging with the readings (through which they could gather marks), and occasionally respond to voluntary anonymous online quizzes. The quizzes asked students about their current thinking and experiences in relation to a particular topic (for example, how they learned 'appropriate' gendered roles and behaviours) and quiz responses were drawn on as data during lectures. Lectures then aimed to be

¹² <https://genderjustice.org.za/>

¹³ <https://www.genderdynamix.org.za/>

more interactive, fostering discussion and debate around the theory in relation to students' own lives. Besides lectures, the module provided a range of spaces for students to engage with each other and the teaching team, including blogs, online discussion forums, tutorials as well as tasks and presentations done in groups. Each of these modes of engagement aimed to provide opportunities for students to reflect on, and to discuss and debate the module theory in relation to their prior experiences and current learning around gender, sex and sexuality. Additionally, each of these tasks provided ways of accumulating coursework marks. There was some choice as to which of the tasks to do and when, with the aim of promoting "flexible, student-centred learning that is responsive to diverse student needs" (WGS, 2017, p. 10) and emphasising "student ownership of the learning process" (Clowes, 2018, p. 153).

Rather than the traditional sit-down exam, the module culminated in a critically reflective essay. The essay required students to employ an autoethnographic approach in which they reflected on their own intersectional gendered lives, embedded in material, social, cultural and political contexts (Murray & Kalayji, 2018). Students were required to connect their reflections and consider their learnings in relation to feminist research and theory encountered through the module to demonstrate what they had learned about gender as it intersects with race, class, sexuality, culture, religion and so on in contemporary South Africa. The essays served "a number of overlapping and related" pedagogical aims (Clowes, 2018, p. 376). These included replacing a high-stakes exam format with one which allowed time and space for "sustained critical self-reflection in thoughtful and consistent dialogue with others over time", "encouraging and validating the authorial voices of undergraduate students" and "positioning the teacher as facilitator rather than sage and students as experts on the gendered dynamics of their own lives" (Clowes, 2018, p. 377). This "embodied pedagogical approach" aimed to work against "the discourses of [student] deficiency that are widespread in contemporary higher education in South Africa", resist neoliberal institutional cultures, and offer alternatives to the Eurocentrism of traditional academic curricula (Clowes, 2018, p. 377).

Case 2: Research Project (WGS3)

The third-year *Research Project* (WGS3) was a 10-credit second-semester module offered by a team of experienced feminist scholars. Most students were in the third and final year of their undergraduate studies. I drew on data from 2017 and 2018, years in which photovoice methodologies (Robinson-Keilig et al., 2014; Sutton-Brown, 2014; Wang & Burris, 1997) were used. In 2017, there were 145 students in the class, and there were 79 in 2018. As with WGS2, students

could be taking the module as a major or an elective, and in 2017 the class included a cohort of social work students (as part of their four-year degree) for whom WGS3 was compulsory. As with WGS2, the class largely comprised black and coloured women but also a few dozen men, primarily those studying social work.

The module followed a participatory learning and action (PLA) approach which aspired to engage “young people in ways that empower and transform them and their communities” (Ngabaza, 2018, p. 147). Key aims of the module were to provide “practical training in methods and tools for conducting research on gender issues and from a gender-based perspective” (WGS, 2017), teach feminist qualitative and gender-sensitive research methodologies, develop students’ skills in “designing, implementing and writing up their own independent research projects” (WGS, 2017), and through this contribute to their preparedness for postgraduate studies. The module also aimed to foster students’ scholarly identity, to help them imagine themselves as emerging researchers able to contribute to “democratized practice[s] of knowledge production” and “active agents of transformation” (Ngabaza, 2018, p. 148) through drawing on their diverse backgrounds and experiences (Clowes et al., 2017; Shefer et al., 2017; WGS, 2015, 2017).

Although the research topic changed each year it was designed to be relevant to students’ lives and experiences. In previous years students had explored places and moments of un/safety and dis/empowerment on campus, the links between gender, love and money, and the #Fallist student movements. In 2017 students explored factors contributing to their success in overcoming challenges while at university. In 2018 they explored resistances, disruptions and protests against unequal gender norms and gender-based violence (see *Figures 3 and 4* below, and Appendix B).

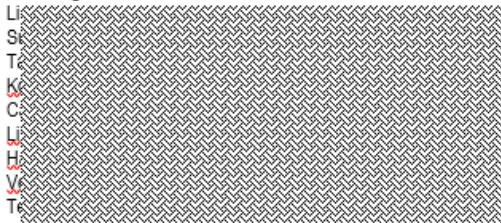
WGS 321

Research project - 2018:

Documenting resistance & activism for gender & sexual justice

Research question: How have recent protests and everyday practices of activism challenged gender injustice in contemporary South Africa?

Teaching Team:



Classes are held on Mondays during lunch and 5th periods in the Library Auditorium



Figure 3: Front page of WGS3 module outline, 2018.

WGS 321 2017

Research project: Succeeding at UWC

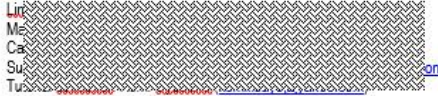
What institutional circumstances and arrangements have promoted successful learning at the University of the Western Cape in contemporary South Africa?

Have you found university easy? Or has it been a challenge? What challenges have you faced? In what ways have you felt marginalized, alienated, excluded (think about class, race, gender, sexuality, religion, ethnicity or other social/group identities)? And most importantly - how have you overcome these obstacles and challenges to arrive in your final year of study? What and who has helped/supported you? How? What resources (cultural, social, political, organizational, institutional etc) have you been able to draw on to overcome these constraints?

Lecturers:



Tutors:



Classes are held on Mondays during lunch and 5th periods in the Library Auditorium



Figure 4. Front page of WGS3 module outline, 2017.

In each of the two years that are the focus of this study, students were positioned as both researcher and research participants via an adapted photovoice methodology. Photovoice is a participatory action research (PAR) technique first developed by Wang and Burris in the 1990s and with roots in Freirean critical consciousness, feminist theory and documentary photography (Wang & Burris, 1997). Widely taken up in Global South contexts, photovoice aims to give marginalised and 'othered' participants an opportunity to represent their lives and communities through photographs and narratives, with the aim of fostering critical discussion and ultimately catalysing change in their communities (Boonzaier & Kessi, 2018; Boonzaier & Mkhize, 2018; Cornell, 2021; Cornell et al., 2018; Malherbe et al., 2016; Ngabaza, 2018; Ngabaza et al., 2015; Ngabaza et al., 2018; Seedat et al., 2015; Shefer, 2020; Wang & Burris, 1997). While photovoice usually involves a researcher recruiting local people to generate images and narratives, WGS3 positioned students as both researcher and researched, as experts in their own lives. WGS3 thus sought to foreground and value knowledge contributions by students, create spaces for subjugated knowledges and marginalised voices to be heard, raise awareness and foster dialogue around students' particular concerns and experiences, and thereby contribute to societal transformation by reaching university stakeholders, policy makers, gatekeepers and decision makers (Clowes et al., 2017; Ngabaza, 2018; Ngabaza et al., 2015; Shefer et al., 2020; Shefer et al., 2017; Wang & Burris, 1997).

In this adapted photovoice project, students were tasked with taking two photographs which spoke to their interests and concerns in relation to the research topic. Each photograph needed to be accompanied by a short narrative of 200 to 400 words. Together, the photographs and narratives formed the qualitative data that was shared via iKamva for data analysis. Additionally, a selection of the submissions were printed as large full-colour posters for use in class and at a final exhibition. A preliminary analysis of the shared data was presented at a student-led panel discussion. This was envisaged as a way to foreground students' voices and promote discussion around themes emerging from the data. These themes could then be used for data analysis.

Using photovoice aligned with the module's aim to promote authentic learning (Herrington & Herrington, 2006; Ngabaza, 2018; Rink et al., 2020; Rowe et al., 2013; Shefer & Clowes, 2015; Titus, 2013) in that efforts were made to place students at the centre of their learning and have them engage in activities with real-world relevance and (potential) impact, thus positioning them as active agents of transformation and knowledge production. In line with the awareness-raising aims of PAR, there were public exhibitions of the posters on campus, events at which students and faculty reflected on the research process and findings, and shared these with the campus community more broadly (see *Figures 5 and 6* below). In addition, module lecturers have co-written research papers

with WGS3 students that reported on the students' findings (Ngabaza et al., 2015; Ngabaza et al., 2013).



Figure 5. Invitation to WGS3 exhibition on campus.



Figure 6. WGS3 exhibition launch in the library atrium.

The module was structured with the aim of mimicking an original ‘real world’ research project (Shefer & Clowes, 2015). One double-period lecture and one tutorial were offered each week, and each of these was structured around a particular component of the final research report. Over the semester students submitted and reworked components of their research project, starting with the draft literature review and draft methodology papers. Each of these received extensive feedback which informed the development of the third submission, the research proposal, which was again returned with extensive feedback. Papers 4 and 5 were data collection and draft data analysis. As discussed above, students gathered their data using photovoice which was, with permission, shared with the class. Students analysed a selection of the data, submitted as the draft data analysis paper, which again received extensive feedback. The final submission involved reworking the previous papers and collating them into a coherent research report which took the place of a formal sit-down exam and was externally examined. All components of the final report were rewritten at least once; some were reworked three times. This mentoring and revision process aimed to develop students’ understanding of writing as a process rather than an outcome, a process which required critical reflection, (re)reading, engaging with others, responding to critical feedback, (re)writing, and so on. In doing so, the module aspired to offer insights into how academic writing works, at postgraduate levels and beyond (WGS, 2017).

Commonalities across the modules

As the above illustrates, WGS2 and WGS3 were very differently structured. However, there were key commonalities across the two modules. In terms of vision and aims, the modules formed part of an undergraduate programme which sought to employ feminist pedagogies “to focus on intersecting power inequalities and ways in which these shape knowledge production inside and outside the classroom” (Clowes, 2018, p. 364). Both modules therefore found ways to foreground students’ prior knowledges and experiences as a starting point for learning (Clowes, 2018; Clowes et al., 2017; Ngabaza et al., 2018; Shefer & Clowes, 2015).

In terms of pedagogical tools and practices, both modules sought to employ innovative feminist and multimodal pedagogies “that challenge conventional divides between activism, art and the academy” (WGS, 2017, p. 9). Both modules uploaded all module materials online, using iKamva (the UWC Learning Management System [LMS]), to “enhance student choices around what, when and where to engage with module materials” (WGS, 2017, p. 10). In terms of assessments, both had moved away from traditional tests and sit-down exams and instead sought to offer students “more creative ways of demonstrating their learning” through, for example, group tasks and performances,

portfolios of their work and reflective essays in WGS2, and the photovoice project in WGS3 (WGS, 2017). Further, both emphasised formative rather than summative assessments. These aimed to develop students' academic writing skills and ethical writing practices whilst also providing meaningful building blocks towards the final essay (WGS2) and research report (WGS3) (WGS, 2017).

Finally, as feminist modules which sought an impact both within and beyond the classroom, both aspired to foster independent thinking; encourage students "to explore different views in order to develop and strengthen their own arguments, insights and analyses" (WGS, 2015, p. 8); provide spaces in which students could undertake 'meaningful' critical reflection on the self and their own lives in relation to social norms (Clowes, 2015a; Clowes et al., 2017; Shefer & Clowes, 2015; WGS, 2015); and, ultimately, promote social justice and social change by contributing to producing socially aware and critically engaged citizens (Clowes, 2018; Shefer et al., 2018; Shefer et al., 2020). For these reasons, these were interesting and useful sites for exploring socially just pedagogies.

Generating data

As Sandra Harding (1987) famously argued over three decades ago, there is no distinctive feminist method for gathering, producing or generating data. However, a feminist researcher's methodological stance will impact on her methods, as

what we study, analyze, and write and how we study, analyze, and write are integrally connected to our methodological and theoretical lens. (Pillow & Mayo, 2012, p. 5)

As detailed in Chapter 3 and discussed in Part 1 above, my theoretical and methodological lenses were shaped by the understanding of social justice as participatory parity which influenced what and how data were gathered. In particular, I drew on the post-qualitative understanding of concept as method (Mazzei, 2017); the concept – in this case participatory parity – became the method through which to approach an inquiry. As Mazzei (2017, p. 676) puts it, an "inquiry does not begin with the subject, or method, or the desire to give an account. It begins with a problem in the midst of inquiry", and the problem is "transformed by the contour of [the] concept". Bearing this in mind, as well as the understanding of data as 'produced' rather than 'collected' and that "the process of production ... is fundamentally related to the product" (May, 2002, p. 2), the next section describes the data drawn on for the study. I start by discussing focus groups and interviews. I had expected these more traditional methods to be key data-gathering tools. However, whilst valuable in some respects, these forms of data were superseded by material generated by students, that is, materials produced and developed during the modules and which emerged out of the modules including anonymous quizzes, online blogs and discussion forums, reflective essays, photovoice

submissions and module evaluations. These material artefacts as well as my observations on the tasks and submissions were rich – and copious – sources of data.

Focus groups (FG) and interviews (I)¹⁴

At the start of the study I expected focus groups to form a key data collection strategy as, in line with the study's feminist underpinnings, I envisaged that focus groups could address concerns around ethics, power and collaborative meaning making when working with students, a potentially vulnerable group (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007; Wilkinson, 1998). I anticipated that focus groups would provide relatively informal and less hierarchical spaces in which to have rich, dynamic conversations with students about their experiences of HE pedagogies (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007).

I initially planned to conduct focus groups at the beginning and end of each module. However, focus groups proved challenging to organise. At the start of each semester I emailed students, explained my research aims, and invited them to join me to discuss their HE journeys, their experiences of and aspirations for HE, and their expectations for the module. We met in the WGS department and I offered a light lunch. Towards the end of the semester I again invited students to join me to reflect on their learning and the module pedagogies. However, whilst it was possible, although difficult, to get students to attend at the start of a module, when they had more time and energy, it was almost impossible to set up focus groups at the end of a semester when students' energies were focused on coursework and exams were looming. It thus proved impossible to organise focus groups at the end of WGS3, and all of the end-of-module focus groups for WGS2 took place in the following year (in other words, I was only able to meet with 2016 WGS2 students in the first term of 2017). This had an impact on the questions I could ask. Focus-group data was therefore primarily contextual rather than specifically about the WGS modules. Furthermore, students who attended post-WGS2 focus groups tended to be those with overwhelmingly positive experiences.

Finally, and of most significance, as the research progressed and in light of my ongoing reading around participatory parity, I realised that students' descriptions of their experiences were not getting to the core research aim of exploring whether, how and to what extent the pedagogies fostered participatory parity. Instead, I realised that my other interactions with students, through

¹⁴ In the data analysis chapters, I have at times abbreviated the names of the tools to indicate the source of a particular direct quote. These abbreviations appear in the list of acronyms at the start of the thesis and are noted where relevant in this section of the Methodology chapter.

lecturing, tutoring, consultations and in engaging with their work, allowed me greater access to this sort of data.

Ultimately I conducted 13 focus groups in 2016 and 2017, five of which were in effect in-depth interviews (Davis & Ellis, 2006) with just one or two attendees. Whilst these were superseded by other data-gathering methods as the study progressed, they proved useful for a range of reasons. They supplemented and reinforced the contextual information I gained through other engagements with students and their work. Further, they allowed me to develop relationships with some students and to continue these relationships as they progressed through WGS2 and WGS3 (and in some cases into postgraduate study). This proved valuable when it came to analysing the data as I was able to see patterns and connections in the data over time and across the two modules.

Material artefacts: students' tasks and submissions

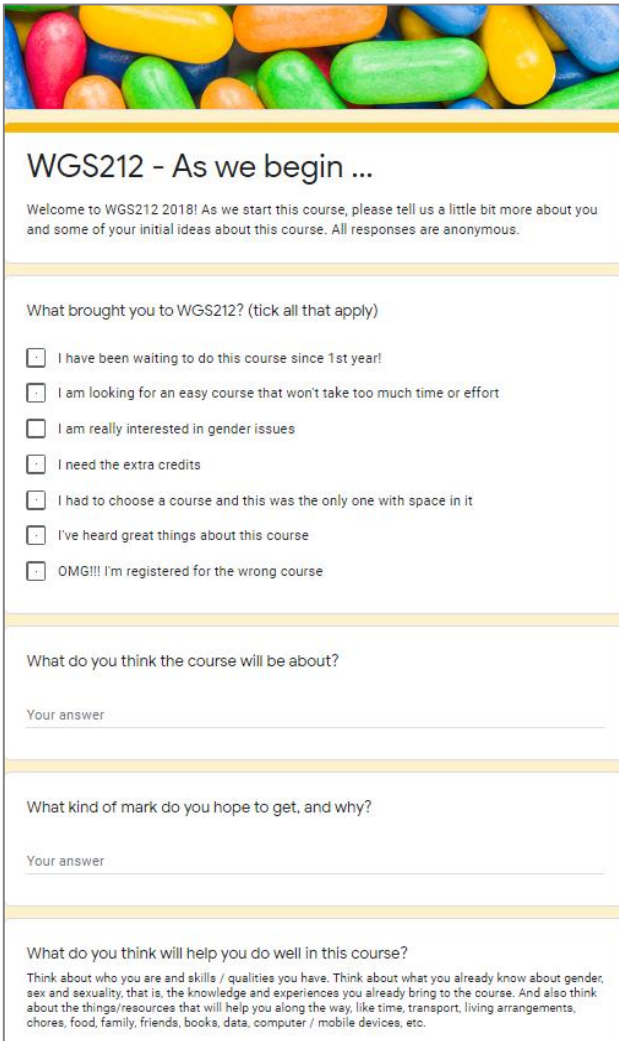
As the study progressed I realised that students' coursework tasks and their submissions would form the bulk of the data. These included the anonymous online quizzes, discussion forum posts, blog posts, group tasks and presentations, and final reflective essays from WGS2, the photovoice submissions from WGS3, and anonymous evaluations of both modules. These artefacts were produced by students as part of their work and learning through the modules and comprised both formative and summative tasks (Leibowitz et al., 2017; McKinney, 2007).

There are two facets to this data: data as 'product' and data as 'process'. On the one hand, as 'product', I had access to and could analyse students' written and visual submissions in the form of texts and photographs (McKinney, 2007). These tasks and submissions provided a plethora of rich data about students' lives, their experiences of social in/justice, and what they had learned through pedagogies which aspired to teach for and about social justice. On the other hand, as 'process', I gathered data as I taught and engaged with students and their work and learning on the two modules. In other words, through my roles as co-creator and co-implementer of the various pedagogical tools and strategies, I was already and throughout the modules immersed in the data.

Although discussed further in the Ethics section below, it is worth noting here that I have only drawn on data for which I had informed consent, and I have used pseudonyms for students throughout the three analysis chapters.

Anonymous online quizzes (Q)

Each year online quizzes were created using Google Forms and sent to students before lectures. The quizzes asked students to consider and share their current thinking and experiences about topics to be covered in lectures. The first quiz (see *Figure 7*), offered before the first lecture, was designed to find out why students chose this module, what they thought the module would be about, what marks they hoped to achieve, and what they thought would assist or hinder them in achieving these marks. The purpose of this was to provide a way of talking about what students needed to know to pass the module, and how they could take ownership of that process.



WGS212 - As we begin ...

Welcome to WGS212 2018! As we start this course, please tell us a little bit more about you and some of your initial ideas about this course. All responses are anonymous.

What brought you to WGS212? (tick all that apply)

- I have been waiting to do this course since 1st year!
- I am looking for an easy course that won't take too much time or effort
- I am really interested in gender issues
- I need the extra credits
- I had to choose a course and this was the only one with space in it
- I've heard great things about this course
- OMG!!! I'm registered for the wrong course

What do you think the course will be about?

Your answer

What kind of mark do you hope to get, and why?

Your answer

What do you think will help you do well in this course?

Think about who you are and skills / qualities you have. Think about what you already know about gender, sex and sexuality, that is, the knowledge and experiences you already bring to the course. And also think about the things/resources that will help you along the way, like time, transport, living arrangements, chores, food, family, friends, books, data, computer / mobile devices, etc.

Figure 7. The first quiz in 2018.

As the module progressed, the quizzes would focus on topics central to the module. As *Figure 8* shows, before a discussion about gender, students were asked to describe whether and how they were taught to act and behave like a girl or a boy at school, and whether and what the punishments would have been for inappropriate gendered behaviours and practices.

The image shows a screenshot of a Google Forms quiz titled "Gender experiences @ school". At the top, there are navigation tabs for "Questions", "Responses" (with a count of 42), and "Settings". Below the title, a note states "ALL RESPONSES ARE ANONYMOUS." The main content of the form consists of several sections:

- A description box: "Think back to your experiences in pre-school and primary school, and answer the questions below ... Description (optional)"
- A multiple-choice question: "Were there differences between how boys were expected to behave and how girls were expected to behave at school? (eg, think about games, sports, chores, clothes, lessons, duties etc.)" with radio button options for "yes" and "no".
- A long-answer text question: "If you answered yes to the question above what were the main differences that you remember? What could boys do that girls were not allowed to do? What could girls do that boys weren't allowed to do?"
- A multiple-choice question: "Did you ever get into trouble in school for doing something that the opposite gender was supposed to do or allowed to do?" with radio button options for "yes" and "no".
- A long-answer text question: "If yes, what did you do, and what happened to you when you did it?"

Figure 8. An extract from a WGS2 quiz (using Google Forms) which asked students how they learned to do gender.

Before the lecture the teaching team would collate and analyse students' responses and organise these into themes highlighting commonalities and differences across responses. These would then be shared with students in the first part of the lecture through a series of slides which would include overarching themes, supporting quotations from students' quiz submissions, and graphic representations such as pie charts or word clouds to demonstrate comparisons and contrasts across the class. The latter part of the lecture would then focus on connecting students' lived experiences to the readings and theory.

The quizzes were voluntary, anonymous and did not count for marks. Students were advised that their responses may be drawn on in lectures and used for research purposes. As data 'product', I had access to about 20 quizzes from 2016, 2017 and 2018 as well as the lectures which drew on the quizzes. Some of the topics overlapped, allowing insights into stasis and change over the three years. As 'process' I was involved in creating the quizzes, collating responses, analysing these before lectures, and sharing them in class.

Online discussion forums (DF) and blogs (B)

Online spaces such as blogs and discussion forums "offer rich and fruitful sites" for feminist research (DeVault, 2018, p. 324), and they provided a substantial set of data for this study. The WGS2 forums and blogs were hosted on iKamva. Engaging on the blogs and forums was not compulsory but they provided an opportunity to gather a small percentage towards coursework marks. They offered spaces for students to ask questions, reflect on their learning, share resources and insights, and engage in informal asynchronous conversations and reflections. Posts were not anonymous but were only accessible to students and staff within the module.

The forums and blogs worked somewhat differently. Blogs were part of WGS2 coursework in 2017. Students were given two blog prompts, one in each quarter, each requiring a post of 400 to 500 words. Of the 85 students in the class, 67 submitted either one or both blogs and there were 119 posts in total. The first blog aimed to be introductory. Students were asked to introduce themselves with a photograph (of themselves or something that reflected their post), reflect on their experiences in first year, and discuss their hopes and expectations for the year ahead. The second blog required students to reflect on one or more of the following: ways in which ideas encountered through the module had challenged, excited or changed them; whether and how these ideas had impacted on their relationships with others; and, what they imagined gender studies programmes could contribute to decolonising HE. Students were encouraged to use their blog entries as building blocks for the final reflective essay.

The forums were less structured. Topics would be started in relation to a module theme, in response to something that arose during lectures, something that happened in the press or on social media, or in students' lives on and off campus. Over the module of a semester the forums generated hundreds of posts in dozens of different conversations within a wide range of topics. From 2016 to 2018 there were almost 1,500 unique posts by students, about 500 each year, and just over 600 posts by the teaching team.

Students used the forums to reflect on, question and discuss issues relating to the module themes in relation to their life experiences and local and global issues. Forums were used to pose questions to and engage in dialogue with peers and the teaching team, and students shared a range of resources including news articles, social and blogs posts, videos, memes, poems, photographs, and so on. Conversations were informal in tone and style and at times in languages other than English.

As a typical example, evident in the screenshot (Figure 9) from the first-quarter forum in 2018, topics ranged from the broad, such as 'gender and culture', 'performing gender', 'intersectionality' and 'sexuality' to the more specific, such as 'Cabinet reshuffle!', and the *Inxeba* (*The Wound*) and *Black Panther* movies.

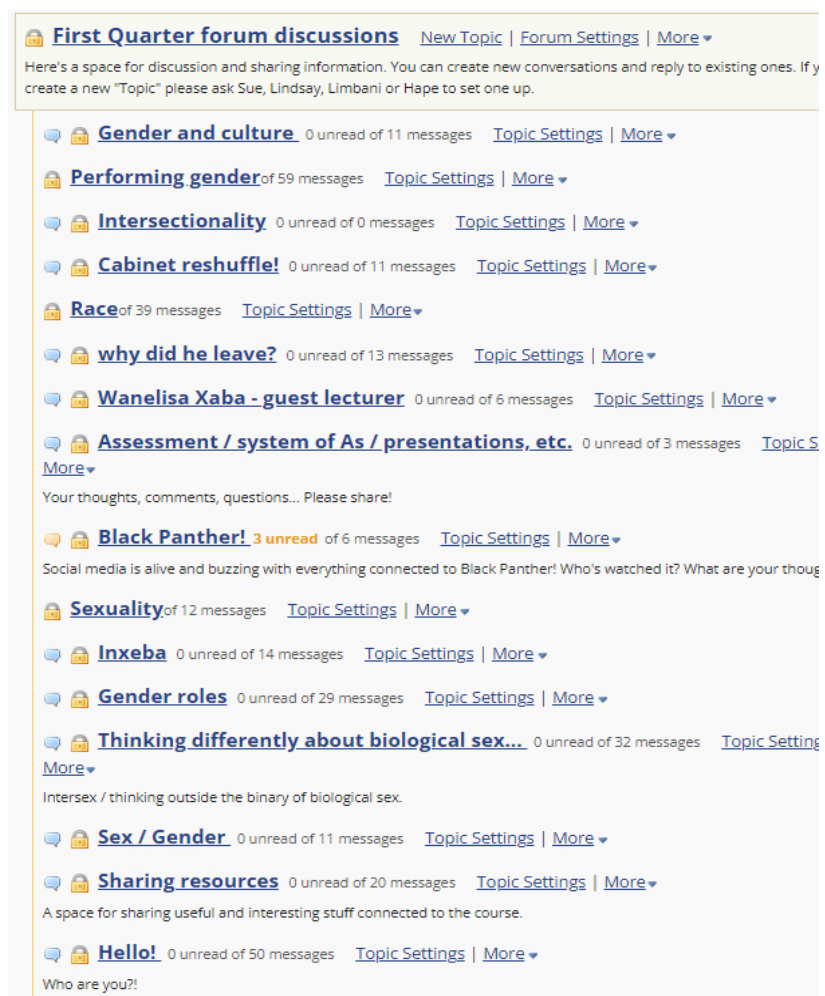


Figure 9. An example of the landing page of the first quarter discussion forum in WGS2, 2018.

Within each topic there were often multiple conversations. The screenshot (*Figure 10*) of the topic 'Performing gender' provides a typical example: six conversations were started by students and staff, and most conversations had a number of individual posts or 'messages'.

Data from the forums and the blogs comprised posts by students and staff as well as the pedagogical process of how these online tools worked. Quotes have only been included from students who gave their informed consent.

Group task and presentations

Each year WGS2 students did a group task and presentation aligned with the module themes. The prompts changed each year but broadly speaking the aim was for students to draw on their own gendered experiences in light of the module

themes and theory to demonstrate their learning, raise questions, highlight confusions, and so on. Creativity was encouraged and some students dressed up, performed their own poetry, created short videos, and included traditional songs to demonstrate cultural norms. Time was allowed for questions and dialogue. The presentations were quantitatively and qualitatively marked by the teaching team and peers to encourage students to "share responsibility, reflect, discuss and collaborate" (Strijbos & Sluijsmans, 2010, p. 266). Written feedback was provided to groups as a formative tool with the final reflective essay in mind.

I considered recording students' presentations and performances, but I was reluctant to increase students' nerves and impact on their marks. Time and technology constraints were also factors. Organising official recordings through university channels proved challenging, and I was responsible for organising and introducing student speakers and managing the peer marking process. Further, as Leavy (2008, p. 344) fittingly notes, performances are live events that exist in the moment and even if taped they "cannot be captured or experienced in the same way any other time than during that particular performance". For these reasons the data analysis draws primarily on my observations and notes taken during the presentations.

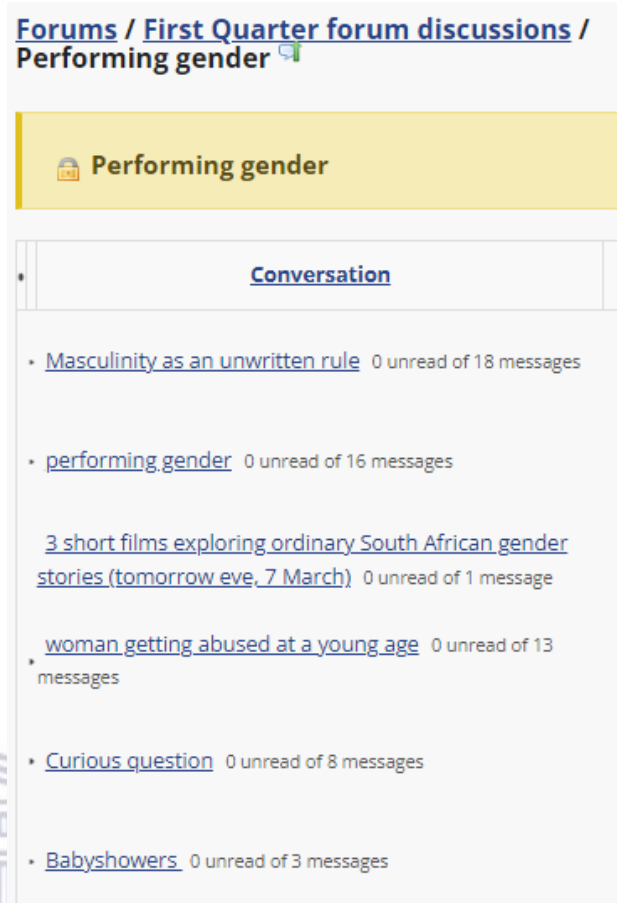


Figure 10. An example of conversations within one topic.

Reflective essays (RE)

As noted above, WGS2 culminated in an auto-ethnographic reflective essay (Carolissen, 2018; Davis & Ellis, 2006) in which students demonstrated their learning through critically reflecting on their gendered life experiences in relation to theory encountered through the module. These essays provided particularly rich data. The data analysis draws on those essays I had permission to use: 38 in 2016, 57 in 2017, and 55 in 2018; these (again, as 'product' and 'process') formed key data for the analysis presented later.

In 2016 and 2017 students were asked to discuss what they had learned and 'unlearned' about gender, sex and sexuality, as these connected to and intersected with issues such as race, class and culture in their lives. These 'un/learnings' were to be connected to theory in addition to life experiences and learning moments through the module. Students could reflect on current and historical interactions with family, friends and peers, in person and/or via social media, and could draw on their blogs, discussion forums, and tasks/presentations (and those of their peers).

In 2018 the focus shifted to a reflection on "My gendered life". Students were asked to discuss ways in which they were taught 'appropriate' gender roles and behaviours and, again drawing on module theory, asked to reflect critically on normalised and naturalised social positionings of gender, sexuality, culture, race, and so on. In 2018 students were additionally asked to include two to four photographs representing their gendered lives.

The research project and photovoice submissions (PV)

The structure and aims of WGS3 were extensively described above when presenting the *Research Project* module. As data, I drew on the pedagogical aims and processes as well as the photovoice submissions, especially those from 2017. In 2017 I was given permission to use 170 of the 246 submissions and many of these spoke clearly to my first research sub-question exploring UWC students' socio-economic circumstances, as depicted in the first data analysis chapter, Chapter 5. I also drew on photovoice submissions from 2018 in which students were tasked with documenting protests, activism and everyday moments of disruption (their own or others) related to gender and sexual justice. These data were less useful as fewer of them were representations of students' lives. However, it was useful to include and analyse data from students who did both WGS2 and WGS3.

Module evaluations (ME)

Finally, I have drawn on anonymous module evaluations from WGS2 and WGS3, gathered using Google Forms. These were not primary sets of data but rather used to supplement the written and visual submissions described above, and to provide further insights into pedagogical processes.

Observing and engaging: Lectures, tutorials and student consultations

Alongside the data production techniques described above, I was both observing and engaging in the two modules as researcher, doctoral student, lecturer, teaching assistant, student consultant, marker and module administrator, roles which shifted from module to module and year to year (discussed in more detail towards the end of this chapter). The study thus had some ethnographic elements as I, as participant observer, sought to explore aspects of social and lived experiences within broader social, political and historical contexts through immersion in a 'natural setting' (Buch & Staller, 2007, 2014; O'Leary, 2009; Pillow & Mayo, 2012; Visweswaran, 2003; Walters, 2007). In other words, the study attended

to the social relations and cultural practices of groups of people, and work[ed] to understand these aspects of social life within broader political, economic, and historical contexts. (Buch & Staller, 2014, p. 107)

During the study I took regular notes reflecting on what was interesting and troubling about pedagogical spaces and practices (online and in person), my interactions and engagements with students, and the research process itself. In my observations I noted both ordinary everyday events and critical incidents (Cousin, 2009). In particular, I noted when something made me pause and ponder aspects of in/justice along the lines of mal/distribution, mis/recognition and mis/representation. Additionally, I used the note-taking process to (re)consider data generation methods and data analysis in light of my ongoing thinking with the theory of participatory parity. Ultimately, whilst some observations formed part of data analysis, for example, notes I took during lectures given by guests, largely the notes were used to supplement further thinking during the data production process and early data analysis.

Data analysis

As data gathering progressed, I started analysis, and this took place in the context of my ongoing engagement with the theory of participatory parity. Initially I planned to use qualitative thematic analysis which promised to allow thinking that was "imaginative, artful, flexible and

reflexive” as well as “methodical, scholarly and intellectually rigorous” (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 10). As part of this initial approach I used a data management tool, Atlas.Ti, to assist with organising and coding data. In response to the first research sub-question exploring the mal/distribution of material resources, I searched for “chunks” of data (Leavy, 2017; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. viii) using keywords such as fees, finances, funding, accommodation, transport, food, internet/Wi-Fi, time challenges, chores, and so on. Whilst this showed prevalence and patterns across the data, I did not experience this approach as particularly imaginative, artful and flexible, and was concerned that the coding was resulting in decontextualized, uncomplicated, predictable and unoriginal analysis (Mazzei, 2014; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Ringrose and Renold (2014) contend that coding can be a positivist approach to data analysis, splitting theory and methodology, and researcher and researched. Coding assumes that data can be objectively classified and analysed to decipher themes and make meaning (Ringrose & Renold, 2014). They argue that qualitative researchers should instead acknowledge data as co-created and data analysis as an “ongoing practice, entangled in all aspects of the research process” (Ringrose & Renold, 2014, p. 772). Further, researchers should be thinking with theory (Ringrose & Renold, 2014); that is, theory not only informs but is also always entangled with methodology and analysis in particular. This was an approach that spoke to me. I was less interested in how often an issue surfaced and more interested in exploring the complexities of the issues and the silences in the data; the connections and differences across specific students, texts and pedagogies; the moments in which maldistribution and misrecognition overlapped; and I was trying to shed new light on socially just pedagogies using the lens of participatory parity. As such, I realised that my analysis was more aligned with the concept of ‘plugging in’ (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013, 2012, 2018) and thinking with theory across the data to produce something new.

In the process of ‘plugging in’, data are not “centered or stabilized but used as brief stopping points and continually transformed, and exceeded”, as theory is used “to turn the data into something different”, and data is used “to push theory to its limit” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013, p. 265). This process of “reading-the-data-while-thinking-the-theory” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 4) enables knowledge to be “opened up and proliferated rather than foreclosed and simplified” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013, p. 261). Whereas coding and conventional thematic analysis are about “the production of an end or a commodity”, ‘plugging in’ positions knowledge production as something “that might emerge as a creation out of chaos” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 2).

To avoid reproducing what is already known and bring forth this ‘something new’, Jackson and Mazzei (2018, p. 1245) advocate borrowing and enacting specific theoretical concepts “from philosophers in disciplines other than our own, to enable an ‘eruption’ of new questions and

previously unthought knowledge”. My analysis was above all informed by the three-dimensional theory of social justice as participatory parity. In “reading-the-data-while-thinking-the-theory” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p.4), and (re)reading the theory while thinking the data, I sought data that spoke to (mal)distribution, (mis)recognition, and (mis)representation/(mis)framing. In doing so I considered whether instances of justice were more or less affirmative or transformative, bearing in mind Fraser’s argument that the three dimensions are separate but influence one another (Fraser, 2009). In (re)reading and (re)viewing the data many times over, the imbrication of the dimensions became apparent; however, as analysis progressed, I realised that some data spoke more clearly to one sub-question over another. The first data analysis chapter thus explores (mal)distribution, drawing on the 2017 photovoice submissions as these spoke clearly to the first research sub-question, that is, to historical legacies of material inequalities which shape possibilities for students’ access to and aspirations for HE in post-apartheid South Africa. The second data analysis chapter, which speaks to historical legacies of cultural inequalities and the ways in which these shape students’ access to and aspirations for HE, primarily uses the quizzes, blogs, discussion forums and reflective essays which provided rich data on (mis)recognition. The third and final analysis chapter, which evaluates the ways and extent to which the WGS pedagogies promote participatory parity, draws on the full range of data.

In conducting the analysis, I was also interested in voices that were partial, incomplete and which produced “multiplicities and excesses of meaning and subjectivities”. I therefore looked for differences within and across the data (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). I took cognisance of data that provoked a reaction, that “glowed” (MacLure, 2013) and in doing so shed new light on pedagogical practices. I took seriously Maggie MacLure’s suggestion to spend time considering these “data ‘hot spots’” which may both “‘disconcert’ and create a sense of ‘wonder’” (Ringrose & Renold, 2014, p. 773). Finally, in presenting the data analysis, I recognise that “the data are [always] partial, incomplete, and always in process of a re-telling and re-membering” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. ix). I realise that I have presented one narrative which can be told through the data, and this narrative is entangled with who I am in current and historical contexts, and so next I turn to discussing my own situatedness in this process.

Situating myself in the study

Research is never neutral nor value-free (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Henn et al., 2009). Taking this seriously, feminist researchers have long emphasised that researchers should engage in sustained, critical reflection on the self, power, knowledge and emotion throughout the research process (Bailey, 2007; Brisolaro et al., 2014; Harding, 2019; Pillow, 2003; Pillow & Mayo, 2012;

Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002; Zembylas & Bozalek, 2017). Feminist researchers have thus emphasised a reflexive approach to research, one in which the researcher is cognisant of their history, identity, locatedness, positionality, and so on, and how this may impact on their research. Consequently, any knowledge generated is partial and “can offer only one possible window of understanding” (Buch & Staller, 2007, p. 175; Pillow & Mayo, 2012). Feminist researchers caution that a reflexive approach is not unproblematic; for example, it may be more or less attentive to structural constraints and affordances. They thus caution against excessive, uncritical or “confessional” approaches which assume that the act of reflexivity produces better research (Pillow, 2003; Shefer, 2020; Zembylas & Bozalek, 2017).¹⁵

Bearing the above in mind, it is important to discuss my locatedness and ways in which it may have impacted on the research process. As I discussed when introducing the two modules, I played several different roles during the research process. I was at various times, and often at the same time, a teaching assistant, tutor, lecturer, student consultant, marker, researcher, and (less visibly) a student myself. In these roles, given UWC’s socio-historical context, I was intensely aware of my positionality as white, middle class, a first-language English speaker, older than most of the students, and more educated, both in terms of having had access to a privileged education and because of my more senior qualifications. I was constantly aware of the ways in which my shifting roles and these positionalities granted me power in my work with students and in the research process. Inevitably and unavoidably, I brought my own positionality, assumptions, values, feelings, attitudes, beliefs and so on to bear on the research process – on the theory, the data I selected, and in writing up the analysis. To foster awareness of these processes, I engaged in regular note taking, reflecting on teaching spaces and practices, my interactions with students and staff, on awkward and ‘aha’ moments, on the theory and its entanglement with the data, and on my thoughts and feelings, frustrations, joys, stumbling blocks and breakthroughs (Olesen, 2011; Pillow, 2003).

In an attempt to reduce power differentials, I tried to subvert traditional hierarchies in my interactions and communications with students. For example, I encouraged dialogue and feedback, asked students to call me by first name, and aimed for informality and humour when appropriate.

¹⁵ Increasingly, feminists inspired by posthumanist, new materialist and post-qualitative approaches advocate for a diffractive approach (e.g., Barad, 2007; Haraway, 1992). Diffraction pays attention to difference, viewed “as a tool of creativity rather than as separation and lack” (Bozalek & Zembylas, 2017, p. 115) and to the “entanglement of matter and meaning” (Bozalek & Zembylas, 2017, p. 115). A diffractive approach attends to human relationality and entanglements across difference, privilege, power and marginality (Shefer, 2021) as well as human entanglements with nonhuman organisms and the material world (Barad, 2007; Bozalek & Zembylas, 2017). However, as this was in many respects a more qualitative than post-qualitative feminist study, it is important that I pay attention to how I was situated through the research process.

Strategies such as these allowed me to foster good relationships with students during a semester and as they progressed from second to third year and, in some cases, into their postgraduate studies. Still, tricky power dynamics were unavoidable, and were most evident in the focus groups and interviews. During these I strived for informal and non-hierarchical spaces, and whilst largely successful, I realised that in my efforts to reduce hierarchies and make students feel comfortable I struggled to assert my 'research needs'. As a result, conversations became somewhat unbounded, heading off in interesting but less useful directions. This was exacerbated by my initial uncertainty regarding how to elicit the 'right kind' of data from students that spoke to each dimension of participatory parity. For these reasons, power in these spaces shifted as students asserted themselves and directed the flow of conversations, and at times I hesitated to intervene.

These uncertainties and discomforts coupled with 'thinking with the theory' of participatory parity – that is, 'plugging in' aspects of participatory parity with data, and data with participatory parity to produce something new (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012) – led to shifts in the research process. I came to see that students' textual and visual data, that is, the material artefacts, in conjunction with my observations and engagements, provided more useful data than students' reflections on their experiences. This shift in my understanding of how best to conduct the research took place through sustained deliberation on the research process including the theory, data gathering, data analysis and ethical considerations (Pillow, 2003), to which I turn next.

Ethical considerations

Engaging with students raises particular ethical issues and these were an ongoing concern in the study. I have touched on ethics at other points in this chapter; here I provide a comprehensive account of the study's ethical process and considerations.

UWC's Arts Faculty Research Committee and its Senate Research Committee provided ethical approval for my doctoral research project. Additionally, and independently of my study, both modules were also Senate-approved research sites for the WGS teaching team during the study.

As previously indicated, during the study I played a number of roles on the two modules. I was acutely aware of the power differentials involved in working with students very differently positioned to me and a potentially vulnerable group who could easily feel unsafe or exploited through the research process. As Harding and Norberg (2005, para. 10) note, despite

feminists' heroic attempts to eliminate such power differences, this goal has proved impossible, though obviously there are better and worse ways for researchers to negotiate relations with their subjects of research.

I sought to mitigate potential risks through adhering to principles of transparency, honesty and respect in my dealings with students; informed consent and voluntary participation at each stage; and ensuring participants' confidentiality and anonymity (Bell, 2014). At the start of each module I spoke to students a number of times during lectures and via iKamva announcements about the aims and objectives of my study. I provided information letters (Appendix C) and informed consent forms (Appendix D), asked students to read these carefully in their own time, and return the signed informed consent if they agreed that I could use their work for research purposes. Informed consent was again elicited before all focus groups and interviews. These took place within the WGS department and snacks were provided. I did not envisage that the research would elicit any trauma, and no students approached me with their concerns, but I advised students that in the event of any discomforting emotions I could refer them to the on-campus counselling service, or they could approach a permanent WGS staff member.

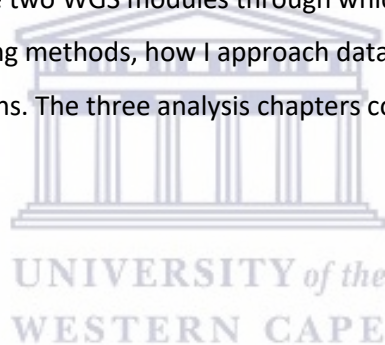
Importantly, throughout I emphasised that participation was in no way linked to module assessment; students' marks would not be affected by their decision to participate or not, nor if they changed their minds about participating. As the modules progressed, students were reminded about the study, given opportunities to pose questions, and informed of their right to refuse to participate or withdraw at any stage, whether that was during the module, during a focus group or interview, or at a later stage.

Students were assured of confidentiality and anonymity in the study. Participants in the focus groups were asked to commit themselves to confidentiality within the group. I recorded and transcribed focus group discussions; I am the only person with access to the data which are securely stored and password protected. I have used pseudonyms throughout the thesis and I have removed identifying details in quotes and photographs. I have chosen to keep quotes as true to the original as possible; they are minimally adjusted where necessary for readability (most UWC students speak English as a second or third language). Likewise, the photographs have largely been kept true to students' original submissions, but I have hidden faces to enhance anonymity. I chose to use names as pseudonyms (rather than acronyms and/or numbers). Where a student's data appears in more than one of the analysis chapters I have used the same name. In other words, if 'Neliswe' appears in Chapters 6 and 7, it is the same person.

In line with a feminist approach, I had hoped to share my research with students during the study for discussion, comments and feedback. However, data analysis and write-up took longer than anticipated and students graduated and moved out of the university. Nevertheless, I was able to share and elicit feedback on some of my work-in-progress during WGS postgraduate seminars and a conference attended by past students from WGS2 and WGS3 (that is, those who are now postgraduates at UWC). I plan to share the thesis and ensuing publications with students I am still in touch with and those I am able to reach through networking channels.

Conclusion

In the first part of this chapter I outlined the study's feminist and (post)qualitative methodological framework. I explained that whilst conventionally qualitative in some respects, the study also took a more post-qualitative turn through its recruitment of thinking with the theory of participatory parity. In the second part I presented the research process, including the research design, detailed descriptions of the two WGS modules through which I explored pedagogies about and for social justice, data-gathering methods, how I approach data analysis, and finally, self-reflexivity and ethical considerations. The three analysis chapters come next.



CHAPTER 5: THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION; EXPLORING STUDENTS' NARRATIVES OF MAL/DISTRIBUTION¹⁶



Figure 11. "Road to success" (Radhi's photovoice submission, 2017)

Being accepted to [UWC] was one of the most exciting highlights in my life, yet also one of the biggest challenges. ... I come from a very poor background and my mom is a single parent of three including me. My mom's income is very little and it only provides for the basic essential needs and she couldn't afford to pay for my studies. My aunt helped me with registration money ... I was so stressed ... regarding payments of studies. I could not concentrate on my studies until one of the peer facilitators referred me to UWC Financial Aid. I applied for financial assistance and was accepted. It was one burden down my shoulders. ... [Another] of the challenges I encountered at the university was my writing skills. I failed in my first term assignments constantly due to lack of structure and grammatical errors. I did not know of the writing centre and it helped me a lot in my writing when I was introduced to it by one of my friends. ... All the above challenges I overcame and now I can focus on my studies 100%. The road to my future is clear to me now ... soon I will be a professional social worker, which was always my dream career. (Radhi, 2017)

¹⁶ An earlier version of this chapter was published in the book *Nancy Fraser and participatory parity: Reframing social justice in South African higher education* (Gredley, 2020).

Half a century into democracy, South Africa remains beset by entrenched poverty and, as one of the world's most unequal countries (Bhorat, 2016; Davids, 2021; Odusola et al., 2017), its citizens face persistent and growing inequalities structured around class, race, gender and other social locations (Orthofer, 2016). This chapter explores the complexity, depth and range of these socio-economic challenges by way of students' reflections on their lives and learning journeys whilst at university. The chapter draws on data generated by students doing WGS3 in 2017 who used a photovoice methodology (Sutton-Brown, 2014; Wang & Burris, 1997) to document factors impacting on their challenges whilst at university as well as those things that had enabled them to reach their third and final semester of studies. Students' submissions demonstrated the range and complexity of the challenges they faced in HE, as vividly illustrated in Radhi's narrative above. The chapter uses the lens of participatory parity, and in particular the economic dimension of mal/distribution, to explore the challenges and constraints as well as the ways in which students managed to overcome these, with at times creative but imperfect 'workarounds' (Seaman & Erlen, 2015; Wibisono et al., 2019).

As detailed in the chapter on Methodology, the data used in this chapter were generated by students as part of their undergraduate *Research Project* module in 2017. The module aimed to foreground knowledge contributions by students as participant researchers by asking them to represent their lives and communities by way of photographs and accompanying narratives. The 2017 research project required students to describe factors contributing to their ability to overcome challenges during their HE journeys. Students generated data by taking two photographs, each accompanied by a narrative of 200 to 400 words describing ways in which institutional factors had contributed to their HE journeys. This chapter draws on 170 of the 246 photovoice submissions¹⁷ generated by students. It analyses these through the lens of participatory parity, and in particular mal/distribution. The key question underpinning this chapter is: how do material inequalities shape possibilities for students' ability to flourish in HE in post-apartheid South Africa?

The chapter starts with an overview of the economic dimension of participatory parity before presenting the analysis in two main parts. The first part presents students' descriptions of resource constraints and challenges; the second the socio-economic factors contributing to their ability to transition through their studies. Within each of these two sections I explore two themes that came through strongly in the data: firstly, finances and the challenges in accessing sufficient

¹⁷ That is, those for which ethical consent was given.

funds to pay for necessities such as fees and food; secondly, students' narratives about transport, accommodation, and home life and living arrangements.

Fraser's economic dimension and mal/distribution

The 'politics of redistribution' is rooted in the economic structure of society and encompasses the just distribution of resources, rights and opportunities (Fraser, 2008, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Hölscher & Bozalek, 2020). For participatory parity in this dimension, participants' access to material resources "must be such as to ensure participants' independence and 'voice'" (Fraser, 2013, p. 164). Precluded, therefore, are "forms and levels of economic dependence and inequality that impede parity of participation" such as "social arrangements that institutionalize deprivation, exploitation, and gross disparities in wealth, income, and leisure time, thereby denying some people the means and opportunities to interact with others as peers" (Fraser, 2013, p. 164).

In HE, students can be prevented from participating equally because of differential access to a range of resources including money for fees, accommodation, transport, food, healthcare, books, technology, internet access, and time for study and leisure (Clowes et al., 2017; Dominguez-Whitehead, 2017; Dominguez-Whitehead & Whitehead, 2014; Firfirey & Carolissen, 2010; Leibowitz et al., 2012). Many students work full or part time to support their families and studies, and many are required to prioritise care-giving duties over their academic work (Cape Higher Education Consortium [CHEC], 2013; Helman & Ratele, 2016; Khan, 2019). This differential access to a range of material resources impedes a student's ability to access and successfully navigate HE, issues foregrounded by the student movements and subsequent publications (Chinguno et al., 2018; Langa, 2017; Mathebula & Calitz, 2018).

In considering remedies for maldistribution, Fraser (Fraser & Honneth, 2003) makes an important distinction between affirmative and transformative approaches. Affirmative approaches to economic injustice are ameliorative and target end-state outcomes. Whilst they may offer support and relief, they do not disturb the underlying social structures which generate inequities. Transformative approaches, on the other hand, target the root causes of maldistribution and disrupt the underlying generative framework. Fraser (2008) gives the example of an affirmative liberal welfare state versus a transformative socialist state. Whilst a liberal welfare approach, by way of affirmative action or social grants for example, can be both necessary and valuable, it supports group differentiation and can generate a backlash against those it aims to uplift. A transformative

approach would involve the deep restructuring of the relations of production and the social division of labour, changing everyone's conditions of existence, and can thus redress misrecognition.

Whilst an advocate for pragmatic solutions, Fraser prefers transformative strategies over affirmative approaches as the latter, whilst often providing valuable and necessary short-term inventions, do not solve injustices in the longer term. In HE, for example, affirmative redistribution would be the provision of food parcels for students on campus, or NSFAS funding which targets the poorest students but neglects those in the 'missing-middle' (Devdiscourse News Desk, 2021; Langa, 2017). Whilst necessary interventions in the current socio-economic climate, these solutions do not work to change hunger and poverty at the systemic level¹⁸ and can generate a backlash as some students are stigmatised and singled out as needy. Transformative redistribution, on the other hand, would change the way the system operates; for example, all students would have sufficient access to money for fees, nutritious food, safe and affordable accommodation and transport, computer devices and internet connectivity, and so on. As all students would have access to these forms of redistribution, these would also be ways to redress misrecognition and thereby avoid stigmatising some as needy (Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

Resource challenges and constraints

Finances and funding

One of the most common challenges that most students face when obtaining tertiary education is financial instability. ... At times I often found myself wondering whether or not I would be able to actually obtain my degree because of the struggle I had paying for my education. Tertiary education can become extremely expensive because it does not only include yearly fees but textbooks as well which are important ... and expensive. I struggled immensely during my first year trying to find ways to pay for my education and still being able to cope at home regarding inflation and having a meal every day. ... The shoe in the image [Figure 12] is a metaphor for myself, gripping onto my finances by holding onto what I had. The green paper portrays money and the match depicts obstacles which attempted to deplete my financial security such as the University fees and other expenses such as textbooks. The money is burnt at the end depicting ... obstacles or challenges regarding my financial security. (Kalum)

¹⁸ And do not take into account those situated outside of the frame and unable to access HE.



Figure 12. "The heel of finance" (Kalum)

The lack of finances and adequate funding was the most prevalent theme across all photovoice submissions and, as Kalum's narrative above demonstrates, was shown to have significant impact on students' lives. Many students described poor, working-class and rural backgrounds in which access to financial resources was a deep and ever-present concern. For their families, taking on the additional financial burden of sending a child to university was therefore beyond their ability and so an acceptance into HE was both cause for celebration and concern, the first of which was how to pay registration fees and tuition:

The first and most important challenges which almost threw me off the rails were financial problems. I did not have enough funds to enter into university, making it impossible at the time to be a university student. (Verity)

I come from a very poor background and my mom is a single parent of three including me. My mom's income is very little and it only provides for the basic essential needs and she couldn't afford to pay for my studies. My aunt helped me with registration money when I first registered as a first year student at UWC. I was so stressed because I did not know what I will do regarding payments of studies. (Ricardo)

As narratives such as these reveal, financial instability is pervasive despite UWC's fees being amongst the lowest in the country (UWC, 2016). Many students are not able to cover tuition costs nor everyday and essential resources such as textbooks, data, clothing, toiletries, food and accommodation, and so difficult choices and compromises must be made. Students reported that access to food, the most basic of essentials, can be a "huge burden" (Zimkhitha) for students and their families. Zama, for example, noted that his decision to go to university "was not a better option for my family at the time as I was expected to go and find employment to change my situation at

home”. His family could not provide financial support, and he was burdened by concerns “of what my siblings at home are eating [which] affected my studies”. Kalum, as seen above, described his struggles to “find ways to pay for my education and still being able to cope at home regarding ... having a meal every day”. Several other students described food insecurities, an often invisibilised need:

Due to delays in the allocation of funding and a shortage in bed spaces at the UWC residence, a number of students including myself were faced with the challenge of not being able to obtain a balanced meal ... [We] resided in a vacant burnt Reslife building [and] had to live off fast food day and night ... we ran out of money very quickly [and were] going most nights to sleep with an empty stomach. (Sibabalwe)

Financial issues and food security becomes a huge burden in regards academic success. ... Having to worry about food causes depression and anxiety ... which results to poor academic performance. ... [I faced] the obstacle of having to worry about what I am going to eat and going to class on an empty stomach. (Zimkhitha)

My family was only able to assist me with institution and accommodation fees. It was a big challenge for me ... I have also not managed in terms of food and toiletries as there was not enough money. (Mezaan)

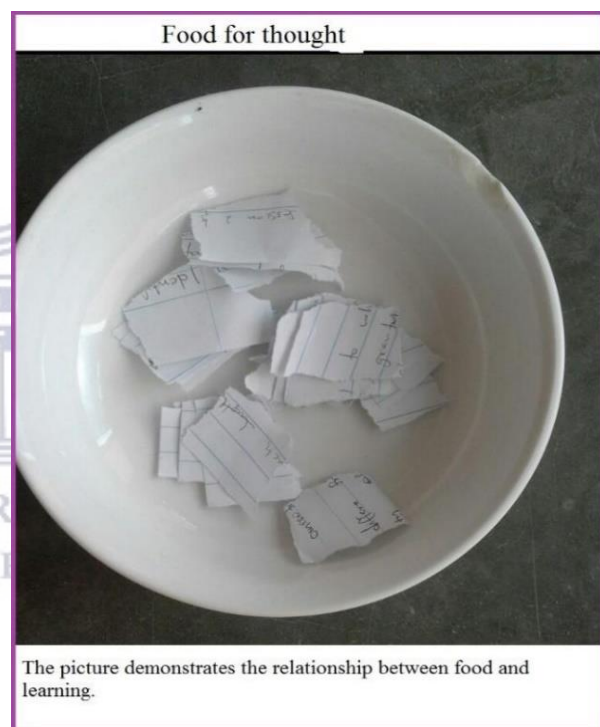


Figure 13. “Food crisis” (Sibabalwe)

These narratives support local research (Dominguez-Whitehead & Whitehead, 2014; Firfirey & Carolissen, 2010; Hames & Lewis, 2021) by revealing a range of ways in which students are affected by a lack of sufficient, affordable, nutritious food, and the ways in which food maldistribution impacts on academic performance. Students noted the toll that hunger took not just on their physical health but also mental health due to anxieties about their own and their families’ access to food. Food-insecure students are thus prevented from participating as equals with their peers in multiple ways and may be further marginalised due to unspoken shame which prevents them from seeking assistance in accessing this vital resource (Firfirey & Carolissen, 2010; Hames &

Lewis, 2021). As Hames and Lewis (2021, p. 9) argue, in the context of UWC, hungry students are pathologised “as social problems [requiring] welfarist, remedial, and philanthropic solutions” rather than putting the blame where it should lie: on the social systems that cause injustice.

To overcome maldistribution, students relied on government funding but, as Thembi describes below, the quest to access funding can be stressful, onerous, exhausting and costly. Her narrative demonstrates the “ineluctably entwined” (McNay, 2008, p. 283) nature of maldistribution and misrecognition as well as the complexities of the ongoing impact of race and class on students in South Africa today:

Being black and coming from a disadvantaged family is a very stressful situation and it nearly destroyed me. ... In my first year I applied for NSFAS, that was the worst thing I ever done, the fact that I must prove that I am coming from the poorest family for me to get funded. The staff was not helping and they were not friendly and welcoming. They told me that my documents were not supporting my claims and the affidavit my mother wrote is not clearly stating that I was raised by a single parent, therefore I must go back home [to the Eastern Cape] and re-write them. (Thembi)

As the above narratives show, students’ photovoice submissions starkly displayed students’ daily struggles and ever-present anxieties about accessing sufficient money for fees, food, and other essential and everyday resources. Their submissions revealed how maldistribution is closely tied to misrecognition, especially along the lines of race, reinforcing what #Fallist students said about their ongoing struggles in HEIs across South Africa (Langa, 2017). Political injustice is also evident as students who cannot access funding are often excluded from the opportunity of attending university. Inadequate funding might mean quitting one’s studies, or having to take a year off to raise more funds, as these students explained:

I could have deactivated my module of study ... because I did not have the funding, and it would have been the easier choice. (Tara)

I had no other choice but drop out of University for a year because my mother could not afford to pay for my fees because she is a single parent who has to make sure everyone goes to bed with a full stomach and every one goes to school. (Ingrid)

These two quotes are among several in which students reported how a lack of sufficient funding led to severe financial precarity and the possibility (or reality) of having to “dropout or stop out” of their studies (Breier, 2010).

As explained in this section, finances and funding were an ever-present concern for many students, and the lack of access to the necessary resources had multiple ramifications. The narratives of financially precarious students show that they suffered injustices of maldistribution, misrecognition and, potentially, misframing if excluded from university altogether, thus highlighting the imbrication of the three dimensions of participatory parity and their impact on students' daily lives and studies.

Transport, accommodation and living arrangements

Two major constraints stemming from being poor and working class are challenges of transport and accommodation which further reveal ways in which equal participation is compromised. The vast majority of students live off campus (UWC, 2016) and a difficult commute is the norm. Travelling is often unsafe, whatever the distance, and for those further out journeys are often long, involving multiple stopovers on unreliable, overcrowded buses, minibus taxis and trains, further complicated by a public transport system beset by strikes and destruction of essential equipment, all symptoms of the deep socio-economic inequalities that plague South Africa (Rink, 2016, 2018). A number of students focused their photovoice narratives on the dangers of travelling and the cost of spending many exhausting hours commuting to UWC:

I spend approximately four hours travelling ... people get robbed on the train stations and within the trains. This daily challenge does impact me emotionally, as I become discouraged to finish assignments when I eventually get home. I often must control my anger and not let it affect the responsibilities I have. It is physically draining. (Ashna)

The trains are always full and broken and the taxi drivers are reckless. The fact that I make use of public transport made me feel unsafe and scared because of incidence such as robbery and accidents. Robbery on the train happened to me and it is making me more scared to make use of public transport. (Evelyn)

The image [to the right] expresses one obstacle that I face everyday, distance. Living two hours away ... I have to rely on public transport to get to campus. ... Not only is having to travel this wide distance dangerous as I travel alone, having the trains and taxis overloaded is also dangerous as I am exposed to crime such as pickpocketing and robbery. Furthermore, the public transport I use is not always reliable for example, the taxi strike and delayed trains affects my ability to get to campus. ... I travel approximately four hours a day if there is no delays and this affects my overall functioning and concentration because I feel drained after sitting for four hours. As a female travelling alone ... I am also exposed to sexual harassment from male patrons. (Charlene)



Figure 14. "Distance" (Charlene)

Even those living within walking distance face dangerous journeys, as the three students describe below. The narratives of Sharlee and Nonkosi in particular highlight the impact that violence had on their ability to access campus and continue their studies:

I used to walk each and every day until I got mugged ... They almost stabbed me to death. The shock I was under and depression affected me emotionally, physically, psychologically and academically. I did not go to school for some days and locking myself inside my room not talking to anyone because I was afraid and paranoid. (Nonkosi)

Earlier this year around May I was gun pointed on my way to campus in the morning, it made me realise that the area is very unsafe, and this made me feel demotivated to continue my studies. (Sharlee)

This pathway [I take to campus] is extremely intimidating and petrifying. It is known to be dangerous when it becomes dark. There have been multiple robberies ... One guy once came running behind me saying he was sprayed with pepper spray and robbed all his belongings. (Freddie)



Figure 15. "A dangerous route to campus" (Freddie)

Both maldistribution and misrecognition are evident in the narratives above. Travelling takes a toll on one's time as well as physical and mental health, and getting to campus is often fraught, particularly for women. This is directly related to financial precariousness which limits students' options in terms of where they live and how they move around. Students thus make strategic choices about when to be on campus which inevitably impacts on their studies as well as their ability to take part in co-curricular activities (UWC, 2016).

Participatory parity is further undermined by off-campus living arrangements. Students reported a lack of access to basic material resources such as water, sanitation and electricity. Their ability to work from home was further compromised by inadequate home-study spaces, a lack of computer access and internet connectivity, as well as disruptions such as noisy neighbours and care-giving demands from children, siblings and parents:

My home environment has not been ideal for intense studying during exams due it being a very busy place, with people moving in and out all the time. ... Moreover, the absence of a laptop [and] a reliable internet connection [impacted on] my results during my early stages at university. (Mia)

It's often a struggle to get anything completed as I live with four younger siblings. (Libby)

As a student that lives in a township my neighbors always play music loud which make it difficult for me to study. (Precious)

I managed to return to UWC after 13 years and married with 3 young children. ... Life was not always easy. ... At times I felt like I was neglecting my children and everything seemed to be too much for me to handle. I had to get used to being a fulltime student as well as juggling motherhood and my family responsibilities. (Rosie)

When I need to study, space and time is a big contributor to me. ... I can't do it at home because it is not a learning conducive environment. There is an abundance of distractions; I don't have access to the resources of the internet. (Leigh)

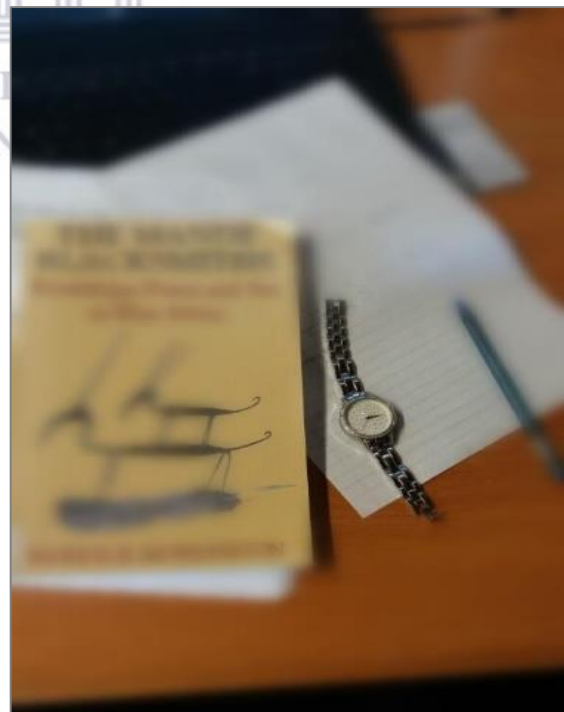


Figure 16. "Time & space to study" (Leigh)

As these narratives demonstrate, UWC students suffer a range of tangible and less obvious resource constraints when at home, which are directly connected to class and financial means. Their better resourced peers are likely to have domestic help as well as their own computer, fast and free internet, and adequate space to study and sleep, all of which position them far more favourably relative to poorer students.

Paths towards 'success'

Finances and funding

Whilst the data underscore the complexities of multi-layered constraints which frustrate and obstruct students' progress through HE, it also reflects a range of 'success strategies' ranging from institutional resources, spaces and people to family and community support. Securing financial aid came through often as a factor that made a significant difference for students and their families, alleviating stress and anxiety, relieving families' financial burdens, and contributing to improved marks:

The scholarship assisted me and my family tremendously as they provided funds for all my university requirements. ... This developed a sense of financial stability ... I did not have the constant anxiety or fear that I would have to cancel my studies due to funding. (Davina)



Figure 17. "Financial stability" (Davina)

When applying to [UWC], I had to apply for financial aid and several bursaries. I, unfortunately, did not meet the requirements to receive a bursary, however, NSFAS ... was able to help me out. My parents were able to take loan out, and repay it after every year of my studies. ... It is because of this financial funding that I am able to study and achieve my goal of becoming a journalist. ... In addition, this has also helped my parents financially and neither of them have to worry about additional cost. (Libby)

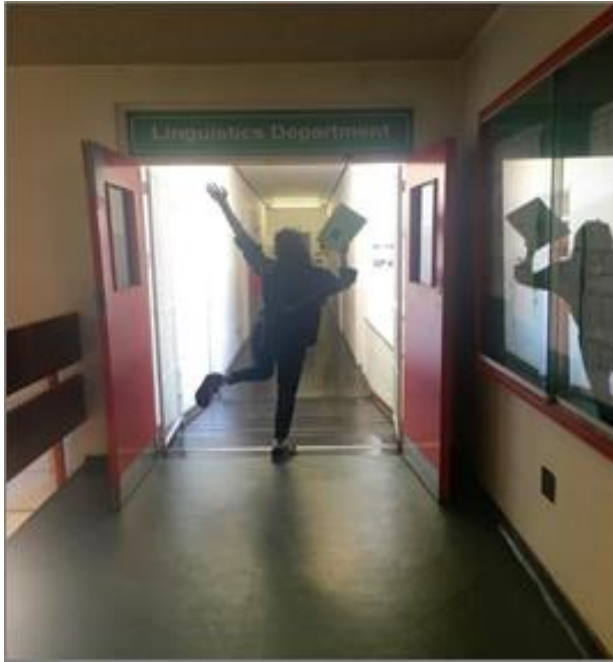


Figure 18. "Linguistics bursary" (Mandy)

I did not have funding in my first year and it was quite difficult for my family to cover the costs. ... In my second and current third year of studies I made use of the institution's resources in supplying funding. ... My applications were approved successfully and I have been receiving partial funding ever since. Having financial help have helped me a great deal. (Tara)

I was fortunate enough to be one of the few who was granted the opportunity to have half of my studies paid upfront through this wonderful Arts and Culture bursary, given by the linguistics department ... [this] not only alleviated the financial stress my family and I experienced during this time, but it allowed me to feel empowered once again. (Mandy)

The redistribution through scholarships and bursaries described above had tangible positive outcomes for these recipients and their families, and this may in the longer term be a transformative redistributive mechanism for them. However, redistribution through these forms of funding is an affirmative solution; it can smooth the path for those financially precarious students able to access it; however, as some students pointed out, funding may not be sufficient to cover all needs. As Thembi put it:

All the troubles I went to in applying for financial assistance, the funds were not enough, I could not buy food, clothes and toiletries with Pick 'n Pay vouchers as they come once in a semester.

In addition to these complexities, and in line with recent local research (Case et al., 2018; Swartz, Mahali, Moletsane, Arogundade, Khalema, Cooper & Groenewald, 2018), students described multiple challenges associated with securing funding. Their narratives showed that sourcing funds required a combination of efforts, drawing on the support of multiple role-players, seeking multiple sources of funding, as well as persistence, resilience, negotiation and luck:

I communicated with the SRC ... I asked them to assist me. ... They then negotiated with the administration department to register myself while I was waiting for Financial Aid (NSFAS) to approve my application ... I was stressing about the money for my registration fee, [my] res fees, module fees and meals. I went to the Administration for assistance and

they refer myself to Financial Aid office (NSFAS). ... I was then told from NSFAS to wait for an email. ... The SRC was also putting pressure on NSFAS [and eventually] I received an email saying my application has been approved, my ... University fees will be covered. (Mandla)

I used all the resources I could find in the university to search for bursaries. The university contributed to my success as they offered notice boards where they advertise bursaries. ... UWC communication also advertise bursaries and that information is always updated and very helpful as students can access it everywhere and anytime when they login to their emails. Through the arrangements that the university has made ... [and with the support of a] lecturer from the social work department ... my financial problems were solved. (Thembi)

The data show that accessing funding is an arduous but essential process for many students. Financial assistance supported participatory parity in the economic dimension; however, this was largely affirmative as poor and working-class students remained in a financially precarious position. As Libby said, “The fact that I come from a financially unstable family, money [h]as always been an issue,” and this will not be overcome through student funding alone. There is, additionally, evidence of injustice in the political dimension as students who cannot access funding may be excluded from the frame of HE altogether; as Tara said: “I could have deactivated my module of study ... because I did not have the funding, and it would have been the easier choice.”

Finally, gaining access to food stands out as a valuable but, again, affirmative measure; hunger is alleviated but through relatively short-term interventions:

This Ministry played a huge role in my life as a student who comes from a very disadvantage[d] family as I was getting donation for food and toiletries, whenever I need them I just had to shout. (Nokuthula)

We had to get food parcels because NSFAS food vouchers were delayed. (Lindelwa)



Figure 19. “Student Christian Organisation” (Nokuthula)

The food crisis on campus having come to the attention of [staff] inspired the development of a breakfast drive, which ran ... every Tuesday and Thursday morning. ... It was hereby that I and other students ... made our story of going most nights to sleep with an empty stomach known. We were then asked to appoint amongst ourselves two people

who would be the contact people when [staff] had any food to donate towards us.
(Sibabalwe)

Whilst these success stories show the value and necessity of food interventions, these are clearly not transformative solutions which would allow students – and their families – to have ongoing, easy access to sufficient, nutritious, affordable food.

The range of redistributive initiatives described above do make a difference to students' lives and have positive impacts on their families, but these tend to be affirmative rather than transformative interventions. Accessing funding can take a toll on a student's time and emotional and mental health. The interventions also tend to be siloed; students might receive funding that does not cover textbooks or food, or food parcels that only temporarily alleviate hunger. Whilst necessary, therefore, current funding does not go far enough in working towards transformative justice.

Transport, accommodation and living arrangements

Transport and accommodation challenges were managed with mixed success and again students' reports revealed that success in their studies requires a combination of resilience, persistence, compromise and some luck. In terms of travelling to and from campus, students largely described settling for a range of imperfect, compromised workarounds:

To be able to complete my third year I had to be determined and persevere ... I did that through ... using the taxi and the train. ... I overcome these challenges through the help of my family ... sending me money for transport. It is not always easy and my two different jobs that I am doing on a weekend is also helping me. (Evelyn)

I no longer walk ... anymore since I got mugged. If I decided to walk sometime to campus, I make sure that I am walking with someone. There are securities who are patrolling with motorbikes to ensure our safety. (Nonkosi)

After my experience with the pepper spray guy I realised that there is no bypassing this situation. ... I have since ... walked on this pathway only when it's during the day and I make sure that I walk with a group of people. (Freddie)

I asked my dad ... whether it would be possible to use his car until I can sort myself out. He agreed ... but for a limited period only and for that I was extremely grateful. Tough as it was, I thought, I am not disabled and I have had adversity before, so get your act together and find out how public transport to and from campus would be like. I did my research and to my amazement it was easier than I thought possible. I actually had to get up at five am and travel by taxi to Mowbray Station and then by bus or taxi I would navigate my way to UWC campus. (Neil)



Figure 20. "Universal magic" (Neil)

The narratives above underscore the challenges associated with transport and commuting which are particularly complex in Cape Town and especially so to and from UWC. As noted earlier in the thesis, whilst UWC is positioned as an urban university, its students continue to be disadvantaged by its peripheral location which remains poorly serviced by public transport.

As students' narratives further show, they tended to perceive transport and commuting issues and constraints as individual problems requiring individualised solutions. There were few mentions of university-provided support in the data. Nonkosi, above, talked about the "securities ... patrolling with motorbikes" and Sharlee, who earlier described being "gun pointed" on her way to campus, said that "since this ordeal I have been making use of the HG shuttles that provides transportation for private accommodation students". However, the onus seemed to largely be on students to find solutions, and unsurprisingly, several students described their lack of success in overcoming commuting challenges. Charlene said she had to rely on public transport "on its good days", and as Pippa put it, "transport remained a battle of my student life". Transport is therefore another area in which UWC students battle for distributive parity, unlike their counterparts at the historically white university in the centre of Cape Town which provides free transport to and from campus from a number of geographical areas. Whilst UWC has put some measures in place, such as

additional security and shuttle buses for some students, these tend to be affirmative solutions and more needs to be done, and on a much bigger scale, to combat travelling woes (Brown & Pather, 2019; Rink, 2018).

For students who documented accommodation and home life challenges and constraints, three success strategies stood out: the library, family support, and obtaining on-campus accommodation. The library came through strongly as important for providing access to a range of essential study-related resources, which in turn made students feel recognised and valued:

The library has enabled me to study in a conducive environment, where there is peace and quiet and provided me with the resources, such as computers and the internet connection, [to] conduct the research needed for assignments, type out my tasks, print them. ... It has also given me a sense of empowerment, as it allows me to be in control of my performance as a student. ... I use the library as my safe space at university, where I am able to interact with [students] on the same journey ... where [we] can exchange ideas and work towards helping each other understand coursework that is rather challenging. (Mia)

Additionally, as Precious explains below, the library represents a safe working space. She notes, for example, the security guard who “makes me feel safe ... especially for me who lives in township where there is a lot of violence and robbery”, and the fire extinguisher, which, she says,

I tend to notice more than other students do. In townships there are lots of shacks, so we have to know our space and where the extinguishers are and how to use them. ... The fire extinguisher is placed where it is for students to see it. ... [This] makes me feel less nervous and do well in my studies. (Precious)

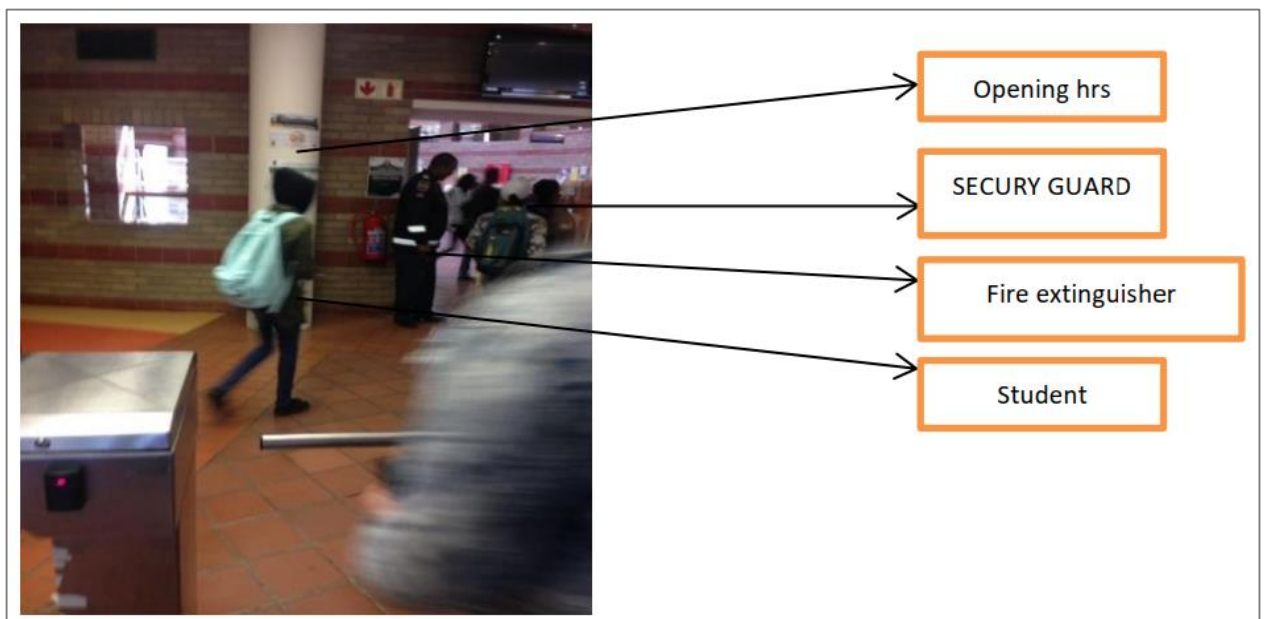


Figure 21. “UWC library” (Precious)

The library was thus perceived as a necessary and valuable space for students lacking access to a range of material resources, from computers and books to study space and time. It thus contributed to participatory parity for students on campus in both the short and longer term. In the short term, it ameliorated a range of distributive injustices. However, it was also a potentially transformative intervention in that gaining access to these vital resources could enable success in HE and beyond through, for example, better work opportunities which could transform the lives of students and their families. Additionally, the library offered the potential for being a space which fostered broader social transformation by providing access to research and ideas highlighting and challenging injustices.

Family and community support were also highly valued despite challenges associated with living off campus, showing these to be resources which boost parity. Echoing Pather et al. (2017), many students described these support systems as strongly motivational:

I had a wonderful family support system that encouraged me to do my best. Many times my mother and mother in law would take care of my children when both my husband and I got home late. ... I owe my family so much for the fact that they believed in me and they also encouraged me when my motivation was on a low. (Rosa)

Despite the social challenges faced in [my] community, [they] are my biggest supporters and daily motivation on my journey as a student. I am the first person in my family that was accepted into a tertiary institution. Sometimes the stress becomes great to perform well in my studies, my family then helps me to pull through the challenging times. Especially during my examination period they would ensure that I'm healthy and fit to perform to the best of my ability. My family and community are then my emotional and social resources. (Tara)



Figure 22. "Social support" (Tara)

As these quotes show, practical and emotional support buoys students' ability to study; however, again, this is not necessarily transformative as the root causes of poverty and inequality remain unaddressed. Additionally, for many there is the burden of expectation that they, as first-generation students, will lift families out of poverty (described as the burden of 'black tax', e.g., Masola, 2015; Ratlebjane, 2015). As Naledi said:

My parents were always reminding me or making statement such as they cannot wait for me to finish so they could have a proper house ... [this] keeps on pushing me to be firm with my studies.

Finally, what came through strongly was the value of living on campus with ready access to facilities, no arduous commuting, and in relative safety. Those who managed to secure on-campus accommodation, often after much effort, argued that it was life changing. Thembi, for example, remembers the exact date she received a residence space:

On the 14 March 2016 after being a pain to the res life placement officer, making sure that I go to their office almost every day, I received an email notifying me that I am being placed on campus residence. My life changed, that's when I took myself as a student in UWC. The trauma of fearing for my life ended, psychologically I was healed, my focus shifted from the accommodation crisis I was facing to improving my results.

Living on campus therefore came through as a strong enabler of student 'success' and one means of working towards participatory parity, although research has found that UWC residences, and other campus spaces, can be disempowering and unsafe (Clowes et al., 2017; Khan, 2019; Ngabaza et al., 2015; Ngabaza et al., 2013). Nevertheless, the data indicate that the benefits of living on campus often outweigh the challenges and thus some students resorted to squatting:

I overcame the challenges by squatting. When I have submissions I make sure that I sleep at my friend's residence. (Nonkosi)

One day ... I bumped into a friend at the library on campus and it was very late. My friend was concerned that I was on campus at that time, and offered me a place to stay for that night, and since that night [last year] I have been staying with her ... she had a roommate but luckily her roommate was understanding. ... Staying on campus really helped me academically. (Pretty)



Figure 23. "My friend's room in Chris Hani residence" (Pretty)

It seems, then, that on-campus accommodation allows students to overcome a range of resource challenges and that accessing residence space is potentially transformative for those who manage to secure it. However, as previously noted, residence space is limited and most UWC students live off campus. The current residence situation thus alleviates maldistribution for the few. Further, it potentially supports misrecognition in differentiating students, elevating opportunities for the lucky few, which could generate a backlash.

Final discussion and conclusion

This chapter has explored some of the complexities and nuances of the multi-layered economic constraints facing students at one HDI in Cape Town. Their photovoice submissions allow us an expanded view into worlds more often seen through grim statistics, and show that the task of working towards distributive justice remains enormous. Students illuminated the struggles they and their families confront in the face of often overwhelming material challenges. Sourcing sufficient funds to cover studying, living and travelling expenses is an ever-present concern, exacerbated by less visible time and energy costs. Students are thus unable to participate as equals with their better resourced peers on multiple levels, affecting their ability to study and progress through HE. Students also demonstrated persistence and resilience in drawing on multiple resources to support them in their progress to the final semester of their undergraduate studies. They named institutional affordances including funding, the library and its resources, and on-campus accommodation. However, they also noted that accessing these can be challenging and gruelling, and at times students must make-do with workarounds such as relying on food parcels, restricting travel to daylight hours, and squatting, none of which is an ideal or redistributive resolution to working towards participatory parity. Students' narratives show that family and community support assist them in their studies. However, this means students must rely heavily on non-institutional cultural and social resources to overcome a lack of economic resources and successfully navigate institutional spaces.

Students' narratives highlight the imbrication of the economic and cultural dimensions. Aspects of misrecognition, especially in terms of race, gender and language, were discussed, but in most cases these were shown through the lens of materiality; in other words, maldistribution was foregrounded in most of the 170 photovoice narratives, even in those seemingly more culturally focused, emphasising the interconnectedness of the economic and cultural dimensions. This supports Fraser's (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 3) insistence that these are "co-fundamental and

mutually irreducible dimensions of justice” and in real-world scenarios, overcoming injustice almost always requires both redistribution and recognition.

Overall, this chapter has shown that the redistributive measures in place – whether to do with finances and funding; food, transport and living arrangements; or language and writing support – tend to be affirmative rather than transformative, functioning within current institutional constraints rather than restructuring the status quo. However, the data highlight three possibilities for more transformative redistribution: adequate funding for a range of essential resources including staples such as food; more on-campus accommodation; and safe, reliable transport. Firstly, obtaining easier access to sufficient funding to cover all basic and necessary resources for HE is essential and would make a significant difference to students and families in the short term and potentially longer term too, thus moving towards a more transformative redistribution. Whilst NSFAS offers this potential, it is unevenly applied in practice, as is evident above. Secondly, more on-campus residential space could be transformative, if attendant challenges receive attention. Finally, transforming travelling possibilities would make a significant impact on students’ lives. A transformative redistributive approach could be to offer students a 24-hour shuttle bus service to and from communities around campus, much like the service already operating at the neighbouring University of Cape Town. These three measures would go a long way towards greater economic parity for UWC students. However, significant resources would need to be put into finding and enacting solutions, and this takes place within the wider South African context of deeply entrenched economic inequalities. Overall, therefore, whilst there are possibilities for transformative redistribution, students at this HDI remain largely disadvantaged and burdened by the historical legacies of South Africa’s troubled past, and unable to participate as equals with their better resourced peers.

CHAPTER 6: INTERSECTIONAL GENDER INJUSTICES SHAPING PARTICIPATORY PARITY IN STUDENTS' LIVES

Whilst data analysis in the previous chapter highlighted the range and complexities of maldistribution permeating students' lives and impacting on their progress through HE, the focus of this chapter is primarily misrecognition. To tease out some of the complexities of intersectional¹⁹ gendered injustices in students' lives, I draw on Fraser's conception of cultural injustice as status inequality, and her understanding of gender as encompassing both misrecognition and maldistribution, as detailed in Chapter 3. The data for Chapter 6 come from the second-year module *Introduction to Sex, Gender and Sexuality* (WGS2). As with the previous chapter, which looked at photovoice submissions from WGS3, data for this chapter were generated by means of pedagogies which foregrounded students' lives and lived experiences. WGS2 used a range of pedagogical tools to do this including anonymous quizzes, blogs, discussion forums, group tasks and presentations as well as reflective essays. In different ways, each of these tools elicited students' experiences and prior knowledges of gender and sexuality. The WGS teaching team aimed to use these prior knowledges to consider feminist theorising about gender, sex and sexuality, as well as to explore some of the ways in which gendered and sexualised material realities intersect with race, class, culture, ethnicity, age, language, religion and other social locations.

The chapter starts with a brief review of Fraser's (2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Olson, 2008) two-dimensional approach to gender justice. The remainder of the chapter is divided into five themes. I first explore what students said about growing up, how they learned 'appropriate' heteronormative gender roles and behaviours through schools, families, culture and religion, and the ways in which these roles and behaviours were monitored and enforced. I then discuss what students reported about ways in which gender roles are changing. Next students' understandings and experiences of non-normative or queer sexualities are examined. The penultimate section looks at what students said about gender and sexual misrecognition on campus. The chapter ends with a snapshot of the views of WGS2 students on entering the module and how their gendered contexts and backgrounds translate into the prior knowledges students bring to the module.

¹⁹ As noted in the Introduction, Fraser stressed that the economic, cultural and political dimensions are interimbricated. They are, therefore, intersectional inasmuch as they are in reality multidimensional and multifaceted. Intersectional as used here is more specifically aimed at highlighting ways in which gender can never be disentangled from class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality and so on.

Fraser's two-dimensional approach to gender justice

The primary theoretical lens for this chapter is Fraser's (2000, 2007a, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Olson, 2008) understanding of gender as a bivalent or two-dimensional category, one which encompasses both the economic and cultural dimensions. Viewed from the economic dimension, gender injustices take the form of maldistribution and pertain to social arrangements which impede "participants' independence and 'voice'",²⁰ for example "institutionalize[d] deprivation, exploitation, and gross disparities in wealth, income, and leisure time [which deny] some people the means and opportunities to interact with others as peers" (Fraser, 2007a, p. 27).

Viewed from the cultural dimension, gender justice takes the form of recognition which requires that "institutionalized patterns of cultural value express equal respect for all participants and ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem" (Fraser, 2007a, p. 27). Misrecognition takes place through "institutionalized value patterns that deny some people the status of full partners in interaction – whether by burdening them with excessive ascribed 'difference' or by failing to acknowledge their distinctiveness" (Fraser, 2007a, p. 27). Fraser gives a range of examples of misrecognition including cultural domination, that is, "being subjected to patterns of interpretation and communication that are associated with another culture and are alien and/or hostile to one's own"; nonrecognition, which is to be "rendered invisible via the authoritative representational, communicative, and interpretive practices of one's culture"; and disrespect, that is, routine malignment and disparagement through "stereotypic public cultural representations and/or in everyday life interactions" (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 13).

Importantly for Fraser, misrecognition refers to institutional rather than psychological ways of devaluation, and thus to the relative standing of social actors and their ability to participate on a par with their peers in social life (Fraser, 2007a, 2008; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). This 'status model' approach understands misrecognition as situated within the frame of modern, complex capitalist societies in which both culture *and* economy contribute to social ordering and subordination (see e.g., Gouws, 2014). As Burke (2013, p. 113) explains, this approach is important as it "shifts attention away from individualised blame and deficit discourses" linked to the identity model of recognition

²⁰ In her later work, Fraser (2009) used 'voice' in relation to political representation, arguing that everyone should have equal opportunities to exercise their political voice by participating in public deliberations and public decision making processes.

and instead focuses attention on transforming social practices, policies, cultures and structures “that are implicated in reproducing exclusions and inequalities”, both cultural and economic.

Affirmative remedies for gender injustice would look to enhance equality of participation (for example, through affirmative action), remove disrespect or marginalisation, and revalue unjustly devalued group identities. Whilst Fraser (Fraser & Honneth, 2003) acknowledges that an affirmative approach can be a useful and necessary step towards justice, it has potential drawbacks. Affirmative solutions tend to reify identities by leaving intact the identities and group differentiations that underlie them. Individual group members are expected to conform to essentialised and ‘authentic’ collective identities (Fraser, 2000). Cultural dissidence and experimentation are repressed, leading “all too easily to repressive forms of communitarianism, promoting conformism, intolerance and patriarchalism” (Fraser, 2000, pp. 133–134). An affirmative approach can therefore generate an economic and cultural backlash against the groups seeking recognition (Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

Transformative strategies towards gender justice, on the other hand, acknowledge cultural complexities and the imbrication of culture and economy. They seek to blur, destabilise, proliferate and deconstruct identity categories rather than entrench identity politics or multiculturalism. They replace binary essentialised logics and hierarchies with “networks of multiple intersecting differences that are demassified and shifting” (Fraser, 2008, p. 38; Keddie, 2005). This goal, albeit a “utopian image”, would allow for “rough social equality” and be “consistent with transformative socialist-feminist redistribution” (Fraser, 2008, p. 37).

Learning normative gender roles and behaviours

As detailed in the Methodology chapter and noted above, a key starting point and ongoing focus of the introductory gender studies module, WGS2, was students’ lived experiences and prior knowledges. Throughout the module, through a range of pedagogical tools including voluntary anonymous quizzes, online discussion forums, group tasks and presentations, blogs, reflective essays as well as tutorial and class discussions, students were required to consider and write about aspects of gender in their lives and ways in which gender and sexuality intersected with race, class, religion, culture, language, and so on. The result was a wide range of narratives by students on aspects of mis/recognition in their lives. Reiterating findings of a large body of feminist scholarship on femininities and masculinities in South Africa (e.g., Akintola, 2006; Bhana, 2016, 2017; Bozalek, 2004; Helman & Ratele, 2016; Ngabaza, 2010; Ntombela & Mashiya, 2009; Ratele et al., 2010; Salo, 2004), students reflected heteronormative and patriarchal attitudes to gender, drawing attention to ways

in which their early socialisation involved the inculcation and development of 'appropriate' femininity and masculinity within diverse religious and cultural contexts. In this section I explore, firstly, what students said about 'appropriate' femininity and what this meant for young girls and women; secondly, what students said about 'appropriate' masculinities for boys becoming men; and thirdly, what students said about violence facing women in their communities.

Femininities: Girls becoming women

Through the range of pedagogical tools outlined above, women students consistently described upbringings in which they were required to learn and take on roles appropriate to girls and which were designed to prepare them for marriage and motherhood, for the nurturing work of child raising and household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, washing and so on. As we see in the quotes below, women students across race/ethnicity, culture and religion described how they learned gendered role expectations from an early age. Supporting both older and more recent research (Bray, 2003; Helman & Ratele, 2016), black women described childhoods in which they were expected to serve as caregivers whilst still children themselves. These practices aimed at preparing them for a subordinate role within a heterosexual marriage, and the domestic and nurturing obligations associated with motherhood:

As an eldest of three girls at home, I have been performing house chores from the age of six years old. ... My culture's values are strongly embedded in the female's ability to perform all house duties, be self-reliant and show resilience. These are the specific traits that also qualify young women as suitable brides in my society as they would have the 'necessary tools to make a home'. (Andi, RE18)

By the time my other siblings were born, I as the first daughter had the responsibility to look after them. I had to make sure they are fed and they are safe despite having a brother who is four years older than me. I have been a second parent to my siblings and "that would prepare you for motherhood", my aunt always said. (Nothemba, RE18)

"Intombi ayilali kude kuphume ilanga" meaning a girl should be up before the sun rises. My grandparents could not stretch this enough. As a girl it's my duty to be up before anyone else to perform my feminine duties, which include preparing breakfast, making sure there is a pot filled with hot water by the fire outside, cleaning the house and feeding the chickens and maybe sometimes do the laundry once a week. Should I fail to do any of these duties then I have failed as woman and no man will want to marry a woman like me one day. The message behind my grandparents saying that "Intombi ayilali kude kuphume ilanga" is that it is important to embody the makings of a "good woman" to prove that one day I will be able to perform my utmost feminine duty and that is to get a man to marry. (Anon., Q18)

In addition to being prepared for future roles as housekeepers, wives and mothers, a number of women students described being called on to play the role of primary caregivers to their siblings, which, as Liswa's narrative poignantly shows, is a drain on their time, energy and emotional resources:

My mom passed away in a tragic car accident when I was nine years old and my life changed drastically. ... I was now responsible for four people including myself. Even though I was a child myself but was expected to carry the burden of being an older girl and now had to play the role of my mother. One would ask where my father was. He did not care if it was day or night but only cared about his pain and his loss as if we did not lose our mother ourselves. I became the mother of the house responsible for cleaning, cooking and bathing my younger siblings. ... This picture shows what I had to go through because of my gender as it became my responsibility to feed my family and make sure they do not go to bed hungry. I had to humble myself and beg for food from my neighbours and anyone willing to help. (Liswa, RE18)



I have to look after my 3 siblings 6 days a week until 7:30pm – one of which is a 2-year-old. (Nafeesa, B18)

Figure 24. "Representation of what I had to do for the survival of my family" (Liswa)

Although the women quoted above made no direct mention of religion, the patriarchal norms associated with conservative Christianity (for example, the man as head of the household; the woman as wife and mother serving the family) shaped and framed their domestic obligations and expectations. The intersections between religion and gender emerged more clearly in narratives offered by young Muslim women:

My religion says that a female should not work, as she should be the one who stays home – cooks, cleans as well as looks after the children. My religion trains females to be dependent on their husbands. (Aashiq, RE18)

For as long as I can remember, for every Friday afternoon without a fail I would smell some sort of meal being cooked and prepped by one of the women in my family. ... Women had

to ensure that by the time men came home after *Jummuah Salaah*²¹ on a Friday afternoon, they had a full module meal prepared for them. (Isra, RE18)



Figure 25. Picture taken by me after *Jummuah Salaah* at Islamia Mosque (Isra)

The narratives above demonstrate the powerful intersections of gender with religion and culture explored by scholars such as Abrahams (2011) and Baderoon (2014). While it is primarily Muslim women who explicitly identify the role of religion in cultivating ‘appropriate’ gender roles and behaviours, Christianity is the unwritten, hidden norm in black women’s narratives.

These students’ narratives reinforce work by local scholars such as Helman and Ratele (2016; see also van Wyk, 2015) in revealing the impact of domestic duties on a young woman’s time and energy for studies, play and rest. As Fraser (2013) points out, gendered domestic chores such as those described above have a significant material impact on women’s lives. These gendered expectations serve to misrecognise girls and young women by preparing them for the ‘domestic sphere’ with the assumption that the boys in the family will take on the separate and male-dominated ‘economic sphere’ (Bray, 2003; Casale et al., 2021; van Wyk, 2015). However, as we see in Liswa’s narrative, and as highlighted in local research (Bray, 2003; Casale et al., 2021, van Wyk, 2015), socio-economic concerns about the provision of resources often become a woman’s responsibility in poorer homes. As a young and vulnerable girl, Liswa was called on not only to

²¹ *Jummuah Salaah*, or *Ṣalāt al-Jumu’ah* in Arabic, are Islamic congregational prayers held on Friday afternoons.

provide care and emotional and domestic support for her siblings but also food, the most basic and essential of material resources. Narratives such as these therefore start to show the complexities of gendered injustice, the ways in which young girls, especially those from poorer and/or more conservative families, suffer from both misrecognition and maldistribution, and the ways in which these injustices are substantially intertwined (Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

In addition to household chores and caregiving duties, girls were taught that appropriate femininity meant to be polite, reserved, modest, respectful and obedient, and to defer to the wants and needs of men and boys (see Kruger, 2019; Kruger et al., 2014; van Wyk, 2015). Across the data, women students consistently drew attention to ways in which a girl's appearance, behaviours, actions and interactions were prescribed and policed by family, cultural and religious norms, and how these norms operated to encourage performances of appropriate femininity:

From my dress code, to how I talk, walk, how I conduct myself, how I eat and what I should eat, is essentially prescribed to me. (Okuhle, RE18)

Always act like a woman – sit closed legs, look presentable, do not speak rudely – always approach people friendly and be kind. (Anon., Q17)

A typical colored Muslim family has no issue at all with gendering from an early age. “Cross your legs and sit like a lady,” “put your scarf on, the men will be here soon,” these are the type of things I would hear as a girl. (Isra, RE18)

I had to be cautious on my appearance, on how I acted and behaved. ... I felt restricted because I wasn't able to be myself particularly in front of this one aunt of mine, whom my sister and I nick named 'hitler' because she is always criticising me and telling me how I should behave or rather, how 'a muslim girl' should behave. She's always telling me that women in Islam should be seen and not heard and she would always make a fuss about my attire and she would then point out that I would get punished for not covering up and dressing appropriately. (Kashifa, RE18)

Additionally, again echoing recent local research (Kruger, 2019; Kruger et al., 2014; van Wyk, 2015), women students noted that appropriate femininity meant one should be quiet, contained and subservient, silent and seen rather than heard, and should avoid behaviours that might make men feel uncomfortable:

My mother told us that as a girl you cross your legs when you sit and don't laugh out loud, a man needs to see you not hear you. (Okuhle, RE18)

“Intombi ayisihleki isiqhazolo” – a girl cannot laugh out loud otherwise you will be reprimanded. (Anon., Q17)

Small things we take for granted such as laughing, if I was ever caught laughing out loud with my mouth as open ... I will need to explain myself, because it is not allowed. Everything I did was centered on men, how to make them not feel uncomfortable. I grew up being told that you should never laugh loud enough that your mouth is wide open, because you are chasing away marriage, that men do not appreciate nor do they want a loud wife. (Reabetswe, RE18)



Figure 26. "New attire and a new name, I am taught to conform to being the tail and my husband the head of the household" (Nandi)

As the above section has shown, students reported a range of ways in which 'appropriate' femininity was taught and policed across heteropatriarchal religions and associated cultural and familial norms and values. Girls and young women were less valued for their potential for action, engagement and contribution outside of the domestic realm. Instead, students described families, schools and religious spaces which repeatedly taught that a girl's value lay in her ability to look and be 'lady-like', in other words, feminine, quiet, deferent and subservient; perform household chores and caregiving duties; and attract a good husband. As Reabetswe explained, "Everything I did was centred on men, how to make them not feel uncomfortable." These gendered attributes and attitudes remain prevalent in young women's lives, as Nandi, a young wife and mother from the

rural Eastern Cape, depicted in her reflective essay (see *Figure 26*). Students' narratives therefore reinforce local research exploring gendered roles in South Africa over the past two decades (e.g., Abrahams, 2011; Bhana, 2016; Bhana et al., 2011; Helman & Ratele, 2016; Mayeza, 2017; Ntombela & Mashiya, 2009; Ratele et al., 2010; van Wyk, 2015).

The injustice of these gendered expectations encompasses both the cultural and economic dimensions. On the one hand, girls and young women suffer misrecognition by being silenced, constrained, marginalised and oppressed across social spaces injustices; what Fraser (Fraser & Honneth, 2003) would term cultural domination, nonrecognition and disrespect. On the other hand, they suffer maldistribution, for example, through institutionalised deprivation, exploitation and gross disparities in leisure time which deny them the means and opportunities to interact as peers with boys and young men (Fraser, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

Masculinities: boys becoming men

Alongside descriptions of culturally appropriate femininity, students' narratives show how boys and men were socialised into appropriate gendered identities. Again echoing local research (Bhana, 2016; Langa, 2020; Mayeza, 2017; Ratele et al., 2010), the data show how boys were allowed more freedom than girls, could roam without restrictions and explore widely and until late at night, were encouraged to play rough and get dirty, and were seen as able to be themselves and express themselves, as these quiz responses show:

Boys had the freedom of being wild and carefree and the saying of boys will be boys, was used often as a get out of jail card. (Anon., Q17)

Boys were excused when they behave like animals because they are boys. (Anon., Q17)

Boys could basically go crazy. Boys definitely had more freedom to express their individuality. (Anon., Q17)

Boys could express themselves in whatever manner they like, they could run around, make noise, get dirty and just be all over the place. (Anon., Q18)

Boys were allowed to come late at home whereas girls were not allowed to come home after hours. (Anon., Q17)

However, these experiences were also designed to turn boys into tough, aggressive, domineering men and the entrenched narratives of 'boys don't cry', 'boys will be boys', 'men stand on their own two feet' epitomised the patriarchal head of the household associated with dominant

religions. The ways in which these patriarchal masculine identities are valued and recognised comes through strongly in the data, echoing much local research (e.g., Helman & Ratele, 2016; Jewkes & Morrell, 2012; Langa, 2017, 2020; Morrell et al., 2012; Ratele, 2013a, 2013b; Ratele et al., 2010; Vetten & Ratele, 2013). In their reflective essays, male students described the value placed on boys as both reverential and constricting, in terms of the kinds of behaviours and emotions allowed whilst growing up and the expectations of 'appropriate' manhood to which they should aspire:

The day my mom gave birth to a male child (me) she must have felt she won the lotto. ... Having a male child means the continuation of bloodline, my father's family name because as a male child, I'm expected to carry the family name and have children, not just children but male children. At a tender young age my life was planned out – I was supposed to grow up and go to the mountain to be a man, come back and build a home for my wife and kids. (Sbu, RE18)

I was always told to man up when something was wrong. The expressing of emotion was a foreign concept to me and the fear of failure as a man was one I was not willing to experience. As a black male, from an early age, you are groomed to be the head of the household and assume your 'rightful' place at the head of the table. ... Like most men, I hid behind the general notion that 'boys will be boys' ... anger, lashing out and physical display of masculinity became a rightful quality and way to act out. It became part of the male kingdom and came with the crown. (Loyiso, RE16)

In these extracts, those gendered as boys reported on ways in which they felt recognised and valued as young men because of expectations that they would grow up to be kings in their own homes, strong leaders and good providers for their families (see Hunter, 2010). While both also drew attention to ways in which their choices were framed and constrained, at some cost as Loyiso notes, both also foregrounded ways in which their existence – as male children – was valued. So, in describing how important boys are in his culture, Sbu noted that his mother would have felt she had 'won the lotto' at his birth; likewise, Loyiso described being 'groomed' to take up a gendered identity that came with a 'crown'.

Conversely, boys who did not fit normative heterosexual masculinity were policed and ridiculed. For example, Akani recalls how as a child he would have scorned a boy who played with girls: "Someone playing with girls I called him a moffie and regard him as too soft" (RE16). Here Akani demonstrates the ways in which 'inappropriate' masculinity was feminised, regarded as 'soft', and how men who did not fit the norm were labelled 'moffies' (a derogatory term for gay men) (see Langa, 2012, 2020; Mayeza, 2017; Reid & Walker, 2005). Onkarabile and Neil, both young gay men, in their final reflective essays reflected on their shame at their inability to do 'appropriate' masculinity and how this impacted on their sense of self and relationships with others:

As a child I struggled in being masculine I was ashamed to use the boys bathroom because my voice had not broken yet, I did not play soccer as most boys were expected and for those reasons no boy in my school befriended me I however excelled in arts, drama, dancing and athletics however those were still perceived as feminine. It was then very difficult for me to befriend any guy thereafter because of past experience. (Onkarabile, RE17)

My gender was being policed according to religion from a very young age already. I remember growing up my mom would tell me that I sound like a girl and try and force me to “speak more manly”. This led to me resenting my voice and birthed insecurities within me. (Neil, RE17)

In these quotes, the young men describe ways in which their inability to perform ‘appropriate’ masculinity resulted in them being perceived as “feminine” and sounding “like a girl”. These narratives highlight the complexities of intersectional gendered misrecognition. Aligned with girls and femininity rather than boys and masculinity, these boys and young men were subjected to malignment, disparagement, exclusion, rejection and shame, and were thus not able to participate as equals with their more ‘appropriately’ masculine peers. In other words, they were, like young women and girls, subjected to injustices such as cultural domination, nonrecognition and disrespect (Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

Violence against women

In contexts such as these, in which a ‘manly man’ means to be tough, aggressive and domineering, and a feminine woman means to please and be subservient to a man (Langa, 2020; Mayeza, 2017; Ratele et al., 2010; Strebel et al., 2006), it is unsurprising that several narratives by women described ways in which they routinely navigated dangers posed by men who expected women to be available, compliant and submissive. Nothemba’s chilling narrative below, for example, highlights the constraints and challenges facing women “simply because they are women”, and the fears, risks and dangers that permeate everyday life:

The community which I come from is a very prejudice one especially against women ... there are things women cannot do simply because they are women. ... When having to deal with men asking me out or who are interested in me I have to come up with a mechanism which will not put me in danger. I have witnessed women being beaten up or insulted by men in my community and in the taxis simply because they did not want give out their cell phone numbers, or they did not want accept the man’s proposal or simply because they did not want to speak. I myself have experienced the insults especially in the taxis, where I was told that I think I’m better than him, or just because he is a taxi driver I don’t want to date, and one incident where I gave the guy my number and he dialled it in front of me and said “if I find that you gave me the wrong number I will beat you up”. My

community has taught me that when a man wants you, you must be happy because he is doing you a favour and if you turn him down he has every right to beat you up or insult you. ... Everything is about men, and this notion has forced [me] to be submissive to any man that I meet. I am forced to sit with you and smile and act as if I am interested in you and what you have to say simply because I value my life. (Nothemba, RE18)

Whilst Nothemba described how difficult it was to escape unwanted sexual attention from men in her community (Bozalek, 2004), Ally found some freedom in ‘toughening up’ and taking on masculine characteristics. To mitigate danger, she said, she avoided feminine “girly girl” behaviours and instead aimed to be a “tough, rough and strong tomboy”:

At this point in my life I became familiar with gangsterism and gang violence which instantly made me aware of how I needed to walk, talk and behave around an unsafe area or specific group of people. I was forced to find a way to protect myself from any harm or danger and to no longer be the vibrant, soft and the girly girl that I supposedly was at the time but instead a tough, rough and strong tomboy. (Ally, B17)

Ally and Nothemba’s narratives, like those of Okuhle and Reabetswe and others above, highlight women’s need for constant vigilance about how they walk, talk and behave, and the dangers in transgressing everyday unwritten rules. These kinds of coercive and violent sexualities have been widely documented in South African research as part and parcel of many normative sexual experiences in homes and families, wider communities and on campus spaces (Chakamba, 2017; Everitt-Penhale & Boonzaier, 2018; Gouws, 2014; Gqola, 2016; Helman & Ratele, 2016; Kruger, 2019; Shefer, 2018a; Shefer et al., 2017; Strebel et al., 2006; Willan et al., 2019). As Gouws (2014) points out, violence against women highlights the imbrication of gendered misrecognition and maldistribution and the ways in which misrecognition has direct and indirect costs, for individuals, communities and society at large.

This section has explored students’ narratives gathered through a range of pedagogical strategies which elicited students’ experiences of being inculcated into heteronormative gender roles and behaviours. The narratives reveal a range of ways in which religion, culture, gender and sexuality intersect to position girls, women and gay men unequally in relation to heterosexual men. Although positioned as unchanging culture and tradition, research has identified ways in which these norms are the product of conquest, imperialism and colonialism, and strongly associated with the work of Christian missionaries (Arnfred, 2004; Currier & Migraine-George, 2017; McClintock, 2013; Msibi, 2011; Scully, 2005; Sigamoney & Epprecht, 2013; Tamale, 2011).

Drawing attention to the complexities of gendered misrecognition, young men described experiences of growing up in which normative heteropatriarchal masculine gender identities were recognised and valued, young women were viewed as potential wives and mothers and taught to be subordinate to their husbands and children, and appropriate femininity was understood primarily through a hypothetical relationship with and to a man within the context of marriage and motherhood. For young men, then, to be feminised was the worst form of insult, a source of ongoing shame, and a reason for self-policing and self-censorship against marginalisation imposed by others (see Mayeza, 2017). For young women who transgressed, the consequences were potentially life-threatening, as much local (and global) research has shown (Gqola, 2016; Hunter, 2010; Kruger, 2019; Willan et al., 2019). As Fraser would argue, the status order for these women and men does not reflect equitable patterns of recognition; as social actors, they are not able to participate as equals (Fraser, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). In fact, as these students' narratives show, to be a woman or to be a feminised man in contemporary South Africa, across culture, religion and race, is a severe form of misrecognition.

Changing gender roles

The above section has illustrated how for the most part students reported receiving consistent messages within their homes and other social and institutional spaces, messages which promoted and encouraged hierarchical and subordinating gender and sexual behaviours and roles. And yet, while the continuities of these 'traditional' gender and sexual stereotypes remain strong over time, there were hints of change in the data. Despite the overwhelming emphasis on these supposedly traditional norms of the stereotypically subordinate wife and male breadwinner, a handful of students described growing up in more egalitarian homes in which there was some awareness of gendered inequalities, and gendered roles were more flexible and less prescribed:

My mother, she taught me that women do not necessarily have to be subservient to men and that we as women have the power and ability to break glass ceilings. I grew up with this notion instilled within me. (Kay, RE18)

One thing that i can say is that my family never made me feel as if i was expected to do house chores that my brother did not have to do. ... My dad cooks, bakes and cleans and it is a norm in my family. my brother would do the same. (Angie, RE18)

Men are also becoming more aware of the inequality between men and women. More importantly men are now acting on this and readdressing this inequality even by small acts such as helping with kitchen duties that are usually associated with females. I've seen this in my own household. (Anathi, RE18)

One student drew attention to how her father defied her mother who was the one seeking to enforce stereotypical gendered roles and behaviours. Comparing and contrasting her experience to that of bell hooks (2010), Abigail described how her father sought to subvert the patriarchal role taken on by her mother by allowing her and her sister to “play rough” and “get dirty”:

You need to accept that you are just a little girl and girls can't do what boys do (hooks, 2010). This is something my mother often tried to enforce ... while in the background my father disagreed with this completely and taught us how to play rough and work on cars and get dirty. (Abigail, RE17)

Whilst Abigail's father in this instance had challenged a status order which devalued girls' abilities in the home, Avuyile presented a picture of her father in a pink gown in the kitchen (*Figure 27*) and Anathi commented on how women in her culture seemed to have 'more of a voice' in a range of issues, from what they chose to wear to whether to divorce:

I do now witness females in my culture in particular now have more of a voice over simple things like what they would like to wear compared to what they are prescribed to wear. Women are becoming more vocal in their relationships and divorce rates are increasing which may be a positive, as women are no longer feeling obligated to stay. (Anathi, RE18)



Figure 27. “In ending my essay I added this picture of my father cooking in a pink gown. To show that in achieving equality of the sexes males also have a role to play. It is happening; slowly but surely” (Avuyile)

Whereas black women in the module often foregrounded gender in the light of cultural norms and expectations, Muslim women tended to reflect on and grapple with conservative religious prescriptions of 'correct' and 'appropriate' gendered behaviour versus the more egalitarian lived reality in their homes (see Abrahams, 2011; Baderoon, 2014). Ilhaam, for example, noted the slowly shifting gender roles and expanding opportunities for Muslim girls in families such as hers:

I grew up in a typical Muslim Cape Townian [sic] household, where gender norms was something that was present and absent at the same, meaning that my mother still believed that women should cook and clean and do all those trivial things but at the same time she and the rest of my household would believe that whatever opportunities could be offered to my brother, could and should be offered to me as well. (Ilhaam, RE18)

Salima, a devout Muslim and slightly older than her university peers, described a home in which her mother was the breadwinner and her father took care of the home, roles which were echoed in her own marriage. She explained how "not normal" these role reversals were to others, whose faces "contort" with disapproval:

Whenever people find out that my mom works 6 days a week, so obviously she pays all the bills, and my dad stays home, their faces contort. ... At first I felt uncomfortable because I imagined what they must have been thinking. And then they start asking me all sorts of questions in an attempt to make sense of it all. Once I tried explaining to someone that that was her decision, and that she's the one who actually prefers it that way, this person implied that he was taking advantage of her. Most people dont tell me what they are thinking but the look on their faces and the questions they ask implies that they think it's not normal. I did something similar in the first year of my marriage. I was working full time, paying all the bills, while my husband was studying full time. He cooked and cleaned the house most of the time and I helped sometimes. (Salima, RE16)

These narratives, bolstering local research, reveal some of the ways in which gender norms and expectations are changing, albeit slowly, in families, communities, cultures and religious spaces (see Abrahams, 2011; Arnfred, 2004; Bozalek, 2004; Helman & Ratele, 2016; Jewkes & Morrell, 2012; Shefer et al., 2015; Singh, 2013; Strebel et al., 2006; Tamale, 2011). There is some ambivalence; as Imaan said, gender norms were "present and absent at the same time", and Salima noted people were "thinking ... it's not normal". Nevertheless, it is evident that some women engage in traditionally masculine behaviours and spaces and some men become "gender traitors" (Bozalek, 2004) by taking on 'reproductive' and domestic duties (Fraser, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

There is, therefore, in some homes and families, evidence of greater parity as men take on caring and domestic duties and women and girls claim opportunities to participate as equals with male family members. Alongside cultural recognition such as revaluation and respect, students'

narratives offer insights into ways in which participatory parity is shifting in the economic dimension. There are families in which, going against religious and cultural norms, girls are offered opportunities to study towards traditionally male professions, and men stay home and act as primary caregivers. These initiatives are, ostensibly, supported and promoted by official government policy (South African Government, 2000). However, whilst this means redistribution for some women, for example in terms of better jobs with more pay and benefits, these shifts also raise the issue of who will take on domestic duties in the home. In a country as unequal and poor as South Africa, this inevitably largely falls to the poorest and least empowered: girl children provide domestic support to their families (Bray, 2003) whilst older women (sisters, mothers, aunts, grandmothers) become domestic workers in more affluent homes (Jansen, 2019).

Additionally, as Fraser (2013) argues, the social world remains largely androcentric in orientation. That is, “men’s current life-patterns represent the human norm and ... women ought to assimilate to them” and women are required to become more like men and fit into institutions designed for men “in order to enjoy comparable levels of well-being” (Fraser, 2013, p. 120). This is evident in the students’ quotes above. The young women are offered opportunities to which their male peers have always had access; women thus receive greater recognition, and the frame is widened to include them. However, this masculinist approach is an affirmative response to injustice, reinforcing rather than restructuring an unequal status quo. Moreover, women (and feminised men) who work in female-dominated “pink collar” jobs such as domestic work and service roles remain poorly paid and suffer poor working conditions (Fraser, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003), and they continue to face injustice along the lines of misrecognition, maldistribution and misrepresentation.

Marginalised sexualities and genders

Whilst there is some evidence of changing gender roles, students’ narratives also show that attitudes towards non-normative sexualities and genders are much harder to shift. Across the data, in line with local research (e.g., Fiereck et al., 2020; Langa, 2020; Mayeza, 2017; Msibi, 2011, 2012; Mupotsa, 2020a; Sigamoney & Epprecht, 2013; van Zyl, 2011), students reported same-sex desire as still largely positioned as abnormal, shameful, sinful and ‘unAfrican’ across communities, churches, schools and homes:

I grew up in a community where a person who identifies themselves as gay or lesbian is conceded to be not “normal”. (Zukiswa, RE17)

Homosexuality is seen as evil and that it is not for black people. In our churches we often hear preachers preaching about how homosexuality is wrong according to the bible and

how one is going to be denied by God if they were to be involved in same sex relations. (Lihle, RE17)

When reaching the later years of high school I still refused to accept my sexuality because according to my religion it was seen as prohibited, which in Islam is known as gharaam. (Saarah, RE18)

Homosexual and queer-identifying students, in reflecting on their lives in the blogs and essays, described being subjected to ridicule, shaming, aggression and violence. Onkarabile described being bullied, ostracised and excluded from activities in school, on the sports field and church, and Umair reported choosing to live a life of pretence at school and home “out of fear of rejection and disapproval”. Both became experts at “being in the shadow” and policing their own behaviour:

I allowed people to bully me, I allowed friends to bully me, I allowed teachers to bully me, I gave up church and actually my entire spiritual faith because society made me believe that I deliberately chose this unnatural sexuality which offends everyone. For the longest time in my life my sexuality was the reason why I did not participate in any sports, any competition, it was the reason why I was soft-spoken and shy, because I didn't want my sexuality to shine through and having people mocking me about it; being in the shadow felt like a safe space to be. (Onkarabile, RE17)

I am gay but out of fear of rejection and disapproval from society, I have chosen to live my life in a pretence that I too am a heterosexual as society expects this from men. ... I could not tell anyone as if I did I would be called names and would have simply been the joke of the school. I not only had to put up a pretence for eight hours at school but at home as well. (Umair, RE18)



Figure 28. “I have chosen to live my life in a pretence” (Umair)

Abigail, a slightly older white student, described the challenges of falling outside heteronormative ideals, and how these took a severe toll on her mental health:

I'm not planning to say that I am a girl or boy because I am just Abigail some days I wake up and feel I'm "girly" some days I wake up and feel like a boy. I spent my life feeling rejected and like I didn't belong, HELL something had to be wrong with me ... I kissed a girl and I liked it??? 😞 ... Then I denied myself the freedom to be who I was, I got severely depressed and tried to commit suicide. I spent a total of 2 months in a psychiatric ward in a military hospital. I came back home and continued my journey. (Abigail, B17)

As Abigail's narrative shows, the consequences of not 'coming out' can have severe repercussions on one's mental and physical health (see Henderson, 2015; Muller & Hughes, 2016). On the other hand, several students commented on the physical violence facing those who are open about their marginalised sexualities. Nothemba, for example, in addition to describing her fear of men in her community, said she was afraid for her lesbian sister whose outspoken attitude would "get her killed":

My younger sister when being approached by men turns them down instantly and rudely because she is a lesbian and I keep on telling her that, such behaviour will get her killed. (Nothemba, RE18)

Another student explained how her father, a *sangoma* (Southern African traditional healer), travelled thousands of kilometres from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town to beat her brutally like "some thug" when he found out she was involved with a girl:

I remember very well my dad travelled all the [way] from Eastern Cape just to beat me, and he beat me so badly ... someone would think he's beating some thug due how brutal he was, but to him that was his way of showing me that he loves me and he's taking out the demon within me through the beating. (Hlengiwe, RE18)

Surrounded by these discriminatory cultural attitudes and religious doctrines positioning them as abnormal, deviant, aberrant and 'unAfrican' (Matsuno & Budge, 2017; Msibi, 2011; Sigamoney & Epprecht, 2013; Tamale, 2011), homosexual, queer and non-binary students explained how they had internalised the discrimination (see Matsuno & Budge, 2017), believing that they deserved to be ostracised, as Onkarabile said in his reflective essay:

As a guy who is homosexual ... all I knew about it was that it was deviant ... I had accepted these homophobic ideas of the world and for that reason I allowed people to treat me otherwise, because how dare I speak up for something that I know is wrong. (Onkarabile, RE17)

He and others thus learned to find ways to fit in, for example, by playing along with gay stereotypes and “gay jokes”:

I thought it was okay to be labelled as gay and accept the stereotypes that came along with it as I was accustomed to it. I thought heterosexual was normal and that homosexual was something different and therefore warranted being treated as such ... I would happily play along with stereotypes ascribed to gay men and laugh alongside gay jokes made in jest. (Zayan, RE17)

The above narratives echo other research (Boonzaier & Mkhize, 2018; Kessi, 2018; Ngabaza et al., 2018; Shefer et al., 2017) in demonstrating a range of ways in which homosexual, lesbian and queer students experienced discrimination, marginalisation, oppression and violence. That many accepted this misrecognition as their due is unsurprising given colonial legacies of homosexuality as unnatural, ‘unAfrican’, sinful, ungodly, and so on (Matsuno & Budge, 2017; Msibi, 2011; Sigamoney & Epprecht, 2013; Tamale, 2011).

Sexual and gender misrecognition on campus

As this chapter has so far shown, in talking about their lives, students from the second-year module shared many ways in which families, communities, cultures and religions socialised young people into ‘appropriate’ heterosexual gendered behaviours and roles. Reinforcing recent research, the data show that although there is some change in attitudes, beliefs and values, on the whole conservative heteropatriarchal norms remain entrenched across religion, class, culture and ethnicity. It is thus unsurprising that gendered and sexualised misrecognition is seen and perpetuated on campus. Through the data students reported ways in which they and their peers had suffered misrecognition by other students in lectures and tutorials, sports organisations and sports fields, student organisations, residences, the student pub, and so on.

Several students described ways in which heteronormative masculinity is enforced on campus. One student used the discussion forums to reflect on how she was disturbed by a peer’s homophobic comments during a sports game:

One of the team’s had a gay guy and he was the goal shooter. As everyone was cheering for him as he had scored a goal, I heard a guy say “what you guys are doing is wrong, how could you support something that might lead to the end of this world.” When I later asked what he meant, he said that he felt that gay people are the reason that this world is coming to an end. ... I honestly thought that people would be more open minded now that they are in university because we meet many people with different sexuality lifestyles. What got me more worried was the fact that this guy has been in this institution for such a

long time, which means he has witnessed many gender equality campaigns and has probably read up on the fight for homosexuality but yet he was so narrow minded. (Itembe, DF16)

In this post Itembe expressed surprise and concern that homophobia endures on campus despite exposure to diversity, difference and equality campaigns. Her expectation is that being at university should promote awareness of injustice and lead to more equitable social relations. However, recent research shows that queer and nonbinary students remain amongst the most marginalised and misrecognised on campus (Everitt-Penhale & Boonzaier, 2018; Khan, 2020; Matthyse, 2017; Ngabaza et al., 2018; Robertson & Pattman, 2018; Yaziyu, 2018). Viewed through the lens of participatory parity, it is unsurprising that this misrecognition persists. On the one hand, as students themselves reported, intertwined gender and sexual injustices remain widely entrenched in social institutions. Further, if diversity and equity campaigns take a more affirmative approach to promoting justice, instead of disrupting everyone's sense of self, gender, sexuality, and so on, the campaigns may inadvertently serve to reinforce difference and thus generate a backlash against those already marginalised, as Fraser has consistently warned (Fraser, 2013; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Olson, 2008).

Another student who expressed surprise at gender and sexual discrimination and policing by peers on campus was Zayan. In his reflective essay, Zayan, a gay man in his late 20s, discussed how his thinking had changed through the group exercise in which students could challenge gender and sexual norms on campus:

Another incident on campus that marked a change in my thinking was when we were tasked with a group presentation and we decided on breaking gender roles. A very brave [queer] male in our team decided he was going to enter The Barn [the student pub] dressed as a woman. What struck me was how he seemed to come into his personality when he changed his clothes and despite his fear of being ridiculed he appeared to me as genuinely excited. Every time he entered the Barn in his dress I heard comments like "sis", "look", "moffie" and each time he entered the Barn he seemed gradually more defeated. What I didn't notice was someone defending his actions. (Zayan, RE17)

In reflecting on this exercise, Zayan remembered being struck by how his teammate "seemed to come into his personality" through the performance, the consequent severe backlash he received, and that no-one in The Barn had defended him. Despite being part of the queer community himself, it took an exercise such as this and watching it unfold from the sidelines for Zayan to appreciate how the queer community could be treated on campus. The pedagogies, which provided space for engaging in disruptive practices, allowed Zayan to see gendered and sexualised

misrecognition as structural rather than limited to his personal understandings and experiences of in/justice (as a 'straight acting' gay man).

Zayan was one of several students who took advantage of the pedagogical opportunities provided to comment on ways in which heteronormative masculinity was policed on campus. Sbu was another; he used his final reflective essay to reflect on how his masculinity was called into question by his love of tennis, a sport viewed as "sissy" by his black friends (see Mayeza, 2017). He described how in defending himself he claimed to be playing tennis because of the "hot girls", but realised that doing so was an attempt to "masculinise" himself through objectifying women:

When I got to varsity I fell in love with tennis. Where I am from a guy is supposed to play soccer if not soccer then rugby or cricket. When I told my friends that I am thinking of playing tennis they laughed at me because they view tennis as a "sissy" sport. In my defence I always say "gents let's go to the tennis courts, there are girls at the tennis court" I tried to 'masculinise' and said I am joining the sport because there are hot girls at the tennis court. I objectify girls to defend myself. My friends and other people that knew me started calling me Serena Williams. Serena Williams is a woman tennis player who has dominated the game of tennis for the longest time. People were calling me Serena to ridicule me because I was playing the sport. White guys who were playing with me did not face being ridiculed for playing a woman sport that is when I also learned that race is also use to socialise us to behave in a certain manner. (Sbu, RE18)

The ball doesn't know if I'm a man or a woman



Figure 29. "The ball doesn't know if I'm a man or a woman" (Sbu)

Sbu's narrative highlights not just the policing of masculinity but also the ways in which gendered misrecognition intersects with and is reinforced by sexual, racial and cultural norms. His reflection reveals the ways in which 'straight' men who transgress gender rules are subjected to ridicule by being feminised. He thus felt forced to "masculinise" by pretending he was playing tennis

because of the “hot girls at the tennis court”. The irony of belittling him by calling him Serena, a strong, powerful, wealthy black player “who has dominated the game of tennis for the longest time”, seems lost on his peers, but illustrates the negative force of feminisation (see e.g., Burke & Carolissen, 2018; Fraser, 2013; Schippers, 2007); that is, to equate him with a woman is the worst imaginable insult.

Another space mentioned for discriminatory practices along gender lines was the student organisation SASCO (South African Students Congress).²² In an interview with a young woman after WGS2 in 2017, she described this as a political space which remained “oppressive” and “patriarchal”, in which women were “puppetised”, and in which to be labelled a feminist was to be labelled “problematic” and be “side-lined”:

SASCO you see, it’s an oppressive space, it isn’t a place where females have a voice; females are marginalised. They run it like ... I dunno where they think they are but it’s very patriarchal, as a result a lot of the girls there are puppetised. No one ever sticks up and has a point of order and says anything that challenges what the men say ... there’s no place for feminists there, really no place, like they’ve said ‘I don’t like feminists, I don’t like that kak [sh*t]’. Multiple of them are like, ‘wena [you], you’re too much’ ... In that space, if you’re a feminist you’re problematic and you’re side-lined ... And there’s only one [woman] who challenges the men. Out of all the people that are there. The membership sits at over 300 I think, but only one woman is only able to take all those men on singlehandedly and in a way I feel like everyone just relies on her, everyone just looks to her, like, please lead us you’re the only one, so I think it’s a burden for her also because she’s the voice of all the females that are saying nothing, so in a way she has to carry everyone else. (Sinethemba, 117)

Sinethemba here describes not only misrecognition but misrepresentation. Women students who attempted to assert themselves and confront patriarchal norms were subjected to disrespect, abuse and marginalisation, but most chose silence and in effect lost their political voice in an organisation claiming to promote democracy and the rights of all. Sinethemba’s experience of the systematic marginalisation, silencing and belittling of women took place despite the push by a section of #Fallist students for equality of access and participation for all (see e.g., Chinguno et al., 2018; Langa, 2017). As Gouws (2014) observes, gendered misrecognition has a range of material

²² SASCO describes itself as “the biggest student movement in Africa. It organizes students in institutions of higher learning striving for the transformation of not just institutions of higher learning but the whole system in order to achieve a non-sexist, non-racial, working class biased and democratic education system” (<https://sasco.co.za/>).

consequences for women, and mobilising through feminist civil society organisations may be a more successful means of tackling status misrecognition and maldistribution in the South African context.

As this section has shown, for many of the students on the WGS2 module the pedagogies created spaces in which their marginalised experiences were foregrounded and taken seriously. They were able to reflect on and theorise about their lives, for example, the ways in which they themselves were part of the system. The pedagogies also created spaces for them to think – and potentially act – differently. Students’ narratives and reflections document their ‘awakenings’ and ‘aha moments’ through the module, and these allow insights into how students are changing and might change – how they are starting to think differently and how this might affect and influence their future actions.

Students entering WGS

Considering students’ reports on their often conservative cultural and religious backgrounds and home contexts, and the ways in which these beliefs and values were perpetuated on campus, it is unsurprising that students described gender and sexuality as issues that were invisibilised or silenced in homes, schools and communities. Students mentioned a range of reasons for this including a lack of formal education around sex, sexuality and gender as well as the reluctance or refusal of older family or community members to discuss these topics:

Understanding gender and sexuality and other gender based terms in South Africa is not much of a concern [to] most of the people especially those living in rural areas where there are no proper education facilities. Traditional people or elderly people shy away when it comes to topics that include sexuality/gender. ... These kinds of things are not really talked about ... I grew up in deep rural areas of the Eastern Cape where even at school, topics of sexuality are not well taught. (Lihle, RE17)

I was born in a township where no one really cares if whether or not society norms should be challenged. The same society did not care ... whether or not gender roles were fair. (Yawa, RE17)

As Tracy says, even acknowledging the existence of alternative, non-normative genders and sexualities was “wrong” and thus to be avoided because to acknowledge them implied acceptance:

Most people aren’t even aware of half the things that go on around them because they are not educated about [gender, sex or sexuality]. They do not ask questions about it. They don’t even want to know about it because they think that knowing about the existence of some things is somehow accepting it and that that is wrong. (Tracy, RE16)

Like Tracy, several other students alluded to fears and risks involved in questioning religion, tradition and the gender status quo:

Everyone accepts things as they are and no one dares to challenge the status quo (Yawa, RE17)

My dad simply told me, without much thought, that “its tradition, it makes life easier”. This made me realise that people do not sit and think about ... any other way that they are not used to or comfortable with. (Marian, RE16)

Older people shy away from these topics as they are deemed as Sacred and that children should not be told about [them], in most of the families this is the case. (Lihle, RE17)

As the above quotes show, whether from rural or urban areas, and across race and culture, students reported that teachers, parents and elders were reluctant to discuss gender and sexuality, and in particular non-heteronormative gender and sexuality (Francis, 2017; Mabenge, 2018; Nadar & van Klinken, 2018). It is thus unsurprising that whilst most students entering WGS2 were curious about gender, sexuality and related issues and were keen to explore these in more depth, they were generally unaware of the complexities of gender, sex and sexuality, and had never thought to question these categories. The pedagogical materials presented to students offered new ways of thinking about these issues as well as opportunities to write about them. For example, as Lihle went on to say in her reflective essay:

Entering this module I only knew that there is a male and a female nothing beyond that, thus I was limited to biological explanation. ... I never knew that there was a difference between gender and sex before I took this module. ... I had never challenged myself into questioning things and how they became how they are. (Lihle, RE17)

Echoing Lihle’s reflection, Sikelelwa in her reflective essay described how little she knew about the complexities of gender, sex and sexuality on starting WGS2:

Before I took this module I had little knowledge about gays and lesbians and what sexuality meant to them. Moreover gender was just based on being female and male and to me everyone identified with the two groups and there was no other form of gender. I knew nothing about intersexuality. I believed that every man was masculine and every woman was feminine and that masculinity and femininity were just concepts that outlined the difference in female and male behavior. I never really questioned any form of gender stereotype, such as women are meant to be seen and not heard and that man are not meant to cry and that they are bad at showing feelings, I did not even know those were stereotypes. I never questioned how these gender norms came about and what impact they have on both females and male. (Sikelelwa, RE16)

Lihle and Sikelelwa demonstrate typical starting points for many students entering WGS2 in the years of this study, even those who self-identified as queer and/or gender non-binary such as Onkarabile, Abigail, Neil, Umair, Saarah and Zayan. Whilst keen and excited to delve into gender-related issues, which for some were issues of struggling to survive in hostile environments (McCarthy, 2020), they were also largely, and unsurprisingly given the cultural contexts described above, unaware of complexities around gender, sex and sexuality.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on data gathered through a range of pedagogical tools in WGS2 from 2016 to 2018 including discussion forums, blogs, anonymous quizzes, tasks and presentations, and reflective essays. Each of these tools created space for students to foreground their own lives and lived experiences and take these seriously. In connection with feminist theory, students were encouraged to think differently about their lives, and then write about these shifts in thinking.

Viewed through the lens of participatory parity, and in particular Fraser's two-dimensional understanding of gender as encompassing both culture and economy, students' narratives show that despite a progressive Constitution and nearly three decades of efforts towards gender justice, intersectional gendered misrecognition is persistent and widespread across South Africa. Students' reflections show that gendered identities remain unequal, with boys' cultural and economic privileges existing alongside the simultaneous stereotyping, marginalisation, exploitation and oppression of girls. Supporting much research, the data show that where there is change, it is slow to come about. While there are some shifts in families and homes, at the broader level of community, culture and religion much stays the same in terms of entrenched heteronormative gender and sexual roles and behaviours. Further, again supporting much literature, students show that questioning or disrupting these norms can be risky and even life threatening.

It is therefore unsurprising that students perpetuate gender and sexual misrecognition on campus, and that most students entering the foundational WGS module have little understanding of the complexities of gender, sex and sexuality. The next data analysis chapter turns an eye onto the WGS pedagogies. With a particular focus on mis/representation and mis/recognition, the chapter explores what these lenses can contribute to deepening understandings of feminist pedagogies.

CHAPTER 7: EXPLORING AND EVALUATING FEMINIST PEDAGOGIES THROUGH THE LENS OF PARTICIPATORY PARITY

As the previous two data analysis chapters have demonstrated, thinking with the theory of participatory parity, and in particular the economic and cultural dimensions, allowed detailed and nuanced insights into injustices in students' everyday lives. Chapter 5 analysed students' photovoice submissions through the lens of mal/distribution. Doing so exposed the stark realities of a range of socio-economic constraints and challenges facing students and their families as well as some of the ways in which students had worked to overcome these material challenges, often by having to 'make do' with imperfect solutions. Chapter 6 used the lens of mis/recognition. Drawing primarily on students' blogs, discussion forum posts, reflective essays and anonymous quizzes, the chapter showed how students' home lives, schools and communities remain overwhelmingly shaped by conservative cultural, traditional and religious norms which determine 'appropriate' gender and sexual roles and behaviours. In addition to teasing out complexities around maldistribution and misrecognition, these two chapters highlighted ways in which the dimensions of participatory parity are entangled and reinforce one another.

This chapter now focuses on the WGS pedagogical strategies and tools that elicited this information about students' experiences and prior knowledges. The chapter explores ways in which thinking with participatory parity can deepen understandings of feminist and other justice pedagogies, and what this might mean for approaching and rethinking feminist pedagogies for social change. The chapter incorporates data from both modules. As discussed in the Methodology chapter, the data comprise both data as 'product' (that is, students' submissions by way of anonymous quizzes, online worksheets, discussion forums, blog posts, photovoice submissions, reflective essays, module evaluations) and as 'process' (that is, my observations of and engagements within lectures and tutorials and with students). I have drawn on focus groups and interviews as supplementary data. The primary theoretical lenses were Fraser's explication of political and cultural in/justices as these dimensions of participatory parity came through most strongly in the data.

Using the lens of participatory parity as a theory to think with the data and the data with the theory (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, 2013), four themes²³ emerged. They are ordered in a way that loosely follows the structure of the modules. The first theme explores how the modules started with,

²³ I recognise that post-qualitative researchers tend to reject themes for being part of an essentialising, humanistic approach which seeks coherence, order and stability over complexity and entanglements (Jackson, 2013). Nevertheless, I found themes useful for organising and presenting my argument.

centred on and consistently drew on students' everyday and taken-for-granted prior knowledges and experiences, in this way opening possibilities for promoting recognition and representation. The second focuses on how the modules fostered dialogue and debate amongst differently positioned peers and with the teaching team, contributing to representation amongst an often-disenfranchised group. The third theme discusses ways in which the modules called attention to, and called into question, entrenched unjust prior knowledges, that is, aspects of misrecognition, misrepresentation and maldistribution, thereby opening possibilities for fostering more socially just ways of knowing and being. The fourth theme centres on students' reports of their changing practices, in other words, the ways in which they were doing things differently, or seeing their 'doings' differently. Students provided insights into their growing sense of agency and emerging scholarly identity, and described moments in which they had disrupted and/or acted against unjust gender/sexual norms, on and off campus. As I discuss in this final theme, the framework of participatory parity is not readily applicable to individualised, subjective notions of agency and scholarly identity as Fraser's sole focus is that of illuminating systemic injustices. This final theme thus highlights a limitation of the theory in understanding and advancing pedagogies for social justice.

At the start of Chapter 6, I provided a brief review of cultural (mis)recognition; this chapter includes a synopsis of the political dimension before presenting the four themes.

The political dimension: misrepresentation and mis/framing

Fraser's (2008, 2009) third dimension, the political, is concerned with issues of citizenship, representation and political voice. The political dimension "furnishes the stage on which struggles over distribution and recognition are played out" (Fraser, 2009, p. 17). It determines who belongs and who counts as a member: "who is included in, and who is excluded from, the circle of those entitled to a just distribution and reciprocal recognition" (Fraser, 2009, p. 17).

Fraser describes two levels of political injustice: misrepresentation and misframing. At the first-order level, "representation has the straightforward sense of political voice and democratic accountability" (Fraser, 2009, p. 147), and misrepresentation denies people "the chance to participate fully, as peers" (Fraser, 2009, p. 19) with those already included within a bounded frame or given political community. Students would lack representational parity when denied a political voice and the ability to influence decisions which affect them in HE spaces. The second-order level relates to boundary setting and the related injustice is misframing. To be misframed is to be situated outside the bounds of justice and thus excluded from considerations of first-order claims against

maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation. Misframing therefore has far-reaching effects as those excluded cannot make claims for justice in any of the three dimensions. Those who suffer misframing effectively “become non-persons with respect to justice” and suffer “a kind of political death” (Fraser, 2009, p. 20).

A more affirmative approach to representation would shift boundaries, promoting equality of voice and inclusion, for example, by shifting hierarchies between lecturers and students. A more transformative approach would work towards disrupting the ‘who’ of justice so that all those affected by or subjected to injustice are understood as having moral standing as subjects of justice (Fraser, 2009). In HE this might be through disrupting institutional boundaries which exclude poor and working-class students from HE. With this third dimension, Fraser (2009, p. 165) again emphasises that whilst each of the dimensions is distinct, they are interimbricated and “stand in relations of mutual entwinement and reciprocal influence”. As she puts it: “Representation is always already inherent in all claims for redistribution and recognition” and therefore overcoming injustice requires “integrat[ing] struggles against maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation” (Fraser, 2009, p. 21).

Theme 1. Promoting recognition and representation: foregrounding students’ knowledges



The first theme explores ways in which the two WGS modules foregrounded students’ prior knowledges. As the previous data analysis chapters have shown, both WGS modules consistently elicited from students a range of prior and experiential knowledges. Whilst these chapters primarily demonstrated what students said about social injustices, students consistently spoke and wrote about all aspects of their lives. They discussed families, friends, home lives and pets, popular culture and sport, everyday joys and challenges, and hopes and aspirations for the future. In other words, ordinary, everyday, even mundane aspects of students’ lives, their experiences and taken-for-granted knowledges were brought into pedagogical spaces.

Pedagogies which centre and draw on students’ prior knowledges and experiences would align with Fraser’s (2008, 2013, Fraser & Honneth, 2003) notion of recognition if the pedagogies were to take a ‘status model’ approach. That is, rather than being about personal or individual affirmation or denigration, the pedagogies would focus on group hierarchies and differences, and foreground social, cultural and historical contexts, in working towards students being able to participate on a par with others in academic spaces. Further, prior knowledges and experiences

would not simply be accepted as given but would be shared amongst peers and opened up for discussion and debate in relation to critical intersectional feminist theory and research (Caporale-Bizzini et al., 2009; Liinason, 2009; Naskali & Keskitalo-Foley, 2019). Drawing on students' own lives would align with representation (Fraser 2009, 2013) if doing so was a means of including students as peers in academic spaces by offering platforms which allow them a democratic voice and say in matters concerning them (Lockett & Naicker, 2016).

Foregrounding students' beliefs, assumptions, knowledges, experiences and so on aligns with feminist and socially just pedagogies in resisting the 'banking' model of education. This approach encourages students to be part of teaching and learning processes (Freire, 2005; hooks, 1994) and emphasises "situated knowledges" (Haraway, 1988) as a way of disrupting binaries – for example, between student and lecturer, and knowing and being. In feminist traditions, drawing on personal experience has long been seen as key to challenging Cartesian hierarchies, masculinised colonial divides as well as disciplinary and knowledge divides. As an example, feminist scholars problematise the separation between the arts and the sciences, and question what counts as and is valued as knowledge (Bozalek, Zembylas & Shefer, 2018; Haraway, 1988; Mackinlay, 2016; Motta & Bennett, 2018).

Whilst the pedagogical tools in WGS2 and WGS3 offered different possibilities and opportunities for foregrounding students' knowledges and experiences, and their use shifted from year to year, this approach was central to both modules. For example, in the first week of lectures, both modules sought to position students as already 'possessors of knowledge' as a starting point for their learning. In WGS2 this took the form of a discussion in lectures around prior knowledges and why they are important to learning (see *Figure 30*). Similarly, in WGS3 students were asked

PRIOR KNOWLEDGES
(what we already know)
Shapes **what** and **how** a person is able to learn
Shapes **what** and **how** teachers should facilitate learning

So teachers need to know what prior knowledges students bring to their classes in order to facilitate learning

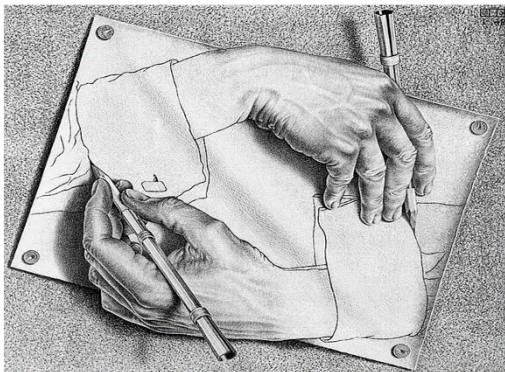


Figure 30. Lecture slide from the first week of WGS2.

about the kinds of informal research they might already have undertaken, for example, through online forums and amongst family and friends. This helped them to see themselves as already having some knowledge of research, and thus better able to envisage themselves in the role of academic researcher during the module.

To explore in depth how prior and everyday knowledges were used, this theme looks firstly at the blogs which invited students to introduce themselves to their classmates, and then at ways in which prior knowledges were foregrounded on an ongoing basis using quizzes and lectures.

Introducing oneself to the class through blogging

At the start of WGS2 and WGS3 students were encouraged to introduce themselves to their peers and the teaching team in various ways including via blogs, discussion forums and small group tutorials. Each of these strategies provided a means for students to bring themselves more informally into academic spaces and get to know their peers, as well as eliciting prior knowledges as a starting point for the formal curriculum. In 2017, WGS2 students were invited to introduce themselves to the class using blogs and to describe their hopes and aspirations for the year ahead. In line with the module's aim to offer choices with regard to submission tasks, the blog was not compulsory but rather one way to gather coursework marks. About three quarters of the class, over 60 students, made use of this opportunity and in doing so shared a range of personal information about their ordinary and everyday lives.

A starting point for many students was where they had grown up and aspects of their everyday home lives. They described coming from small communities, villages and rural areas; townships, towns and cities; and from other countries in Africa and beyond:

I was born in the Eastern Cape, Mthatha. I am originally from the village of kwaJingqi kuCentance. I was bred in the Western Cape, Cape Town. (Noluthando, B17)

I grew up in a fairly small community called Lebowakgomo in Polokwane, Limpopo. (Pretty, B17)

I am an international student from South Korea. ... I came to South Africa to learn English in 2010. (Yunglee, B17)

Students referred to a range of cultural and religious contexts, and touched on many aspects of family life, including their family pets, for example:

I come from a large extended family with many cousins ... in walking distance from each other so we're always together. My family and I are animal people, we have a dog, two cats, 7 chickens and a tortoise. (Neil, B17)

Hello everyone so I am ... the small, petite, big eyed Muslim Indian Girl. (Nazia, B17)

I'm a proud Xhosa girl. (Nandipha, B17)

I am a born again christian, I love God. (Anathi, B17)

As these quotes start to show, eliciting information such as this served to 'break the ice' and allowed students a chance to have fun by sharing something of their everyday lives. Further, students' narratives highlighted some of the socioeconomic and cultural factors at play in the classroom including a range of family, class, cultural, religious and language backgrounds. This allowed lecturers insights into challenges that students face and the diversity of knowledges and experiences in the room. In addition to providing insights into similarities and differences in students' lives (for students and lecturers), the blogs provided a space for students to have a say about things that matter to them, and through this a teaching and learning community could start to be built.

While many students offered information about geographic origins, religion, culture and family, students commonly used the introductory blogs to share things they loved, which excited them and gave them joy such clothes, poetry, their children, community involvement, and a range of other interests, hobbies and activities. Others chose to share more personal aspects such as their personalities, their appearance and the ways they imagined others perceived them, their attitudes to life and hopes and aspirations for the future – in other words, the things they believed 'make me who I am':

I enjoy ... being involved in making my community a safer and better place (neighbourhood watch every night with my dad lol). (Nazia, B17)

I'm an introvert ... I'm a writer, I just love to write "dark poems" and I love to read and know about paranormal activities. (Sinthle, B17)

I'm a hustler, I don't like giving up quickly. (Anathi, B17)

I love making new friends though I'm quite shy. ... I don't love cooking, I love cleaning and I am a good singer. (Anna, B17)

I wear make-up from time-to-time to cover my blemishes and my hair is long and in a bun. I keep well-groomed. (Garth, B17)

I'm an open minded, free spirited individual who embraces diversity in all its forms. (Zayan, B17)

As these blog extracts show, from early in the module students chose to publicly share some of the extra-curricular things they enjoyed and valued, as well as their more hidden traits, preferences and motivations, many of which would not normally be shared in academic spaces. Posts such as these offer insights into students' cultural backgrounds, their adherence to gender norms as well as cultural and religious practices and beliefs, and their cultural resistances, for example, Garth describing how he resists traditional masculine norms, and Zayan boldly claiming an approach open to "diversity in all its forms". This kind of information, the more hidden aspects of students' attitudes and daily lives, is an important but often neglected starting point for curricula and pedagogy design (Clowes, 2015a, 2018; Mbembe, 2015, 2016; Rink et al., 2020; Shefer et al., 2017). The blogs therefore offered a way for students to feel included in the module, that they belonged, had a platform to raise their voice, and that this voice had value. In these ways the blogs contributed to recognition and representation.

In addition to sharing more positive aspects of their lives, the second-year students used the blogs to describe things they experienced as challenging. They drew attention to a wide range of domestic duties and obligations impacting on their lives as students. They outlined ways in which they juggled domestic commitments with breadwinning responsibilities and caregiving duties, and disclosed their goals and ambitions as well as the pressures they put on themselves to succeed:

There is no one working at home, we are only depending on the child support grant. I am the only person who passed grade 12, my older siblings dropped at school and others are still at primary. (Anathi, B17)

I am a proud mother to a beautiful 4-year-old girl. ... Being a single mom and a young one at that is hard but having goals and ambitions makes it all easy. (Nandi, B17)

I am currently working two, very different, jobs simultaneously: a retail job at Nixon Canal Walk and a more relaxed job as a bartender. (Robyn, B17)

I am currently working [full time] in the Public Library. (Olisa, B17)

I am an aspiring Political Analyst/Politician. ... I would like to do really well in all my modules [this year] and push myself harder than I did last year. (Nazia, B17)

As these quotes illustrate, many important aspects of a student's life, which ostensibly have little to do with being a student, do of course have a profound impact on their time and energy as well as their hopes and aspirations for the future. Students' narratives provide insights into some of the nuances of what it means to grow up black and poor / working class in South Africa, and how this might impact on their studies. Anathi, for example, explains that no-one in her household is employed and that she was the sole child to reach matric; Nandi was a young mother, not unusual amongst UWC students; and Olisa, a mature student, was employed full time whilst pursuing her degree (again, not unusual amongst UWC students).

The blog tool, considered as a strategy for social justice, had some success in fostering participatory parity. Within the first few weeks of WGS2 in 2017, the blogging task had created space for a significant number of students – over three quarters of the class – to share something of their lives. Students raised issues often side-lined in pedagogical spaces, and these were issues chosen by students as significant and worth sharing with their peers and lecturers. A similar role was played by the discussion forums in other years that the module was run. Both tools offered a means for showing students that their experiences, their knowledges and their voices mattered in this academic space. These tools thus fostered recognition by valuing and drawing on students' lives and experiences. They fostered representation by providing spaces in which students' voices mattered and which gave them opportunities to shape the module by bringing aspects of their lives into academic spaces.

In both cases these provided an affirmative response to injustice. Misrecognition was ameliorated amongst a traditionally marginalised group by including their knowledges in the curriculum, and representation was – potentially – boosted by this more inclusive approach. It is possible that an approach which purposefully draws on students' knowledges could move towards a more transformative form of recognition. For example, including situated and embodied knowledges could contribute to revising the formal curriculum and disturbing traditional binaries of student/lecturer and knowing/being (Haraway, 1998). However, to be truly transformative this approach would need to be extensively applied across subjects, disciplines and institutions, and, as Ratele (2018), Mbembe (2016), Heleta (2016) and others have pointed out, the postcolonial academy is deeply resistant to change.

Ongoing elicitation of students' experiences using quizzes and lectures

Whilst the blogging tool elicited a range of prior knowledges early in WGS2, several tools were used throughout the module to centre and draw on students' prior knowledges. This section examines the use of anonymous quizzes and accompanying lectures in this ongoing process.

Used each year of the study, weekly voluntary quizzes elicited prior knowledges by asking students questions about their experiences of the subject matter to be covered in lectures. Students' responses formed the starting point and key focus of the ensuing lecture. As an example, a topic covered in the early weeks of the module was the hidden curriculum²⁴ and gender socialisation at school. The focus on schooling was associated with two texts, both of which considered gendered experiences in American schools in the 1990s (e.g., Lorber, 1994; Martin, 1998). The quiz asked students to reflect on their experiences of early schooling; differences in how boys and girls were expected to behave in relation to games, sports, chores and clothes; what boys could do that girls were not allowed to do, and vice versa. Students were asked whether they had ever been in trouble for doing something that the opposite gender was supposed or allowed to do, what the consequences were, and what had stopped them from transgressing if they had not broken gender rules. Each year about a third to half the class shared their experiences.

Students' responses were gathered via Google Forms before the lecture and underwent rudimentary analysis which was then shared in class. The lecture on processes of gender socialisation in schools began with this analysis of students' experiences – as illustrated in *Figures 31 to 33*.

²⁴ The hidden curriculum (Giroux, 1978; Martin, 1998) refers to the covert teaching of rules, values and beliefs in institutions such as schools and families which “[mould] students from the outside in on the presumption that to shape the body is to shape the mind” (Martin, 1998, pp. 495–496).

WHAT KINDS OF DIFFERENCES? (2018)	
Girls	Boys
Barbie dolls and play dress up	Spiderman & action figures
Played netball and hopscotch.	Played: ball / rugby / soccer
No sports!	
Not allowed to play with boys / boys sports	
Clean the classroom	Moved furniture in classroom
School dress / skirt even in winter; long dress; hair neat	Trousers & shorts
Had to be	Allowed to:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clean • Proper • Calm • Polite • Speak only when spoken to • Not be a hooligan! 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Play in mud • Be loud and noisy • Get dirty • Spit & swear • run around / be all over the place • Be rough

Figure 31. Lecture slide from the 2018 WGS2 class detailing what students said about their gendered experiences in schools.

WHAT WERE THE MAIN DIFFERENCES? (2018)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls had to play with girlish things (Barbie dolls and play dress up) and boys with boyish things (Spiderman action figures and ball) • Girls could play netball and boys could not Boys could play rugby and soccer and girls could not • Boys generally played rougher sports than girls and girls were viewed as odd if they joined those activities • As boys we could play in mud and be dirty but girls were to always be clean and proper • Boys could express themselves in whatever manner they like, they could run around, make noise, get dirty and just be all over the place whereas girls had to be calm, polite, quiet and clean. • girls could not spit nor swear • Girls were never allowed to play sports.

Figure 32. Lecture slide from the 2018 WGS2 class highlighting the main differences between rules for boys and girls in schools.

Slides such as these provoked discussion and debate in class. Students were very interested in each other's experiences and sought clarity, or to elaborate on and/or disagree with what had been said. Some of those who had not completed the quiz chose to share their experiences in class, wanting their experiences recognised. Data were used to compare and contrast responses across different years (*Figure 33*), provoking discussions about what was common and different – not just within one class but in students' experiences over time. These discussions, which foregrounded the diversity of and commonalities in students' lived experiences, were connected to the readings prescribed for that week. In this way, students' lived realities were the lens through which theory could be approached and (re)considered.

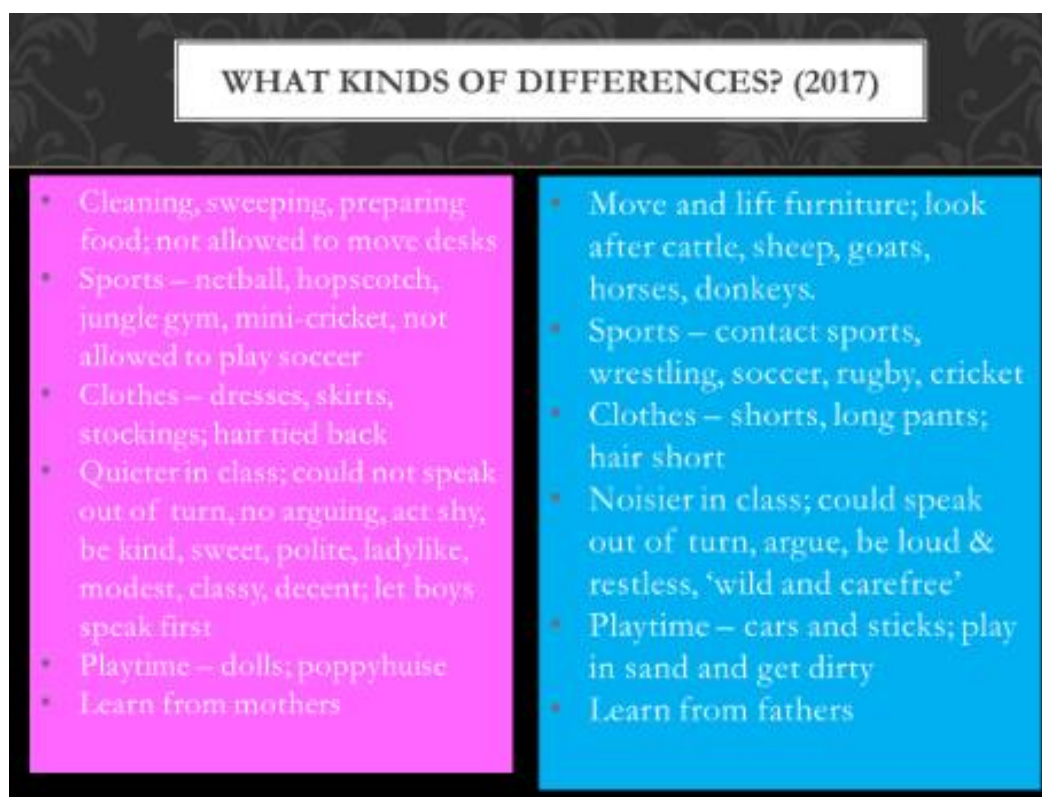


Figure 33. Lecture slide from the 2018 WGS2 class showing students' responses in 2017.

The data from the quizzes also offered insights into ways in which students had transgressed gendered school rules and regulations (see *Figure 34*). Unsurprisingly, more than half of those who completed the quiz had got into trouble for actively or unwittingly transgressing 'appropriate' gender rules. There was a range of consequences including "a punishment of cleaning the toilets"; being "scolded", "reprimanded", "shouted at" and "told ... to voetsek [go away]"; and a female student was stripped of her prefect role for hitting a boy:

He thought it was okay to just swear and randomly hit me because he was a boy, i hit him back ... He then punched me so hard that my nose started bleeding, i then punched him and took my chair and hit him over the head ... I immediately got stripped from my prefect duties and badge and got detention but he got nothing. (Anon., Q18)

SOME RISKS OF CHALLENGING DOMINANT UNDERSTANDINGS OF GENDER...

- I played netball with the girls and when the netball coach came she scolded me and told me to voetsek.
- I once wore a trouser which we were not allowed to wear as girls - I got a punishment of cleaning the toilets.
- In my high school class, as we were entering this boy was standing behind the door and whenever someone would walk in he would push the door in their face so when i walked in he pushed it towards but since i saw it coming i pushed it back and it hit him on his face. Long story short I got detention and he did not.
- I played hopscotch and was told to not do it again as it was only for girls.
- I liked to play "snake control" (ball game) with boys but teachers would reprimand me and shout, would be told not to play with boys anymore.
- I remember getting into a physical fight with a boy in my grade 7 year, he thought it was okay to just swear and randomly hit me because he was a boy, i hit him back and he felt like a idiot because i hit him back. He then punched me so hard that my nose started bleeding, i then punched him and took my chair and hit him over the head.. it resulted him to get a blue shiny eye i immediately got stripped from my prefect duties and badge and got detention but he got nothing because it looked like i was the one at fault. I felt it was right to stand up for myself.

Figure 34. Students from the 2018 cohort describe how they had transgressed gender rules, and the consequences.

Responses such as this showed students that although both boys and girls broke gender norms and were punished for doing so, the rules were different for boys and girls. Whilst girls were more severely punished, boys' wild behaviour was seen as normal, natural and inevitable; the kind of 'boys will be boys' attitude discussed in Chapter 6.

This surfacing of commonalities and differences across the class allowed students to get a sense of how their experiences of control, chastisement and punishment were not simply "personal problems of isolated individuals" (Fraser et. al., 2004, p. 378) but part of the hidden curriculum (Giroux, 1978; Hernández et al., 2013) designed to enforce heterosexual cisgender norms in schools, and which play out in universities (Boonzaier & Mhkize, 2018; Kessi, et al., 2016; Munyuki et al., 2018; Robertson & Pattman, 2018; Shefer, 2018a; van der Westhuizen, 2018). The quiz tool and

associated lectures therefore worked to draw attention to structural and systemic misrecognition, that is, misrecognition as a status injury.

Students' responses also drew attention to the ways in which this hidden knowledge of 'appropriate' gender was already deeply embedded by an early age. As a student in the 2018 class observed, "I *just knew* certain things were not meant for females" (emphasis added; see *Figure 35*), whilst another in 2017 said: "It was like a rule that we had to live by, a 'rule' that was embedded in my brain. You're a girl, you do what a girl does."

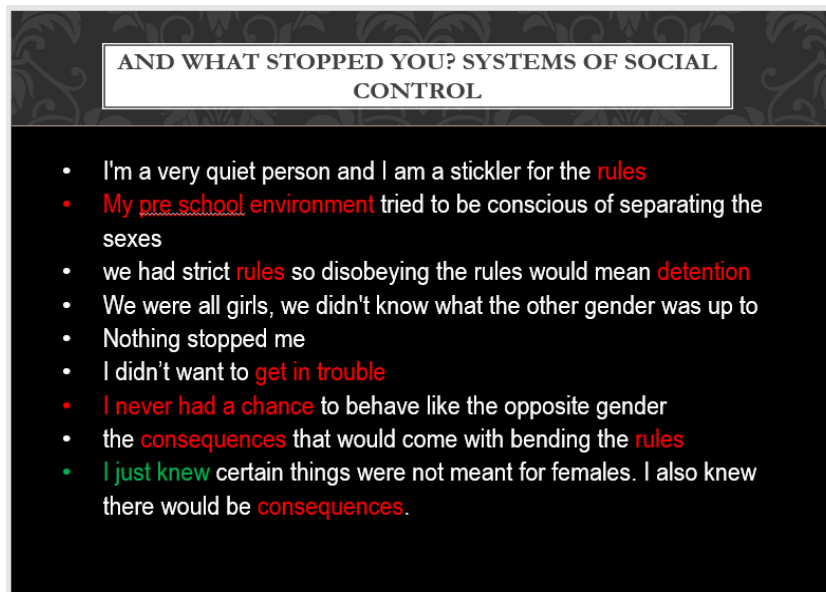


Figure 35. Lecture slide from 2018 reporting what students said about systems of social control.

Responses such as these were echoed across the years (see *Figure 36*), and when shared in class, provoked further interesting conversations about gendered stereotyping, shaming, criticism, ridicule, disapproval and other everyday forms of misrecognition with which all students could identify.

I didn't break the gender rules (in 2016) because

- ▶ “The **fear** of getting reprimanded or a hiding from the authority figure which was the teacher”
- ▶ “It never even crossed my mind to question things at that stage of my life. That's just how things were.”
- ▶ “The thought of **getting in trouble** and getting detention.”
- ▶ “When I was young, I was very submissive and obeyed authority because **I was afraid** of being in trouble.
- ▶ “The rules of the school.”
- ▶ “**I was too afraid** because I knew what the repercussions would be, I didn't want to be in trouble”
- ▶ “I always avoided doing things that would bring me **unnecessary attention.**”

28

Figure 36. Lecture slide from 2016 reporting what students said about systems of social control.

Foregrounding students' experiences in these ways enabled students to become aware of how they had been gendered by schooling, with certain roles and behaviours seen as appropriate for girls and others for boys. They learnt, from each other's experiences and theory (e.g., Mayeza, 2017; Msibi, 2012), about ways in which they self-policed to avoid censure. Students could start to develop insights into ways in which social identities such as gender are not natural and inevitable but rather constructed, performed and strictly policed, by authorities and themselves. Rather than being voyeuristic (see Bozalek, 2004), drawing on students' narratives of misrecognition in lectures allowed students' experiences of injustice to be acknowledged and affirmed, and served to sensitise them to others' misrecognition and the roles they might have played in misrecognising others.

Students were also interested in and excited about pursuing further discussions; the pedagogies had generated enthusiasm for the topic precisely by approaching it through the lens of students' lives. As Shefer (2021) points out, well over 20 years ago bell hooks called for this kind of transgressive teaching in HE. Such teaching facilitates enjoyment and fun, subverts the authority of the teacher, and can “co-exist with and even stimulate serious intellectual and/or academic engagement” (hooks, 1994, p. 7). A similar approach is advocated by Griffiths (2012, p. 669, emphasis in original) who concludes that “social justice [is] better served when joy and justice *in*, as well as *from* education are better established”, for students and teachers alike.

The quiz data and sharing personal aspects of gender socialisation across the class worked in tandem with the readings. On the one hand, students were considering theory from the perspective

of their own lives; on the other, the theory was further validating the inequalities that, as the class discussions showed, served to misrecognise students. Following Fraser (2013), students could start to see the ways in which their experiences of belittling, marginalisation, subordination and even violence were not simply personal but social and systemic. This promoted the possibility that students could develop an understanding of injustice as Fraser understands it, misrecognition as embedded in social relations, as status subordination. As Fraser says, “individual problems become matters of justice ... when they cumulate into a pattern that can be traced to a systemic cause” (Fraser et. al., 2004, p. 378). Rather than locating the blame and the remedy for misrecognition at the level of the individual, as ‘nasty’ or ‘bad’ teachers, or within themselves as ‘bad’ or ‘naughty’ girls or boys, students could move towards a more structural understanding of misrecognition as embedded in social arrangements, institutions and systems of social control, thus requiring structural reforms to remedy injustices (Fraser, 2013).

The quizzes and accompanying lectures thus potentially made visible the underlying dynamics of social inequalities and injustices (Fraser, 2009, 2013; Fraser & Naples, 2004) which structure and reinforce heteronormative understandings of gender and sexuality. Pedagogies which facilitate this kind of learning can shift the way students see the world, which, scholars argue, opens possibilities for disrupting normative social practices, understandings and behaviours (see e.g., Gachago et al., 2018; Gachago et al., 2013; Keddie, 2008; Shefer, 2020, 2021). The pedagogies could therefore contribute to fostering awareness of more egalitarian approaches to gender and sexuality, in other words, a more affirmative response to misrecognition, as well as potentially fostering more transformative approaches, for example, moving beyond gender and sexual hierarchies and binaries.

Theme 2. Fostering representation: dialogue and debate across difference with peers

A second theme to emerge from the data when considered through the lens of participatory parity was ways in which the modules managed to facilitate dialogue and debate amongst differently positioned peers. Dialogue and debate align most clearly with Fraser’s political dimension, particularly what she calls “ordinary-political” or “intra-frame” representation (Fraser, 2009, p. 19). The political dimension raises questions about social belonging, inclusion and exclusion from group membership and participation, and who is able make decisions about participation and how.

Dialogue between and amongst peers and with the teaching team was encouraged by a range of pedagogical strategies, online and in class, in smaller groups and larger forums. More

formal opportunities included lectures (for example, drawing on and discussing students' quiz data in class), group tasks and presentations, student-led panel discussions of the photovoice data, and presentations at the photovoice exhibition. More informal spaces included the online discussion forums, blogs and small group tutorials. Together these provided students with various platforms to publicly share and discuss life experiences, thinking-in-progress, and test these against theory and research.

This section explores peer dialogue and debate on the online discussion forums. Used each year in WGS2 they were, despite being optional, active and productive spaces. Scholars have long argued that online forums can foster communities of enquiry and learning by allowing students to articulate and play with new ideas, allowing for misconceptions to emerge, be discussed and debated (Delahunty et al., 2014; MacFarlane, 2017; Sharif & Magrill, 2015). The use of discussion forums aligns well with feminist and socially just pedagogical approaches. Forums offer opportunities for fostering community and collaborative learning, can decentre teachers, democratise classrooms, and foster shared responsibility and authority. Further, their use circumvents positioning learners as 'empty vessels', instead allowing different ways of knowing and being to emerge. This can in turn foster empathy, respect, critical thinking, and an expanded awareness of complexities and the multiplicity of truths (Almansori, 2020; Freire, 2005; hooks, 1994; Webb et al., 2002; Welch, 2006).

Dialoguing with peers on the discussion forums

Three examples of discussion forum threads provide insights into typical conversations on the WGS2 forums over the years. In the first, in 2017, a student asked: "What does one need to have to be called a true African?" (See *Figure 37*).

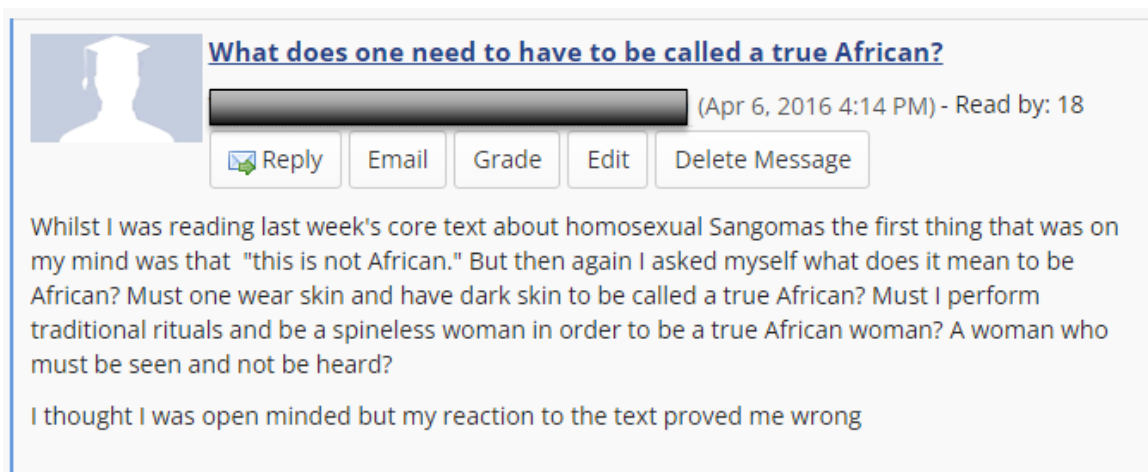


Figure 37. Discussion forum post on being a 'true African', 2017.

This question generated much discussion amongst students as they grappled with complexities about nationality, culture, race, gender, sexuality and religion. In the 10 responses from students, some were more reflective, some probing, others were affirmative and supportive, whilst others disagreed and/or offered counterarguments. Students' responses were not necessarily 'correct' nor 'good'; some of the ideas about race and nationality were discriminatory, exclusionary and essentialist. However, others drew attention to complexity and diversity, showing more nuanced understandings of identities as socially, contextually and historically constructed. For example, whilst one student offered an essentialising understanding of race and nationality that distinguished between black and brown Africans, another drew attention to misrecognition as embedded in and perpetuated by colonialism, imperialism and apartheid.

In a second example, students in 2016 discussed the pros and cons of gender-segregated toilets (see *Figure 38*). Building on discussions started in class and prompted by her own experience, Shakufa asked whether segregated bathrooms were "a good or bad thing?"

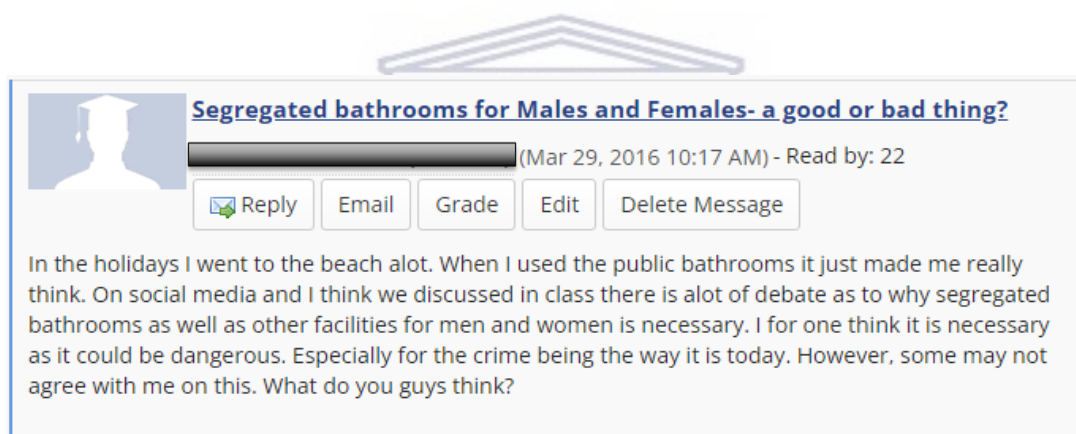


Figure 38. Discussion forum post on segregated bathrooms, 2016.

In the 15 responses by students, some argued that segregated toilets are necessary for women's and children's comfort and safety and are part of cultural norms, whilst others saw segregated toilets as unnecessary and/or promoting discrimination, marginalisation and exclusion. To support their stance, students described their own experiences, culture and traditions, fears about sexual harassment and gender-based violence, and cited module theory disrupting binary gender categories. Some posts were more emphatic, some more reflective. Although not all posts were direct responses to what others had written, many of the posts engaged with, agreed or disagreed with their peers' inputs.

In a third example, students grappled with the topic of intersex. In addition to foundational readings (Fausto-Sterling, 1993, 2000; West & Zimmerman, 1987) and recent articles (e.g., Camporesi, 2017), students were shown a documentary in which intersex people shared stories of genital surgeries and hormone treatments (Lahood, 2012). Together these resources drew attention to complexities about sex and gender. Each year students highlighted learning about intersex as revelatory. Many had either never heard of intersex or had partial, sketchy information. The forums thus provided space for students to grapple with the sometimes surprising, challenging and/or disruptive ideas emerging in the module.

One such conversation thread was initiated with a post titled “Intersex in our African Communities” (see *Figure 39*). In this post Yawa reflected on “the sudden change of treatment [of] our old family friend”. At the time, Yawa’s grandmother had explained that the person “was *Italasi*, an insulting word used to describe an intersex person”. Looking back, armed with new theory, Yawa said she felt “shocked” and “disturbed” by this unjust treatment of someone “born with something that they could not change”. Yawa ended her post wishing for the right language and the courage to share this new understanding of injustice with her family. There were several responses to Yawa’s post, and as with most posts across the forums, these were supportive and empathetic. Students thanked her for raising the issue, sympathised with her anger and discomfort (“this story is so sad, don’t blame yourself for not knowing”, “this is so heart wrenching, I’m sorry that you had to experience this”), and offered advice (“People fear the unknown”; “sometimes people do hurtful things”).

Intesex In Our African Communities
 (Mar 20, 2017 1:33 PM) - Read by: 20
 Email Grade

Some people may find this post offensive or ignorant and I apologize for any discomfort it may cause.

I grew up in a black community in Cape Town and because we live in the city we are bound to have an open mind right!? WRONG!! The only time I got to have a little knowledge about an intersex person was when I was visiting my gran in EC and she asked us not to open for one of our family friend. As you can imagine we were surprised at the sudden change of treatment that our old family friend was getting and when we finally asked our gran what was up she told us that it has been recently became a public matter that he was *Italasi*, an insulting word used to describe an intersex person, and she did not want him to come into our house with his demons.

Well as children we so interested as to what this was and what difference did it have compared to us, a demon she said, and from that moment we all imagined it to be some kind of *tokoloshi* that a person keeps on their closet. It was only when my eldest cousin told us that *Italasi* was not some kind of a beast but it meant that a person had two genitals and that's all she could tell us.

Because it was never spoken about and we never saw our family friend visiting again I totally forgot about it. It was up until when we watched that video in class that the memory of our family friend surfaced into my mind. It was so shocking and yet disturbing to realize that we had unfairly treated an innocent person because of something they were born with, something that they could not change. If only the word used for intersex in my language was not a swearing word I would start a conversation with my parents and educate them a bit about intersexuality. I don't know why but I feel like I owe it to my family friend to educate my family about his condition and prevent further abuse..

Figure 39. Discussion forum post on intersex, 2017.

As these three examples show, for many students the forums were experienced as informal and safe spaces to dialogue and debate new theory by sharing their thoughts, opinions, experiences and reflections. Doing away with formality and the need to use 'correct' English meant that students played around with language and media; in effect, using more 'authentic' ways of engaging with one another (MacFarlane, 2017). By opening this space, one in which students could start and direct conversations and dialogue across their differences, the forums could promote cultural and political parity. They supported recognition by centring students' knowledges and promoting discussion, and could thus – potentially – align with Fraser's (Fraser & Honneth, 2003) status model approach to recognition, that is, an approach which seeks to promote interaction and integration across differences. They contributed to representation by unsettling traditional lecturer/student hierarchies and associated assumptions about who has knowledge and who can teach, and by offering spaces for traditionally more excluded voices to be heard.

Although lecturers contributed to each of the above discussions, students largely ignored them as, absorbed in conversations amongst themselves, they engaged with peers rather than relying on responses from the teaching team. Further, even when lecturers joined conversations, students seemed unconstrained by their presence and instead comfortably claimed roles of 'knowers' and 'teachers' in this academic space. Whilst some of these engagements were more didactic (in other words, some students took on more traditional hierarchical teaching roles), others were more open and dialogical. These outcomes – promoting authentic dialogue across difference, disturbing traditional hierarchies, and generating bidirectional movement of ideas – tally with MacFarlane's (2017, p. 8) suggestions for forums which can enable social justice by allowing students to "engage freely in authentic dialogue" and which enable "liberatory opportunities for students' self-expression".

For the most part, students' responses to one another on the forums were respectful even when in heated debate and disagreement, as the following snippets show:

I get your point. However i think what drives the [#NotAllMen] hashtag forward is the sense of a general consensus among men. what do i mean by that, well ... (Andi, DF17)

Lutho, I do not quite agree with your statement because I do not think that being intersex is a choice. (Andre, DF17)

Abigail, I think you getting this wrong, we not saying all men are trash but we only referring to those who commit such cruel thing (rape). (Anathi, DF17)

At the same time there were moments when students vehemently disagreed with one another. For example, in response to the launch of Beyoncé's album *Lemonade*, one student described the singer as "toxic" and racially exploitative, and her lyrics as "vulgar, ugly, manipulative and destructive" (Pretty, DF16). This received swift and strong backlash from her peers:

Slow down babe, do not go off on a black woman like that who is bringing important issues into mainstream society. ... how is it racial exploitation? Is she not black? can she not celebrate her roots? who are you to police what she should do and to speak of her like that? ... Have you questioned rappers such as Kendrick Lamar and J. Cole's exploitation of race in their last offering? Did You??? (Xoliswa, DF16)

Exactly! When black men like Kendrick rap about Black Lives Matter no one questions them instead they are applauded but when black women do it then they are doing it for the money. ... The funny thing is people have been asking to talk about black issues and now that she has people are judging her, how sway??? (Yandiswa, DF16)

As the above quotes show, feminist pedagogical spaces, whilst often construed as safe and even 'idyllic', can be intense, generating tension, challenge and conflict (see McCusker, 2017). Asking students to engage in these potentially uncomfortable activities and dialogues aligns with a 'pedagogies of discomfort' approach which requires students to step out of their comfort zones and explore and question long-held beliefs and assumptions (Boler, 2013; Zembylas, 2015). This approach, of eliciting and analysing discomfiting personal feelings with others, whilst ethically challenging, can be an important step towards broader social change (Kiguwa, 2017; Zembylas, 2015).

Considered as a socially just strategy, the forums contributed to parity in the class albeit not for all students. On the one hand, the forums contributed to parity by raising awareness of a range of 'real world' injustices. Students could see how injustices along lines of gender, race, class and sexuality were intersectional, entangled and that they reinforced one another. Politically, the forums raised awareness of issues around misrepresentation, for example, those excluded and lacking a voice and decision-making power such as transgender and intersex people. On the other hand, students were themselves, to some extent, offered greater parity. Considered from the economic dimension, the forums offered choice; students could choose to participate or not in their own time over the semester. Culturally, students' diverse knowledges, experiences and contributions were regarded as valuable and important to the module and offered space to be shared and discussed. Representation was promoted through students being given a platform to deliberate on complex issues of rights, justice, morality and ethics.

At the same time, students' conversations underscored challenges to social justice. Students struggled to move beyond essentialist, exclusionary and discriminatory ideas. In other words, some seemed unable to move beyond reifying, valorising and essentialising identities, instead promoting group separatism and "the authoritarian monologism of the politics of authenticity" (Fraser, 2000, p. 119). Students did not always listen to (or look at) what others were saying before offering their own thoughts and opinions. For some the forums might have served as 'echo chambers', that is, communities of like-minded peers engaging in conversations lacking critical discourse and a divergence of opinions (Panke & Stephens, 2018), thus bolstering rather than interrupting entrenched unjust attitudes and thinking.

Feminist scholars have long cautioned that a simple and untroubled focus on personal experience can be an essentialist, universalist and depoliticised approach (hooks, 1994; Hughes, 2002; Motta et al., 2011), collude with neoliberal agendas (Rogan & Budgeon, 2018), and, particularly in the current anti-intellectual "regime of truthiness and faux facts" (Michelson, 2020, p. 108), promote confirmation bias and increase group polarisation. Feminist and socially just pedagogies should therefore aim for a critical approach to prior knowledges and experiences, an approach which troubles simplistic 'identity model' forms of recognition as these tend to essentialise and reify identities and therefore lend themselves "all too easily to repressive forms of communitarianism, promoting conformism, intolerance and patriarchalism" (Fraser, 2000, p. 112).

Evaluating the forums

When students were asked in module evaluations about their experiences of dialoguing on the forums, a number highlighted the forums as enabling spaces, for example, by providing "a great platform" on which to be heard, speak out and engage with and learn from peers:

I think it's a great platform to express our experiences and share it with everyone and allow everyone to engage with one another. I loved the different opinions on the DF [discussion forums] and the interacting which created a good platform to raise my own views and [social] issues. (Anon., ME18)

In most tuts people [would] rather not speak but can put their opinions on the discussion forum. (Anon., ME18)

Students valued being able to read discussions even if they preferred to "lurk" (Delahunty et al., 2014) rather than actively contribute, and normally shy students who felt constrained in face-to-face interactions felt more comfortable contributing in a public forum:

I did post but I mostly observed. The opinions of others shared on the forums was really helpful. (Anon., ME18)

They are the best for people shy like me. (Anon., ME18)

Comments such as these show that the forums provided space for normally shy and quiet students – those who may seem disengaged – to speak out. In this way the forums contributed to recognitional parity, in terms of valuing all voices, and representational parity, by including all those who wanted to contribute. Valuing students’ voices and fostering inclusivity are more affirmative approaches to justice (Fraser & Honneth, 2003); nevertheless, they are an important facet of socially just pedagogies. As Fraser (Fraser, 2005; Fraser & Honneth, 2003) herself might caution though, given that these are an affirmative response to injustice, and can therefore result in unintended consequences for already marginalised students, educators must remain alert as to who is (and is not) able to participate, as well as how and why (see e.g. Ngoasheng & Gachago, 2017).

Most students who completed the evaluations between 2016 and 2018 “strongly agreed” or “agreed” that the forum discussions helped them make sense of the concepts and ideas covered in the module (illustrated in *Figure 40*). Although it is difficult to gauge the impact of the forum discussions on students’ learning, their cumulative effect over a semester of grappling with new ideas raised the potential for ideas to shift, change and open up as students collectively tested their thinking-in-progress in the context of a module focused on promoting social justice. Again, whilst forums are an affirmative approach towards justice, in being inevitably small-scale, they do have the potential to contribute towards transformative justice.

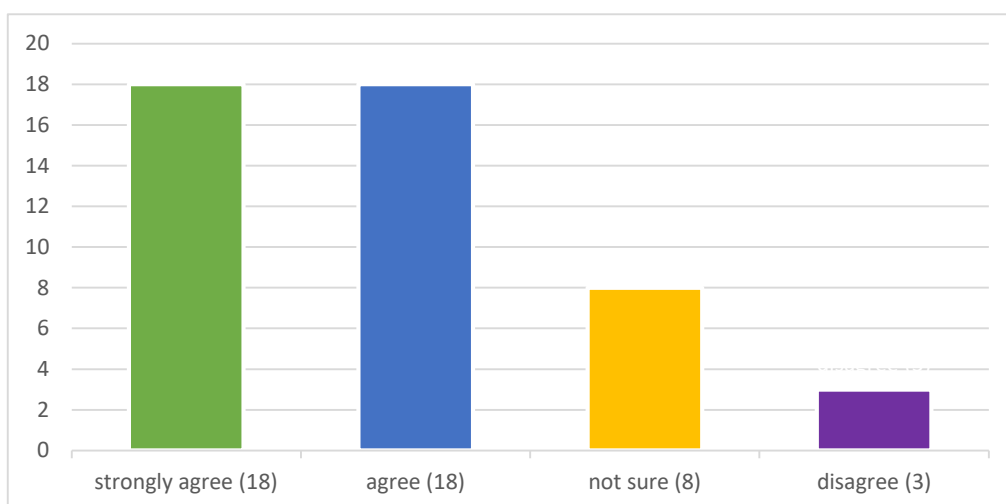


Figure 40. Responses to the prompt, “The discussion forums helped me make sense of the concepts and ideas covered in this module” (aggregated for 2016–2018).

The forums also offered pedagogical challenges. They were time consuming to manage and crafting appropriate responses (affirmative, supportive, thought provoking, challenging and so on) took time and care. Some students found the forums time consuming, overwhelming or confusing:

I didn't use the discussion forums. I did not find them helpful instead I found them confusing. ... students hardly have time to go through the comments. (Anon., ME18)

Engaging in the discussion forum was a little challenging ... I felt lost at times and like I had missed out on too much to join in on a debate. (Anon., ME16)

The forums were therefore not an unequivocal success in promoting representational parity. Whilst a pedagogy of discomfort approach sees potential value in confusion and challenge, the value may be lost if students choose to simply disengage rather than persevere.

It is worth noting that whilst the forums were occasionally used in WGS3, they generated much less interaction. This may have been due to time pressures, a common concern for final year students, or the fact that the WGS3 forums were more focused on aspects of the research process, that is, more academic and less playful than in WGS2. In both modules the forums were optional, but in WGS2 they counted a small percentage towards overall marks which may have encouraged some students to participate. It is also noteworthy that tutors were much less active than lecturers in online spaces, despite encouragements to be online and 'make students feel heard'. The success of online spaces in fostering dialogue and debate is therefore not a given; they require careful conceptualisation and planning; training may be required for the teaching team; and ongoing time and care is needed to encourage playful, generative, thoughtful, challenging interactions which could, ultimately, foster more socially just pedagogies.

Theme 3. Disrupting misrecognition and misrepresentation: unsettling and challenging unjust knowledges

In the first two themes, thinking with Fraser's cultural and political dimensions illuminated ways in which the WGS modules foregrounded prior knowledges and promoted peer dialogue and debate about these prior knowledges in relation to critical feminist theory. The third theme is intricately connected to the first two. Again, the cultural and political dimensions provided productive lenses, revealing ways in which the modules managed to interrupt, disturb, unsettle, challenge and disrupt taken-for-granted, essentialising and unjust assumptions and beliefs, as well as the challenges in doing so.

As seen in Chapter 6, most students entering WGS reported conservative cultural and religious backgrounds characterised by normative heteropatriarchal gender roles and practices. Unsurprisingly, therefore, one early taken-for-granted assumption was the expectation that WGS2 would focus on women's rights and women's issues, and "promote femininity and 'girl power' or 'woman power'" (Nausheen, B17). However, as the module progressed students were surprised to find that the focus included men and masculinities too, in other words, that gender includes men:

What surprised [me] the most was, i thought this module will focus on women only, like how they should behave and take care of themselves, but i was wrong because ... we [also] discussed ... men. (Anon., ME17)

I was under the impression we are going to just focus on woman [sic]. ... I've never heard of masculinity or patriarchy. (Chantelle, B17)

At first I thought that it was a module that focuses only on women, our rights and how society perceives us. (Rachelle, RE18)

The process of working towards unsettling and challenging take-for-granted prior knowledges, those which are simplistic, dualistic and which stereotype, marginalise and oppress others, was again approached with a range of pedagogical tools. Some were theoretical such as the readings and online worksheets, some a combination of theory and peer discussion such as the lectures and tutorials, and others more informal and student driven such as the discussion forums, blogs and quizzes. This theme explores two tools which worked to do this: the photovoice project and guest lecturers.

Revealing structural injustices through the photovoice project

Whilst the photovoice data discussed in Chapter 5 foregrounded resource-based issues impacting on students' educational journeys at UWC, WGS3 students in 2017 also shared a range of cultural and political challenges and enablements. For example, students discussed support from family, peers, peer mentors, and lecturers, ways in which sports, religious and student organisations facilitated a sense of belonging, the green spaces on campus they found restorative, and challenges associated with being a mature student with competing demands. Students thus raised issues of (mis)recognition and (mis)representation in addition to (mal)distribution.

One of the prominent cultural and political issues raised was around language. Of the 86 students in the class, 15 used their photovoice submissions to articulate challenges with English and

ways in which they had overcome these. They described struggling with the everyday English heard on campus as well as the more formal English used in academic spaces:

Unfortunately for me English is not my home language. In high school I had English as my first additional language and it became a problem when I got to university. Everything was done in a different language that I was not really accustomed to. (Xolile, PV17)

My home language is Afrikaans which made it difficult for me to engage with other students, participate in class discussions and debates. Being Afrikaans made me feel inferior because people adopted the notion that English-speaking people are smarter and has a much higher IQ. ... I froze every time I was asked a question ... students looked at me in group discussions when I did not participate verbally ... I would stumble when I had to do presentations. (Becky, PV17)

As these narratives show, students (unsurprisingly) assumed that the English they had learned and spoken at school would be adequate for university. However, as Xolile said, “everything was done in a different language”. Students experienced this ‘lack’ of English as confusing, distressing and demotivating, and it led to them feeling lost, inferior, silenced and excluded:

I felt excluded and inferior. ... This was my biggest challenge when I came to university. (Becky, PV17)

Since Afrikaans is my first language, the transition to English was a major adjustment. I found it extremely challenging and I did not do so well when it came to writing essays and reflective pieces. I would always get below 60% and I was very unhappy about my marks. (Mikki, PV17)

Like Becky, who ended up feeling inferior and unintelligent, many students’ narratives show that they perceived their ‘lack’ of academic English as a personal failing. This sense of inferiority impacted on their reading, writing and comprehension, and prevented them from speaking in academic spaces:

Coming from a coloured family, with Afrikaans as my “mother tongue”, the sudden transition from Afrikaans schools to English University was extremely difficult. I did not always understand what was expected of me and did not want to speak up during lecture classes as I was not comfortable speaking in English. ... Adapting to the university environment was one thing but adapting to another language was even more difficult and left me feeling lost and demotivated. (Paige, PV17)

Compounding the complexities around English use, multiple languages operate at UWC. Whilst formal documents are in English (but not academic English), most administrative staff speak

Afrikaans or isiXhosa, and students themselves may be from homes in which they speak Afrikaaps,²⁵ Afrikaans, different dialects of isiXhosa, another African language, or a combination of these. Students must therefore quickly adjust to successfully navigate campus spaces so that they can participate as peers in their studies. This raises the question, though, participate as peers with whom? If most students are not mother-tongue English speakers, and most have not been to well-resourced English schools, the peer with whom they are aspiring to participate as an equal is the 'ideal' and imagined student, and a colonial ideal (Mbembe, 2015, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2016).

The harms connected to language encompass all three dimensions of participatory parity and provide a good example of how injustice works to multiply compromise poor and working-class black and coloured students. In addition to language and racial misrecognition, students' narratives highlight political and economic injustices. They suffer misrepresentation by being silenced and excluded from academic conversations and therefore unable to have a voice or a say. Further, there is evidence of historical and current maldistribution. These students, all black and coloured, continue to suffer poorer schooling than their white counterparts and this has ongoing impacts as they move into HE. These narratives therefore make clear the bivalent nature of race, that is, ways in which racial injustice encompasses both misrecognition and maldistribution.

Primarily though, the narratives highlight misrecognition. Even in more informal class discussions and debates, English is the de facto medium of knowledge and the language of authority in the university (Antia & Dyers, 2016). This devalues students' home languages and marginalises and excludes students within academic spaces. As their narratives show, students tended to view their inadequate English as a personal failing. As demonstrated in Mikki's photographs (*Figure 41*), she sees a tidy and organised desk as a solution to her language problems. Rather than understanding the harm as systemic and institutional, in line with Fraser's understanding of misrecognition, some students saw themselves as inferior, less intelligent and unable to adjust. They thus often opted for silence, which affected their studies and broader university experience.

²⁵ Afrikaaps or Kaaps evolved in the 1500s in Southern Africa as settlers and colonialists from Europe and Asia encountered the Indigenous Khoi and San people. The language is associated most closely with people forcibly removed to the Cape Flats of Cape Town during apartheid and has a complex history entangled with the marginalisation and oppression of coloured and mixed-race peoples. Efforts are being made today to recognise Afrikaaps as an official South African language (see e.g., DWKaaps [DWK], n.d.; Haupt, 2021; Williams, 2016).

This understanding of the self as inadequate due to a 'lack' of academic English is a recognition issue. As Schendel (2018, p. 144) notes, "language is a powerful cultural symbol" which excludes along lines such as race and ethnicity. These inequities play out in a country in which despite 11 official languages, English remains the primary official language at most South African HEIs, and students' home languages are infrequently used in curricula (Antia & Dyers, 2016; Maseko & Vale, 2016).

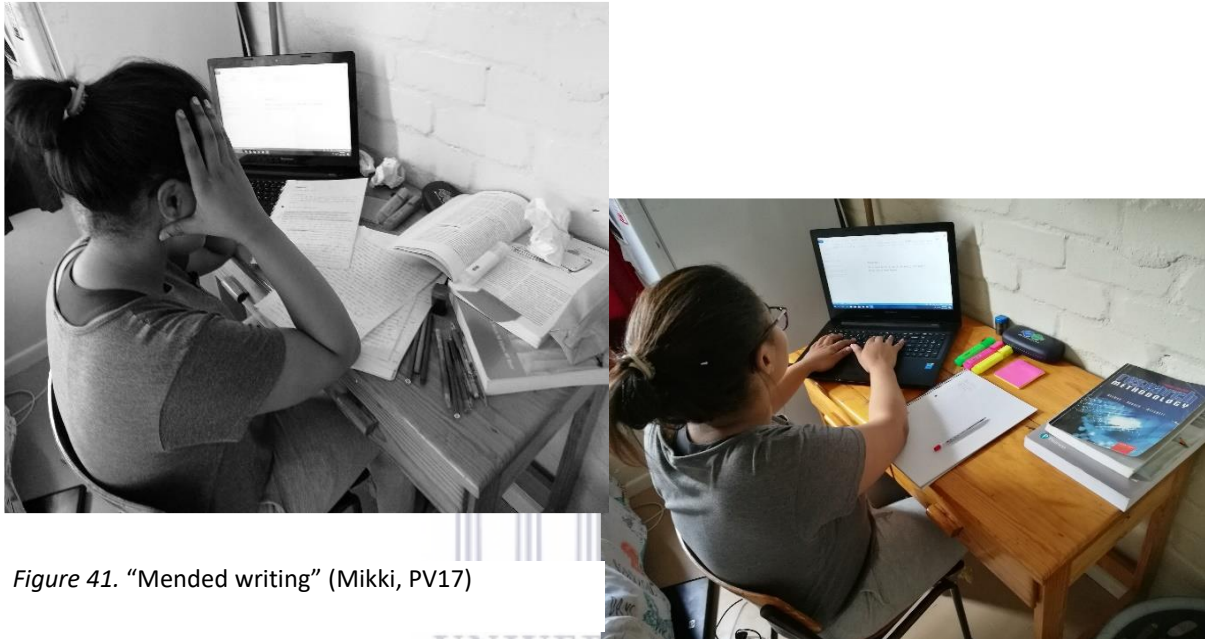


Figure 41. "Mended writing" (Mikki, PV17)

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The photovoice project created space for students to raise and discuss something they had probably not hitherto given much thought: English as the de facto language of academia. The common sense, taken-for-granted knowledge – which through being raised is opened for questioning – is that English is the language with which it is possible to 'know' in academic scholarship. By creating space for students to voice and share their challenges with language, the photovoice project allowed opportunities for students to start to see and understand their social positioning as the problem rather than themselves. In other words, they could move towards an understanding of language misrecognition as systemic and part of a larger system of language, race and class inequalities.

It is perhaps a stretch to say that the photovoice project promoted justice by fostering recognition. What it did allow was space to name the injustice, that is, students' narratives marked the taken-for-granted dominance of English as problematic. Naming injustice is important and a step towards promoting justice. As a pedagogy, though, the photovoice project itself did not shift

language use (for example, photovoice narratives were in English, albeit not academic English), although it raised awareness about structural injustices of language both within the class and through the exhibition. Additionally, the photographs can be seen as subverting traditional academic conventions by allowing a different kind of text and language to be used (Shefer, 2018b).

Disrupting heteronormative gender and sexuality through guest lecturers

As discussed in the Methodology chapter, each year the WGS modules drew on a range of guest lecturers from other universities, departments, and activist and advocacy organisations. Little has been written locally about guest lecturers as a socially just pedagogical practice; however, Carolissen et al. (2011) offer a useful reflection in the context of a module which connected students from two very differently positioned universities. Their research found that including guest lecturers from diverse disciplines offered students “a multitude of opportunities for identification, for being unsettled and for feeling affirmed” (Carolissen et al., 2011, p. 165). Drawing on bell hooks’s pedagogy of hope, they argue that whether or not students ‘liked’ the guest speakers’ sessions, they provoked valuable discussions and learning around “emotion, biographies and human connectedness” (Carolissen et al., 2011, p. 165). Further, drawing on hooks’s ideas about community “and its potential for inclusivity, reflexivity and dialogue” (Carolissen et al., 2011, p. 165), they saw boundaries between educators and learners blurring, raising questions about who teaches whom and how.

In WGS2 and WGS3, guest lecturers were brought into the modules to open spaces for hearing from and engaging with diverse experts in their fields. Different guests offered students different learning opportunities and different opportunities for identification, being unsettled and/or feeling affirmed. Two sets of guest lectures are discussed here, Patrick Godana from Sonke Gender Justice and guest lecturers from Gender Dynamix.

Sonke Gender Justice

Patrick Godana from Sonke Gender Justice (SGJ)²⁶ offered a lecture to WGS2 students each year during this study. Godana was in many ways a familiar and respected figure to students: an anti-apartheid activist and freedom fighter who had lived in exile and was later jailed on Robben Island; a husband and father; a priest. However, he is also a pro-feminist gender activist and much of

²⁶ SGJ (<https://genderjustice.org.za/>) seeks to advance gender and sexual justice and women’s rights, prevent gender-based violence, and contribute to developing democracy and reducing poverty.

his work has focused on engaging men around gender-based violence and sexual and reproductive health. In his lecture Godana modelled the importance of personal experience, drawing on his roles as minister, father and husband, ANC cadre, political prisoner, and gender activist to critically reflect on traditional gender roles in homes and religious spaces, gender-based violence, and gender and sexual in/equalities. In doing so he complicated taken-for-granted, common-sense understandings of masculinity, femininity, sexuality, culture, tradition, family, community and religion. For many students his lecture was eye-opening and inspiring. In an online worksheet reflecting on the lecture, Jolynne said:

I was completely blown away by hearing a man of God and a black man at that speak for the rights of women and the LGBTI people. (Jolynne, OW17)

Similarly, Andi explained that she, a young black woman, had no idea that there are men – and by implication African men who are husbands and fathers, and community and religious leaders – who actively work for gender equality and advocate for accepting sexual diversity:

It honestly hadn't crossed my mind that there are men out there trying to dismantle those gender inequalities ... being in the lecture yesterday and hearing and seeing a man passionate about fighting jointly with women was inspiring. The fact that Sonke Gender justice is not only welcoming heterosexual says a lot to me. (Andi, DF17)

Another young black woman, reflecting on the lecture in her final reflective essay, said it was through this lecture that she realised that women – in accepting traditional submissive roles – have to some extent given “men powers to control us”, and can thus take back some of that power:

After listening to Patrick Godana I realised that its us sometimes, women, who give these men powers to control us, because we believe that they are above us and we should be submissive to them, and we let them control us because of what we are taught by societies. (Siphokazi, RE17)

For Sbu, one of the young black men in the class, Godana's lecture was “really eye opening and life changing”. Hearing from a man who had “experienced some of the things I experienced”, who “did not let traditional gender roles define how must carry himself as a man” and who disrupted “what it means to be a [black] man”, allowed Sbu to reimagine himself in relation to his mother and sister, as a more caring and compassionate brother and son. As he said in his final reflective essay:

I [had] always seen my sister as someone that needed to be controlled and protected by me but I learnt that is not what she needs, she needs me to love her as a big brother and

listen to her. I also learnt how to be a better son to my mother because I realised I have not been a good son ... because of my behaviour and for the first time in my life I actually told my mother that I love her. As black men we take it that our mothers know we love them, we barely utter words such as I love you to the people who love us the most (Sbu, RE18)

These students' reflections show that Godana's talk was, for some, powerful; it was eye-opening and inspiring, it shifted their thinking and allowed alternative imaginaries of men, masculinities and gender equality. In highlighting ways in which heteronormative masculinities operate in recognisably African families, cultures and religions, Godana drew attention to how these masculinities systematically and systemically misrecognise women, children, sexual minorities and others, preventing them from participating as equals with men. Further, he offered students an alternate version of masculinity which is pro-feminist and non-violent, and which advocates for gender and sexual equity and diversity in all social spheres including the home and religious spaces and culture more broadly, often perceived as 'traditional' and therefore fixed and unchanging (e.g., Everitt-Penhale & Ratele, 2015; Kumalo & Gama, 2018; Ratele, 2013a, 2013b).

In some ways Godana's lecture offered what Fraser (2013) might consider a more affirmative approach to disrupting misrecognition; that is, he did not argue for dismantling social structures such as the family, gender, culture or religion, but rather advocated for inclusivity, accepting diversity and difference, and equal rights for all within these structures. As Fraser (2013) and others argue, this more affirmative politics of recognition can be a useful and necessary step towards justice and may be the best one can do in given circumstances (Lewis et al., 2013). However, Godana's lecture was also more transformative in that he did not valorise gender roles and relations as they stand, but rather sought to transform gender and sexual misrecognition in social spheres.

Gender Dynamix

Another set of guest lecturers were activists from Gender Dynamix (GDx).²⁷ They focused on a range of challenges facing non-binary, transgender and intersex people across South Africa, particularly those poor and unable to access resources such as appropriate medical care. Each year two gender, race and ethnic diverse representatives presented to the class. Like Godana they drew on personal experience and their activism. These lectures disrupted dominant understandings of sex

²⁷ Gender Dynamix (<https://www.genderdynamix.org.za/>) advocates for the rights of marginalised and vulnerable women and non-binary, transgender and intersex people.

and gender and were all the more powerful precisely because they came from those directly affected by injustice:

I did not even know what intersex people were ... These two guest lecturers ... gave me a clear vision of what it is like to be transgender. What shocked me is that the world knows so little about transgendered people. It is as if they are representatives of an invisible society that I did not know existed. (Zayan, RE18)

The importance and value of hearing people's personal stories first-hand was also foregrounded by Sbu:

Reading of the lived experiences of transgender people has been very thought building and enhancing but interacting with them has really transformed my thinking. (Sbu, OW18)

For many students the GDG lectures were unsettling, presenting significant challenges to 'common sense' and 'acceptable' knowledges, for example, beliefs about homosexuality as being 'unAfrican' (Dlamini, 2006; Francis & Msibi, 2011; Msibi, 2011; van Zyl, 2011). Others, however, felt seen and validated by authority figures who reflected their own lived realities, struggles and anxieties. In an online worksheet following the lecture, Mandla announced that he left the lecture "inspired by these strong, intelligent and unapologetic individuals ... inspired to be myself and not be bind [sic] by the barriers of society" (OW18). His final reflective essay affirmed this. He shared two contrasting pictures of himself, one in which he displayed 'appropriate' normative masculinity; the other in which he inadvertently crossed gender norms and was chastised for it (see *Figure 42*):

I posted this photograph on social media and my cousin said I look like a girl. ... What she said took me back ... There are times when I see a clothing item from the girls aisle that I like, but because I have to look like a "male" I do not buy it, [but] this jacket ... looks like it was also made for boys. It complemented my jean which I took from the boys aisle. The material is hard and heavy ... nothing made it look like a jacket for girls but only its height [length]. This outfit made me feel complete from top to bottom and I felt like a man. I was not worried about my gender until my cousin uttered that I look like a girl. (Mandla, RE18)

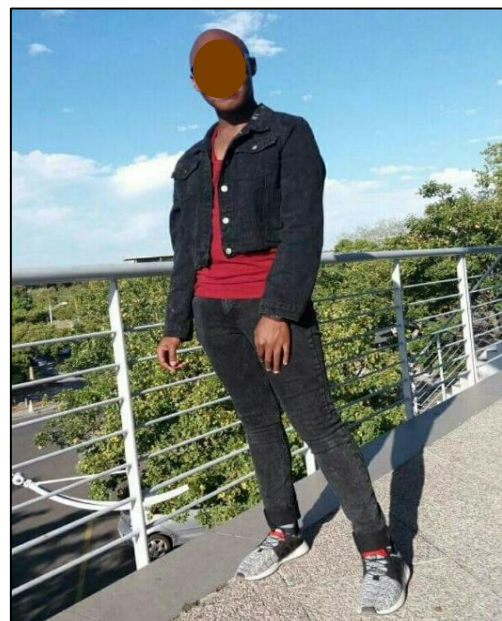


Figure 42. "Looking like a girl" (Mandla, RE18)

Mandla contrasted this with another image in which he knew he was performing 'appropriate masculinity' (Figure 43):

This photograph shows a different side of me from the previous photograph and I anticipated the respond to it. I knew that now people will see me as a "real" man and not the "moffie" or a "stabane" like the previous photograph. One of my uncles, Sonwabo, said I look very good, he cannot imagine how I will look when I come from the mountain as a man and when I have my own wife and children. I just paused for a moment because, he just made an assumption and concluded about my life based on how I look. A suit, hairstyle and the way I carry myself does not define who I am or how my future will be. (Mandla, RE18)



Figure 43. Performing 'appropriate' masculinity (Mandla, RE18)

As Mandla's submissions show, he came to see that there are many ways to be a man. This was a result of a combination of pedagogies: engaging with the guest lecturers, comparing and contrasting the reactions he had received to these two images above, connecting these reactions to his learnings in the module, as well as his engagements with theory and local research (e.g., Barker & Peacock, 2009). The pedagogical tools and practices provided this important space for students such as Mandla to articulate these kinds of everyday resistance and open up alternative imaginaries of gender. His reflections show how he moved away from fixed binary understandings of 'appropriate' masculinity and came to see 'manliness' as fluid and operating on a continuum. In his final reflective essay, he exhibits a playfulness around gender performance, but also comments on the power of clothes – and other aspects of gender – to categorise, and to impact on participatory parity. His photographs and narratives challenge gender binaries by acknowledging the power of dress and representation in shifting and changing understandings of gender. Mandla concluded his reflective essay saying that:

Although I experience a lot of discrimination about my gender and the way I am ... I am a real man even though society or my loved ones say the opposite. My sexuality or personality does not make me less of a man. (Mandla, RE18)

Mandla's narrative is one example of ways in which the GDG lectures, together with other pedagogical tools (such as theory and research, and the opportunities for reflection offered by the final reflective essay), provided spaces for questioning the status of marginalised and oppressed LGBTIQ+ identities and affirming these. This allowed students who inhabit these marginal identities to feel recognised and therefore potentially boosted their ability to participate as equals with their 'straight' or 'straight-acting' peers, within this one module at least.

Theme 4. Challenging misrecognition and misrepresentation: agency and activism towards social justice

This chapter has, so far, shown the value in thinking with Fraser's understanding of social justice which has allowed insights into how the WGS pedagogies contributed to students' growing critical awareness of intersecting structural inequalities. Through a range of tasks and submissions, students demonstrated that they were beginning to see injustices in a new light, that issues previously individualised and personalised were in fact widespread and systemic, and that students too were implicated in perpetrating – and challenging – injustice. As this final theme now shows, some students used the pedagogical tools to discuss their growing understanding that social change requires political action and that they had a role to play in bringing about change.

As Fraser has emphasised, the principal of participatory parity is about the ability to participate as an equal with one's peers in social contexts. Participatory parity therefore focuses attention on the social, systemic and structural rather than individual, subjective or personal injustices, freedoms and agency. As Fraser puts it:

Justice requires that people be able to interact as peers with others. ... Society is a field of social interactions and we need ... to start out with a more robustly social interactive perspective. I am not focused on individual agency/freedom but more on the interactionist sphere. (Chhachhi, 2011, p. 307)

This theme, which draws on concepts of agency and scholarly identity, does therefore not sit comfortably within the conception of social justice as participatory parity. Nevertheless, fostering students' critical agency, activism and scholarly identity are important facets of a socially just pedagogical approach, particularly if these are understood in relation to education for social good and which seeks to promote justice (Osman & Hornsby, 2018; Walker & Wilson-Strydom, 2017).

Scholarly identity and agency, as used here, are related concepts. Students display scholarliness as they develop critical perspectives and confidence in their work, acquire a sense of

disciplinary locatedness and belonging, learn discipline-specific vocabulary, interact with peers across networks, and contribute to public dialogue and debate through knowledge production and sharing their work (Barrow et al., 2020; Grant, 2013; Inouye & McAlpine, 2017; Shefer, 2020; White, 2012). This understanding draws attention to peer engagement and developing students as young scholars in their field. Promoting scholarliness, therefore, involves promoting possibilities and opportunities for students so that they are able to participate as equals with their peers and others in academia.

Agency encompasses capacities of reflection, analysis and decision making; it means to act intentionally and autonomously, interact and negotiate in social contexts, and use one's power individually or collectively, for oneself or on behalf of others (Kabeer, 1999; Moses et al., 2020; Nieminen et al., 2021; O'Hara & Clement, 2018; Vaughn, 2020; Walker, 2012). This understanding of agency is located at the level of the individual, but it is also socially and collectively focused; that is, the individual is recognised as part of the collective striving for broader social and structural change. As such, agency is an important aspect of socially just pedagogies.

In this theme, therefore, I make an argument for the importance of pedagogies paying attention to the individual, subjective and interpersonal when teaching for social justice and social change. This is in line with feminist and critical pedagogies as well as pedagogies of discomfort and critical hope (Boler, 2013; Boler & Zembylas, 2003). These pedagogies advance the importance of consciousness raising to facilitate and develop learner agency and resistance, seen as an important first step in moving students from the personal towards the social; in other words, consciousness raising for social change. In striving for pedagogies which promote participatory parity, educators would therefore need to understand agency and scholarly identity as social and interactional, as vehicles for social change, rather than simply about developing the individual student.

This theme draws on data from both modules, in particular the reflective essays, blogs and discussion forums in WGS2 and the photovoice submissions of WGS3. The analysis draws on data that "glowed" (MacLure, 2013) in demonstrating moments in which students questioned, resisted and disrupted the status quo, when they stood their ground or took a stance in activating for justice and change. The data offer insights into students' growing sense of themselves as critically engaged young scholars who could contribute to social change. Further, they provide insights into changes from one year to the next for those doing both WGS2 and WGS3, thus affording a view on students' growing sense of agency and developing scholarly identity over time.

Disrupting normative practices in homes and families

Due to the focus on students' lives, submissions across both WGS modules allowed spaces for students to show how they had critiqued and taken a stand against inequities and injustices. In WGS2 these narratives emerged in particular through blogs, discussion forums and reflective essays, and in WGS3 through the 2018 photovoice submissions in which students recorded public and personal protests and moments of activism. The focus on eliciting, analysing and disrupting prior knowledges meant that many students over the years described moments of questioning and resisting received wisdom and everyday norms in their homes and families. Lihle, for example, questioned gender roles in the home arguing that she, "just like any other human being" has the right to be heard, and Andi incurred her mother's censure when she 'reversed roles' and asked a boy out:

The labour roles at our homes was something we are used to ... the man is the head of the house therefore he calls the shots ... no one is to question [him], these things are normal ... we see nothing wrong until you find yourself in a space where these are being questioned and then you start to question ... and you start to realise that just like any other human being you have the right for your opinion and it must be heard. (Lihle, RE17)

My mother constantly tells me to sit in a specific way or [tells me] not do stuff ... for example it is a shame for a girl to ask a boy out, I challenged this norm ... I asked a guy out to a date, and the guy was like what are being serious ... it is not normal for a girl to ask a guy out ... when I told my mother about this she was like, my child you are selling yourself cheap, this make you seem like you are desperate. (Andi, RE17)

By connecting critical feminist theory to everyday experiences, Lihle and Andi demonstrated their growing realisation of how a system in which men 'call the shots' and women and girls must obey unquestioningly is a system which marginalises and subjugates women and girls. This realisation – of gendered misrecognition – leads them to assert their right to question, be listened to, and do things differently. In other words, they demanded recognition and representation, to be valued and included in decision making on aspects of their lives. However, transgressing appropriate gender rules earned shame and disapproval; as Andi said: "I was not aware at how far people would go to keep these gender norms in place." The backlash Andi received highlights the problem of an affirmative politics of recognition. Affirmative remedies do not disturb the framework underlying injustices; in attempting to revalue "unjustly devalued gender identities ... both the contents of those identities and the group differentiations that underlie them" are left intact (Fraser, 2008, pp. 28–29). These devalued identities therefore remain open to (re)stigmatisation and ongoing injustice.

In another example, Janey, who did both WGS2 and WGS3, discussed railing against gender norms in the home. In her reflective essay in 2017 she described resisting family rules that men must be served first and get bigger portions:

Sometimes I find it hard to grasp the idea that parts of my identity is socially constructed. I mean, who am I really? My parents raised me and my sister according to society ideals of how women are expected to behave in society. It is very difficult to unlearn these ideals, but I do enjoy challenging them especially at home. One incident was when every time my boyfriend came over. During lunch or dinner my mom would say he has the right to dish first after my dad and they should both have bigger meals since they are 'the men'. That did not sit well with me and I told my mom that we should both be treated equally. My mom got angry and I realised she sees someone trying to defy the rules or values she grew up with and at her age it would be hard for her to understand where am coming from. (Janey, RE17)

The following year in her photovoice submission she again focused on challenging gender norms in the kitchen:

My boyfriend and I are constantly resisting gendered norms ... I chose the image of a kitchen to show a kitchen is just that – a kitchen ... It can be used by anyone and ... belongs to anyone. There is no official rule that states a kitchen belongs to women ... My boyfriend would cook on occasion, help with dishes and cleaning. Therefore, he is resisting the image of patriarchy whereby the women should serve and obey the men. (Janey, PV18)



Figure 44. "A kitchen is just ... a kitchen" (Janey, PV18)

As these two narratives and the photograph (*Figure 44*) show, Janey's growing awareness of gendered misrecognition resulted in her challenging misrecognition and misrepresentation by demanding a voice and a say in spaces she occupies (an affirmative response to injustice). Whilst it is not clear to what extent her actions at home were informed by the WGS feminist theories and pedagogies, through the focus on students' lives, the pedagogies allowed an extended view into Janey's sense of agency in terms of gender-related issues. Through her submissions Janey was able to demonstrate her critical engagement with gender studies theory and how this translated into activism and agency in her life off campus (potentially leading to more transformative justice). Further, as part of the photovoice project, her experiences were more widely shared amongst the class and on campus through the photovoice exhibition, thus potentially influencing the thoughts and behaviours of others.

Resistance and activism towards social change

As with Janey, because a number of students in WGS3 had also done WGS2, their submissions provide a privileged glimpse into their growing scholarly embeddedness and sense of agency over time. Aqilah, for example, described a revelatory moment early in WGS2 in 2016 prompted by the question: "Why are you a girl?" (RE16). This question challenged her previously taken-for-granted understandings of gender as biologically determined. In her final reflective essay from that module, she described coming to see that assumptions and prescriptions about 'normal' and 'natural' gender roles and behaviours limited people, and "built a foundation of inequalities among gendered bodies":

If you were to step outside the framework of society, you would be able to see that telling a girl that she is too loud for society eventually takes away her voice or telling a boy he is too soft tears into his humanity. (Aqilah, RE16)

Aqilah's reflective essay allows insights into her growing understandings of gendered misrecognition, in particular ways in which heteronormative gender is socially constructed. The following year in her photovoice submission she focused on other aspects of identity, particularly race and nationality. She explored how her understandings of these had shifted in the wake of the #Fallist protests, and how the protests led her to grapple with what it means to be a young 'coloured' student in contemporary South Africa:

Fees Must Fall is a social awakening that I believed could only hamper my journey to success, however, through various articles and youtube videos I was able to understand that the protest was more than civil disobedience. South African varsity students are part of the 'WOKE' generation who refused to endure and endorse social injustice; the protests highlighted our continued enslaved mentality and how we contributed to racial ideologies. It introduced a new paradigm for many varsity students, including myself. ... Due to the notions highlighted by the protests I was able to produce writing pieces that highlighted the African identity and African being ... It allowed me to embrace my African identity ... which contributed to my writing [and] my continued success at UWC. (Aqilah, PV17)



Figure 45. "Fees Must Fall" (Aqilah, PV18)

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Aqilah's photovoice narrative (including her photograph, *Figure 45*) reflects on how the student protests had impacted on her – and her sense of self – in a broader context of deep social inequities. The photovoice project provided space for her to look back and describe, on the one hand, how she had come to see herself as implicated in injustices such as racial ideologies, and, on the other hand, how she could be part of the solution. Grappling with issues of race, locatedness and belonging shifted her understandings of what it meant to be 'coloured', South African and African. She described how these new ways of seeing also shifted her sense of herself – from student to young scholar who could contribute to African-centred scholarship. Her essay and photovoice submission therefore allow glimpses into her growing scholarly identity and sense of how she could contribute to social change through her studies.

Two further examples provide insights into students' evolving agency, activism and growing scholarly identities over time. Both students self-identified as part of the LGBTIQ+ community, both argued that WGS2 fostered critical self-awareness and their ability to critically evaluate self and

society, and both drew on these learnings for their photovoice submissions. Onkarabile, through his engagements with peers and theory in WGS2, realised that he was “allowing outsiders to shape my identity ... allowing them to convince me about who I am ... in essence I was not being my true self” (RE17). He explained that as the module progressed, he had gained “the right knowledge and terminology to address homophobic behaviour [and] a significant amount of confidence intellectually” (RE17). Over time, he noticed new respect from his family: “They acknowledge that my train of thought is not the same and they highly appreciate my new path of thinking” (B17). He also noticed that his growing ability “to engage in complex social issues and debates on social media, in classes and even with strangers” (B17) meant that “my friends and some of their friends were frequently asking for my opinion and pushed me to start a blog [to] share my thoughts” (B17). As Onkarabile’s confidence grew as well as his sense of himself as a critically aware and socially engaged scholar, he considered opportunities for acting on his learning and sharing his knowledge through public dialogue on issues of justice: “I truly consider myself as an activist with aspirations of writing a book one day about the fluidity of sexuality because of this module” (RE17).

As the above shows, at various points in the WGS2 module Onkarabile revealed his learnings around gender and sexual injustice. He demonstrated growing awareness of cultural misrecognitions suffered by marginalised and oppressed groups in the LGBTIQ+ community. As a member of this community, armed with new knowledge and increasing confidence, he finds his political voice which allows him to argue and debate “complex social issues”. In some ways his approach is more affirmative as he argues for the validation of identities and seeks social inclusion. However, his references to the complexity of identity issues and the “fluidity of sexuality” are evidence of a more transformative cultural approach which advocates for destabilising everyone’s sense of identity.

In 2018, Onkarabile’s two photovoice submissions provided further indications of ways in which he saw justice as being about queer activism. In the one, connecting the movie *Inxeba* with his experience of traditional isiXhosa initiation school, he critiqued cultural understandings of queerness as ‘unAfrican’ and advanced an unashamedly transgressive, disruptive approach to gender and sexual politics:

The image [Figure 46] exemplifies a body queering a space ... wearing body accessories and not conforming to a cisgender identity is frowned upon as it is seen 'unAfrican' and transgressive ... as little as the nose ring may be, it certainly disrupts the normative and this is a subtle form of activism. In such a space a queer body experiences an exuberant amount of discomfort, however this image shows the importance of being true to yourself and living an authentic life. The presence of a queer body in a traditionally queerphobic [space challenges] the narrative ... you can be culturally initiated and still be queer, the one does not take away from the other. (Onkarabile, PV18)



Figure 46. "Queer body seeing [sic] as transgressive in a traditional and explicitly homophobic setting. Still from *The Wound (Inxeba)*" (Onkarabile, PV18)

In this photovoice submission, Onkarabile affirms his desire to activate for change. He seeks the inclusion of "queer bodies" in "queerphobic spaces", a more affirmative approach. However, this inclusion, he notes, would be disruptive, generate "an exuberant amount of discomfort", and this could be a more transformative move, shifting identities and cultural norms seen as unalterable and unchanging.

Another student whose third-year project provided insights into their growing scholarliness and sense of agency was Kris. In their²⁸ second-year, Kris's reflective essay argued that critical gender theory had

²⁸ Kris self-identified as 'he' when we first met and in later years came to identify as an "agender individual", preferring the pronouns 'they' and 'them, which is what I have used here.

changed my life, and has aided in me, in rediscovering myself. ... Being an effeminate gay individual, I've never performed the role deemed normal by society ... Lorber opened my mind to understanding that gender is not biological but a performance ... that our performance is based on knowledge that we've acquired over the years. (Kris, RE17)

A year later, Kris's two photovoice submissions foregrounded queer activism by describing their involvement in the national march of solidarity for "womxn and gender non-binary individuals" and a week-long on-campus programme celebrating International Day Against Homophobia, Biphobia and Transphobia (IDAHOT). In both submissions Kris foregrounded their positionality and what they were doing to confront and challenge gender-based marginalisation, discrimination and violence. In the one, Kris described their role in a photoshoot which aimed to show different representations of masculinity:

As the Gender Equity Unit, we pride ourself on creating a safe space where [UWC] students, as diverse as they are, are able to co-exist and live freely whilst enjoying equal rights and opportunities. As both a volunteer at the Gender Equity Unit, and a queer individual, I actively took part in the [IDAHOT] programme ... A fellow volunteer and I had done a photoshoot ... in aims of both creating visibility whilst simultaneously having different representations which often lacks in the media. This image [Figure 47] speaks to how masculinity varies and also the fluidity of gender identity and gender expression. In a deeper sense, it also speaks to how contrasting masculinities lay the foundation for gender based violence, whereby queer individuals are affected [such as] homophobia, biophobia and transphobia. (Kris, PV18)

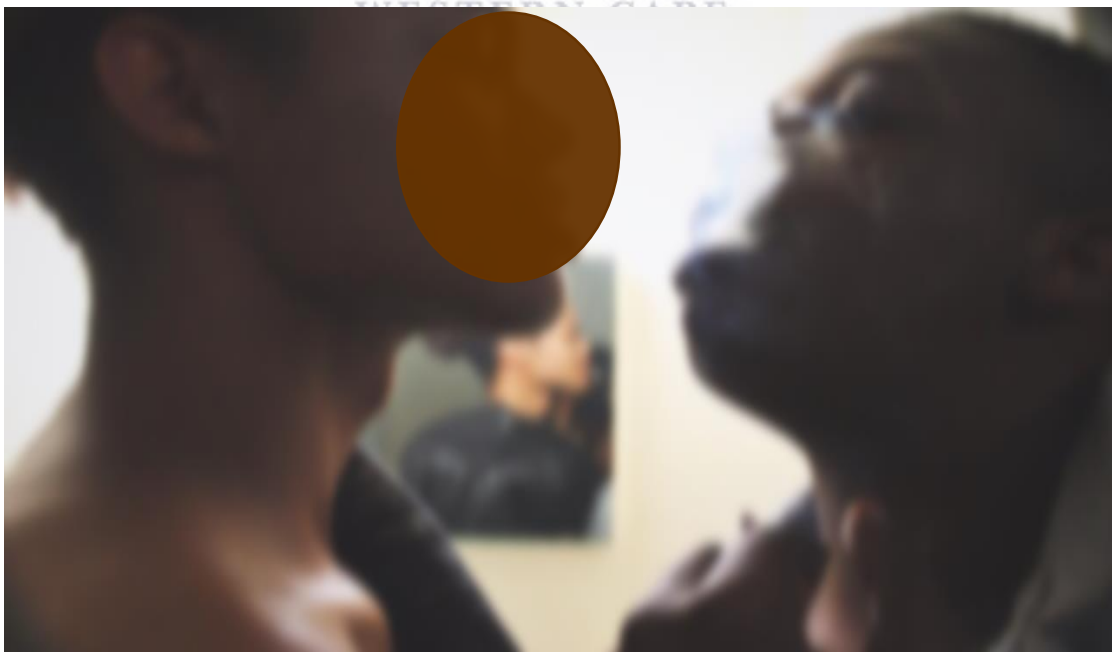


Figure 47. "This image speaks to how masculinity varies and ... the fluidity of gender identity and gender expression" (Kris, PV18)

In their narrative, Kris went on to talk about putting posters up on campus and joining an on-campus demonstration for LGBTIQ+ rights. In their second submission, Kris described joining the 2018 nationwide #TotalShutdown march in which “gender-activists, feminists, womxn and all gender-non-conforming individuals took to the streets across South Africa in solidarity against gender-based violence”. As Kris explained:

As an Agender individual and someone who has lived through violence everyday on the basis of my gender identity and expression, I took to the streets of Cape Town ... to speak out against gender-based violence ... to go out and show that we are here and that we are queer. This march was important for me to attend as a gender non-binary individual as I believe it is important to dismantle the systems that normalize gender-based violence.
(Kris, PV18)

Kris’s 2018 photovoice submissions offer insights into their growing sense of agency and development as a critical gender scholar, and the ways in which these informed each other. Drawing on critical feminist scholarship in connection with their own experiences (for example, living as a queer person, volunteering with the Gender Equity Unit), Kris sought to assert their non-binary identity and use this to advance social transformation on and off campus.

Kris’s narratives, like Onkarabile’s, demonstrate ways in which they sought to disrupt assumptions around belonging and voice in democratic processes and decision making. Both students, drawing on critical feminist theory and their own experiences in the world, aspired to find ways to reimagine and move beyond the repressive forms of identity politics that are part of traditional, patriarchal cultural norms, which promote conformism, intolerance, stereotyping and discrimination. In Fraser’s (2013, p. 169) words, both sought a “non-identitarian politics of recognition”. Additionally, like Janey and Aqilah, both acted on their understanding that overcoming misrecognition and advancing social change requires moments of political action – standing up and lending one’s voice to a cause – whether through resistance and disobedience, writing and photography, marching for justice, or showing alternative ways of being by changing one’s appearance, behaviour and engagements in the world. That is, they demanded representation.

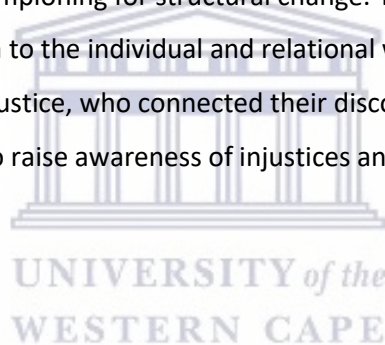
This final theme has drawn on students’ submissions over time, both within one module and over two years of their studies. Collectively, these submissions offer insights into and a record of individuals’ changing understandings of themselves, snapshots of their learning and their activism which can be compared to other snapshots at another point in the module or over time. Comparing these snapshots provides insights into students growing critical awareness of structural injustices. As students moved away from individualised understandings of injustices as personal inadequacies,

they became clearer in their own minds that racism, sexism, homophobia and so on require collective, social and political solutions. These students then took on the work of challenging structures of oppression, using resources on campus, making connections, and working with others to collectively bring about change, an approach which Fraser consistently advocates (e.g., Fraser, 2013; Olson, 2008).

Reading and viewing the data through each of the dimensions of participatory parity therefore provided insights into students' growing understandings of and efforts towards social justice over time. For some, their submissions showed an understanding and approach aligned with Fraser's emphasis on injustices as structural and systemic, the solution for which is to work towards dismantling the structures which deny participatory parity. As noted at the start of this theme, participatory parity does not focus attention on injustices at the subjective, psychological or emotional level; rather, justice is about participating as an equal with one's peers in social interactions (Chhachhi, 2011). These students recognised that as individuals they could – and should – play a role in advocating and championing for structural change. This theme has therefore shown the importance of paying attention to the individual and relational within pedagogical settings as students who felt discomfort at injustice, who connected their discomfort with structural understandings, were motivated to raise awareness of injustices and fight for justice for others.

Conclusion

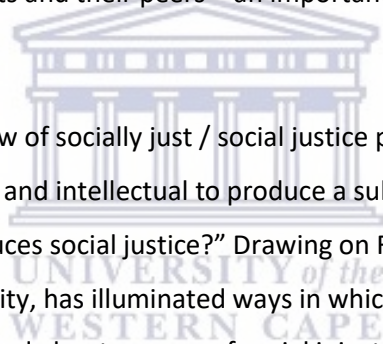
Through these four themes, ordered in a way that loosely follows the structure of the modules, this chapter has shown how thinking with each of the dimensions of participatory parity (individually and together) provides a useful and valuable lens for exploring and evaluating HE pedagogies. Thinking with (mis)recognition and (mis)representation showed how the WGS modules started with and consistently centred and drew on students' lives and prior knowledges and opened these up for dialogue and debate amongst differently positioned peers. The lens of representation shed light on how discussions and debates about 'real world' examples amongst peers, the teaching team and guest lecturers advanced students' awareness of and insights into injustices stemming from hegemonic normative understandings of gender, sexuality, race, class, language and so on. The political and cultural dimensions illuminated how a combination of theory, lectures, guest lectures and conversations online and in class worked to challenge students to think beyond entrenched norms, for example, by being exposed to ways in which identities are both social and material, differentiated, complex, fluid and context dependent. Students came to see ways in which they were both products of and implicated in reproducing misrecognition through social norms and relations.



They discovered ways in which those who are marginalised are excluded and lack a political voice which prompted some students to stand up for those on the margins, including in some cases standing up for themselves. In addition to highlighting in/justices in each dimension, the first three themes also show how the three dimensions of participatory parity are multidimensional; as Fraser puts it, they are always interimbricated.

The final theme explored how students demonstrated their learning and growth as gender studies scholars and activists for change. I noted that individualised concepts such as scholarliness and agency do not sit comfortably within an understanding of social justice as participatory parity. However, I argued, these concepts are important facets of a socially just pedagogical approach. By way of tools such as the reflective essays and photovoice projects, students were tasked with connecting their learnings to moments of disruption and activism; moments in which they had resisted, challenged, interrupted and activated against social injustices. Discussing and sharing these moments offered potential for promoting and deepening understandings of social justice as structural and systemic, for students and their peers – an important step towards activism for social change.

In Moje's (2007, p. 1) review of socially just / social justice pedagogies, she asked: "What would it look like to fuse the moral and intellectual to produce a subject-matter instruction that is not only socially just but also produces social justice?" Drawing on Fraser's framework, equating social justice with participatory parity, has illuminated ways in which these two feminist modules were able to teach in response to and about a range of social injustices, and some of the challenges in doing so. In the concluding chapter of the thesis, which comes next, I sum up and assess what these findings mean for promoting pedagogies for and about social justice in contemporary South African HE.



CHAPTER 8: FINAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study sought to investigate the usefulness of Nancy Fraser's social justice framework as a lens through which to view pedagogies in HE. In this final chapter I revisit the study's aims and objectives. I discuss what was learnt by applying each of the three dimensions of participatory parity to the WGS pedagogies and students' submissions. Finally, I evaluate the usefulness of the theory for exploring injustices in HE.

A brief review of the thesis

This study set out, on the one hand, to explore how thinking with the theory of participatory parity might enhance and allow more nuanced understandings of the complexities of injustice in students' lives, and, on the other, to consider how these learnings might inform possibilities for feminist pedagogical practices and contribute to rethinking feminist pedagogies for social change. As I discussed in the Introduction, despite bold ambitions for HE in post-apartheid South Africa, relatively little has changed for the vast majority of students over the past 30 years. The HE landscape remains stratified and profoundly unequal. Universities are more and more structured by market-driven neoliberal ideologies of competitiveness and 'excellence'; suffer inequities in the geopolitics of knowledge production; and are increasingly positioned as vehicles for promoting knowledge and skills for economic growth, disregarding inherent structural barriers (Bozalek, Braidotti, Shefer & Zembylas, 2018; Burke, 2013; Swartz et al., 2019; Zembylas & Bozalek, 2017)

Deep-rooted and wide-spread poverty and inequality in South Africa mean that students face a range of complex, interconnected challenges. These include insufficient financial and other material resources to fund their studies and daily living requirements, a lack of 'academic preparedness', difficulties connected to learning in a non-mother tongue language, and curricula which remain racist, patriarchal and authoritarian, and which are still shaped by and centre Global Northern and Western knowledges (Badat & Sayed, 2014; Heleta, 2016; Mbembe, 2016). The Covid-19 pandemic has added another layer of complexity, and the impact on students, their families and HEIs has been significant (Black et al., 2020; Czerniewicz et al., 2020).

The study sought to respond to these challenges by way of a close-up examination of feminist pedagogies in one South African university. The research site was two undergraduate gender studies modules at UWC, a 'previously disadvantaged' 'historically black' university in Cape Town. UWC was deliberately chosen because almost three decades after apartheid, it continues to

draw primarily black and coloured students from poor and working-class backgrounds and remains under-resourced compared to ‘historically advantaged’ ‘previously white’ institutions. UWC students – and the institution itself – therefore face complex, intersecting challenges. Given this context, I wondered, in what ways could Fraser’s trivalent model of social justice as participatory parity foster insights into social justice in HE?

After this introduction to the study’s global and local context, Chapter 2 mapped the terrain of pedagogies for and about social justice as well as ways in which scholarship and practice have shifted over time. As I noted in this chapter, Fraser’s social justice framework is increasingly drawn on by scholars wanting to better understand – and find ways of improving – pedagogies, systems and structures in HE, and it joins a wide field of pedagogies with justice aims and intentions. Chapter 2 provided an overview and ‘map’ of this diverse and at times contested field before the deeper focus on participatory parity in HE in Chapter 3.

Chapter 2 started with a discussion of the complexities of conceptualising socially just pedagogies. I outlined foundational feminist principles, which continue to be drawn on and extended in the quest for fostering socially just pedagogies, and explored the critical pedagogical tradition, noting critiques of its blind spots, particularly around gender. I examined ways in which the ‘decolonial turn’ has found resonance in South African HE for those seeking to transform institutions, classrooms and curricula, and discussed scholarship that uses pedagogies of discomfort and critical hope, feminist new materialisms and posthumanism, Slow scholarship and the ethics of care framework. As this ‘map’ showed, whilst there have been efforts from diverse quarters to transform HE institutions and curricula, locally and globally, much work remains to be done to ensure equity of access to and participation within HE.

In Chapter 3, I discussed participatory parity in detail and ways in which it has been used in HE settings. This social justice framework was chosen as the study’s key conceptual and analytic framework. Fraser equates social justice with participatory parity, that is, the ability of all to participate as peers in social intersections within and across three distinct but imbricated dimensions: economic, cultural and political. I drew on participatory parity throughout the research process, from the early conception of the study through to data generation and analysis. In engaging with Fraser’s ideas in this way, the study adopted a more post-qualitative feminist methodology, recruiting thinking with the theory (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, 2013) of participatory parity. In undertaking a feminist study, I was committed to surfacing and exploring intersectional gendered

experiences of power, inequities and injustices and took an approach that was committed to fostering social change.

Reading the data with the theory, and the theory with the data, resulted in an analysis structured over three chapters. The first empirical chapter, Chapter 5, used Fraser's economic dimension to reveal the complexities of the material and resource-based challenges facing students on their journeys through HE. The enormity of the task in working towards distributive justice was further emphasised in Chapter 6, which used the lens of misrecognition to explore how intersectional gendered inequalities shape students' lives and their ability to participate as equals in post-apartheid South Africa. The final analysis chapter then applied participatory parity, and in particular the lenses of misrepresentation and misrecognition, to focus on the WGS pedagogies which offered these opportunities for centring students' lives.

The discussion that follows explicates what was learned by drawing on the three-dimensional theory of participatory parity. I review how and why the three dimensions proved valuable for thinking about and rethinking feminist pedagogies for social change, and some of the challenges therein. Within each dimension I consider ways in which the pedagogies provided affirmative and transformative solutions.

Feminist pedagogies through the lens of participatory parity

The economic dimension

The first analysis chapter used Fraser's dimension of mal/distribution to illuminate the material inequalities shaping and constraining possibilities for students being able to participate as equals in contemporary South African HE. Through their photovoice projects, students highlighted a range of multifaceted, intersecting challenges. Students and their families face multiple resource constraints including finding sufficient funds to cover studying, living and travelling expenses, as well as less visible costs in terms of study space, time and energy. Students showed persistence and resilience, leveraging multiple resources to enable progress and success, but also described how accessing resources could be challenging and at times gruelling. Students were forced to rely on temporary measures such as food drives, restricting travel to daylight hours, and squatting with friends. These are at best affirmative solutions. Whilst family and community were shown to bolster distributive parity, this meant students were forced to draw on non-institutional cultural and social resources to mitigate their lack of access to economic resources. Students thus showed that any redistributive measures tended to be affirmative rather than transformative solutions, functioning

within current institutional constraints rather than restructuring the status quo. Economically, therefore, UWC students are clearly unable to participate as equals with their better resourced peers on multiple levels, affecting their ability to access and flourish in HE.

The data in Chapter 5 suggested three possibilities for more transformative redistribution: sufficient funding for resources including life essentials such as food, more on-campus accommodation, and providing safe, reliable transport. These measures would be steps towards promoting economic parity for UWC students who, like many others in HE, remain largely disadvantaged by the material legacies of apartheid and colonialism. However, none of these is within the ambit of an individual module or department. In fact, few public South African universities would have the ability to provide these kinds of economic interventions, which should be government driven and supported.

Using the economic dimension as a lens to think with the WGS pedagogies, Chapter 7 demonstrated that the modules offered some, albeit limited, contribution towards economic parity. Given the constraints and challenges outlined in Chapter 5, the pedagogies were shown to offer small redistributive measures. For example, students had some choice over when and how to engage with the WGS2 module. This module provided a variety of opportunities for students to gather marks, some of which were voluntary, and students could to some extent mix and match assessment tasks to make up coursework marks. Another redistributive measure offered by the modules was writing support. For example, in WGS3 students rewrote draft papers based on extensive feedback. Even so, all submissions were online, and as was vividly highlighted by the Covid-19 pandemic and sudden shift to online learning, when forced to work from home UWC students often lacked access to working space, a computer, Wi-Fi and cheap data, as well as essentials such as electricity.

Additionally, the modules allowed for maldistribution to be raised and shared by way of various submissions in which students could discuss resource-based injustices in their lives. The photovoice project, quizzes and discussion forums, for example, asked students to share aspects of their experiences. In sharing these with classmates, lecturers and (in the case of the photovoice exhibition) the broader campus community, the pedagogies could highlight ways in which economic injustices are shared, that is, not simply personal problems but widely experienced and structural. In sharing these, there is the possibility that students and the university community might be inspired to work towards alleviating socio-economic stressors facing students.

Overall, then, the economic lens showed that the pedagogies offered mostly small-scale, affirmative mitigations of maldistribution. The economic interventions primarily took place within these two modules rather than broadly across the university or HE sector as a whole. Whilst they might have a broader social impact, and intended to do so (for example, through the on-campus exhibition), it would be impossible for one or two modules, or a department, to bring about transformative redistribution in students' lives.

The cultural dimension

Chapters 6 and 7 showed that gender and sexual misrecognition – as intersecting with other forms of inequality – remain pervasive, and highlighted ways in which cultural injustices are entangled with economic and political injustices. Students' narratives supported a mass of local research over the past three decades showing that little has changed in terms of gender and sexual justice in the 'new' South Africa. Students' reflections showed that intersectional gendered misrecognition remains persistent and widespread. Boys remain culturally, economically and politically privileged, and girls continue to suffer stereotyping, marginalisation, exploitation and oppression. While a few students described small shifts in their families and homes, in their communities, religions and cultures, heteronormative gender and sexual roles and behaviours remain the norm. It is therefore unsurprising that students perpetuate gender and sexual misrecognition and that most students entering the foundational WGS module have little understanding of the complexities of gender, sex and sexuality.

Mis/recognition also proved a productive lens in Chapter 7. This chapter showed how the WGS pedagogies aimed to provide students with ways to recognise and work against the contexts of injustice outlined in Chapter 6. This was approached in a series of interconnecting steps: eliciting and centring students' prior knowledges, sharing these amongst the class and at times more widely, fostering discussion and debate on prior knowledges in connection with critical feminist theory, and using pedagogical tools and strategies which could interrupt and challenge an unjust status quo. For some students these steps resulted in submissions in which they described how they had confronted, contested, disrupted and protested against gender and sexual injustices.

Each of these pedagogical steps offered opportunities for fostering cultural parity, in more or less affirmative and transformative ways. In foregrounding students' diverse and rich histories, knowledges and experiences, these were recognised; they were made visible, shown to be of value, and offered respect. On its own this is an affirmative response to injustice, one which can work against forces of cultural domination, nonrecognition and disrespect. It can thus raise the status of

otherwise marginalised people within this particular group in one setting, that is, this one module. As Fraser cautions, though, an affirmative approach has inherent drawbacks. An affirmative politics of identity runs the risk of reinstating divides by fixing and essentialising collective identities. Group members must then present an 'authentic' display of identity in order to belong.

However, the pedagogies did to some extent go beyond an affirmative approach. Sharing prior knowledges and experiences, opening them up for dialogue and debate within the class and beyond, offered opportunities for exposing, grappling with and potentially shifting unjust prior knowledges. Students (and potentially others) could then move to an understanding that misrecognition requires structural reform. This pedagogical approach is therefore a more transformative approach to justice in that it aligns with Fraser's (2000; Fraser & Honneth, 2003) 'status model' understanding of recognition. This is evident in the pedagogical attempts in the WGS modules to destabilise binaries and essentialised identities, promote interaction across differences, and expose injustices as systemic, structural and embedded in social relations. However, as the analysis also showed, learning to see the necessity of transformative reforms is not inevitable. Some students struggled to move beyond fixed, binary, essentialised thinking, and, again, the sphere of change is limited, primarily within one module and, on occasion, some of the wider campus community and students' off-campus social circles.

Misrecognition was further highlighted and potentially destabilised by attempts to disrupt and normalise genders and sexualities labelled 'abnormal', 'deviant' and 'sinful'. The guest lecturers, for example, challenged and disrupted unjust, simplistic, binary understandings of gender, sex and sexuality, and students themselves challenged each other on the forums and in class. The analysis, again, showed that whilst some students struggled to move beyond essentialist, homogenised notions of gender, sexuality, race, nationality and so on, others demonstrated an understanding of identities as complex, diverse and shifting. As such, offering opportunities for highlighting, interrupting and disrupting injustices is, potentially, a more transformative approach which could disrupt and shift existing identities, hierarchies and binary thinking, and lead to restructuring relations of recognition. However, as noted above, these interventions work at a relatively limited scale.

Overall, when viewed through the lens of mis/recognition, the pedagogies were shown to allow spaces which promoted recognition for many but not all students. The pedagogies raised awareness and understanding of misrecognition by affirming knowledges and identities, but also provided opportunities for unsettling and disrupting these. Whilst these strategies had largely

affirmative outcomes, ameliorating cultural injustices, there were moments of potentially more transformative shifts, described by students in their reports as moments of resistance, disobedience and activism. Whilst the extent to which the WGS pedagogies engendered this change is not certain, what they did do was facilitate spaces for discussion and debate, spaces in which students could share their experiences and which could then potentially catalyse change. Having said that, the WGS modules, like most, operate on a small scale and misrecognition in Fraser's understanding is structural and systemic. As such, whilst the pedagogies could shift towards new imaginaries, for truly transformative recognition, shifts would be needed at a much wider and deeper scale.

The political dimension

Thinking with Fraser's political dimension further illuminated ways in which the WGS pedagogies sought to draw attention to and question systemic injustices as well as challenges in doing so. Through a combination of critical feminist theory, lectures and guest presenters, the modules spotlighted political injustices and ways in which people fought for representational justice. For example, students learned about ways in which transgender and intersex people lack a voice and decision-making power in matters concerning them, and about their struggles for the right to be heard.

Students themselves drew attention to aspects of misrepresentation in academic spaces as well as in their families, communities, cultures and religions. Sharing this information with their peers, the teaching team and at times the broader campus community highlighted how gender and sexual injustices were not simply personal problems but often widespread and shared. Raising and sharing these issues could then facilitate a sense of belonging amongst peers as they saw that they were not alone in their struggles. This is an important albeit affirmative political approach, one that does not shift the frame but promotes inclusion within an already existing frame. Sharing students' submissions more widely, for example through the photovoice exhibition, was a potentially more transformative political act as exposing students' challenges to the wider university community might lead to changes in policy and practice.

Further, thinking with the lens of representation was useful in highlighting ways in which pedagogical tools provided students with opportunities to disturb and disrupt traditional educational hierarchies. For example, students were at times able to contribute to and co-construct lectures, through quizzes, discussion forums, the panel discussion and the exhibition. Using platforms such as these they could raise issues that mattered to them; deliberate and debate complexities around rights, justice, morality and ethics; offer their version of a more just world, and so on. On the one

hand, these tools offered students a voice, the ability to enrich the curriculum and so foster inclusion – a more affirmative intervention. On the other hand, these tools could lead to more transformative change. Taking students seriously as contributors to peer and staff learning unsettles traditional academic hierarchies. Doing away with traditional academic constraints around English-language use and referencing is an intervention which could encourage traditionally excluded voices to have a say. However, whilst these opportunities could foster a more transformative form of representation by allowing these students a more equal footing with peers and lecturers, it still took place for those already inside the frame. A question also remains about what happens beyond the module, and whether and to what extent these students would ‘have a voice’ in other academic spaces, and as they progressed through academic hierarchies of postgraduate studies and beyond.

What this means for pedagogies in HE: the possibilities and challenges in promoting socially just pedagogies

Thinking with the theory of participatory parity allowed a detailed and nuanced view into students’ lives. It also enabled insights into the affordances and challenges for pedagogies which strive to promote social justice. The analysis showed the value of thinking with each of Fraser’s three dimensions; doing so offered insights into the complexities and multi-layered nature of injustices facing students in South African HE. As the findings make clear, these two feminist modules, which focused on eliciting students’ narratives on their own lives, were – to some extent – able to promote parity for students in each dimension.

Firstly, perhaps most simply and successfully, thinking with participatory parity showed how pedagogies which centre students’ lives and knowledges and encourage students to share their life experiences can raise awareness of maldistribution, misrecognition, misrepresentation and misframing, for students in the class and perhaps more broadly. As scholars caution, prior knowledges and experiences must be discussed in relation to critical theory, and thus opened up to being challenged and disrupted.

Secondly, educators can strive to promote participatory parity in and through pedagogical tools and practices. This study showed the value of using several pedagogical approaches which can offer students a variety of opportunities for being heard and sharing information about their lives, as well as choices around how and when to participate. Reinforcing arguments from other scholars (Kumashiro, 2009; Moje, 2007; North, 2006, 2008), there is not, therefore, a single one-size-fits-all approach to socially just pedagogies. Different tools, technologies and strategies will, inevitably, be

more or less likely to enable or disable parity for some students over others. In these modules, the pedagogies worked towards social change by: encouraging students to share their lives, their work and learning within and beyond the classroom; promoting opportunities for students to engage with their peers, lecturers and university management; connecting their lives and experiences with critical theory; offering students choices in tasks; fostering creative ways of engaging with one another and coursework; and working to shift power in pedagogical spaces, blurring hierarchies between knowing/knowledgeable lecturer and unknowing/unknowledgeable students.

In addition to these more positive interventions, the analysis highlights some of the challenges of striving for participatory parity in the classroom. South African students must overcome many hurdles to reach HE, and economic, cultural and political challenges continue to undermine and constrain them throughout their studies. Lecturers and institutions themselves face obdurate obstacles. In the face of these challenges, the pedagogies offered both affirmative and potentially more transformative interventions, and sometimes a mix between the two. The study's findings thus show, in line with Fraser's thinking, that the dividing line between affirmative and transformative is imprecise; an intervention can be mostly affirmative but have elements of transformation, and vice versa.

In these modules, the interventions were largely affirmative, working to ameliorate injustice. This is unsurprising as the nature of transformative interventions means that systemic restructuring is required. This is beyond the scope and reach of any one course or department or university. However, the analysis showed that pedagogies could open up possibilities for transformation, particularly in terms of recognition (by destabilising group differences and shifting binary thinking) and representation (by disrupting traditional academic hierarchies). For some students, though, there will be little change in their thinking; unjust ideas may be reinforced, and/or ideas may shift but solidify in ways which reinstate binaries, homogeneity and essentialised thinking.

There were also nuances and elements of change that the principle of participatory parity could not fully capture. As seen in Chapter 7, participatory parity does not pay attention to individual agency, which, I argued, is an important facet of a feminist and socially just pedagogical approach. Further, an understanding of social justice as participatory parity is less useful for exploring emotion and affect, joy and discomfort, and critical hope – again, all valuable and necessary aspects of socially just pedagogies. Nevertheless, participatory parity proved to be a powerful theory for highlighting broader systems of inequalities and teasing out some of the complexities and nuances of structural injustices. The findings in Chapter 7 show how starting with students' prior experiences,

sharing these so that students see they are not alone in their troubles, and reading these knowledges in conjunction with critical literature, allows students to start rethinking aspects of their lives and engagements with others. Further, this approach offers educators a rare and privileged insight into students' lives. Besides enriching pedagogies, these insights can promote a sensitivity towards the complexities of students' lives, and in doing so allow educators to rethink teaching and learning towards more socially just practices.

However, these efforts towards feminist and socially just pedagogies cannot escape broader national and global higher education systems and policies. As feminist, decolonial and other justice scholars have noted, South Africa's HE sector is underfunded with those historically disadvantaged most adversely affected and HEIs therefore continue to be stratified, reflecting inequalities in broader society (Zembylas & Bozalek, 2017). Further, HEIs remain adversely affected by inequities in geopolitical knowledge systems, and are increasingly expected to co-opt competitive, marketised neoliberal ideologies, for example pursuing 'excellence' through global league tables. Nevertheless, as scholars have also pointed out, although socially just pedagogies cannot singlehandedly eradicate structural inequalities, they can offer an important contribution through "recognising and critically interrogating the issues that perpetuate these injustices" (Zembylas & Bozalek, 2017, p. 1)

In concluding, I return to the post-qualitative idea of research as a 'minor inquiry'. As a minor inquiry, this study does "not present [easy] solutions but rather keep[s] thought moving ... and it is this movement that opens futures beyond the imagination of simple empiricisms" (Mazzei et al., 2018, p. 10). In taking this approach, I hope my study provides food for thought and inspiration for educators imagining the possibilities for more just pedagogies and spaces in HE. One way to 'keep thought moving' towards more just educational spaces and practices would be to employ participatory parity alongside other justice frameworks and in other kinds of spaces in HE, both within and outside of classrooms. One potentially fruitful endeavour would be to use participatory parity alongside decolonial theories which, as noted in Chapter 2, have gained increasing traction in HE since the 2015/2016 #Fallist protests. Another would be to draw on participatory parity alongside theoretical frameworks which focus attention on the important affective and relational aspects of learning. Finally, participatory parity could be valuably used to interrogate HE structures beyond the classroom. Whilst there have been some efforts to do this globally and locally (e.g. Blackmore, 2016; Bozalek & Boughey, 2012, 2020), more could be done to investigate structural injustices within South African universities and across the HE sector. Studies such as these could contribute to levelling the playing field for students, staff and HE institutions.

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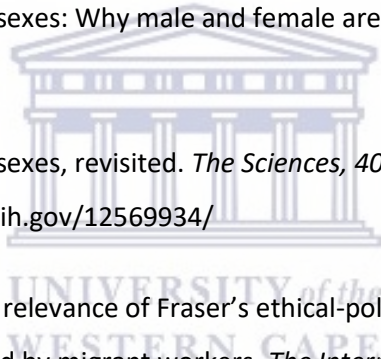
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APPENDIX A: Example of module outline from WGS2

Lectures, tutorials, assignments & assessment

WGS2 2018

Welcome to *Intro to sex, gender & sexuality*

This module aims to introduce you to contemporary theorising and debates around sex, gender and sexuality. You might think you already know most of what there is to know about these things, so this module aims to surprise you – to make you think more carefully about some of the ideas most of us take for granted. We begin by drawing on ideas you would have encountered last year, about ‘objectivity’ and ‘truth’ and what counts as knowledge. So you’ll be asked to think *critically* about common sense (hegemonic) ideas that there are just 2 sexes (male and female) and you’ll engage with arguments from biologists that dividing human beings into just 2 biological sexes (male and female) is a reductive social construct. You’ll hear, for example, from people who have bodies that simply don’t fit into the category male or female.



You’ll also be thinking critically about the hegemonic idea that there are just 2 genders (masculine and feminine) and you’ll engage with theorists who suggest that gender is something we do rather than something we are. You’ll focus on a case study of one society in which a two gender system is normative and the ways in which each individual within that society is implicated in maintaining and reproducing that particular gender regime. You’ll also explore societies that have more flexible gender regimes, with 3 or even more genders. We will end the module thinking about what these understandings of sex and gender might mean for our understandings of human sexuality. Prepare to have some of your most basic ideas challenged!

Learning Outcomes



By the end of this module you will be expected to be able to draw on the reading covered in this module to:

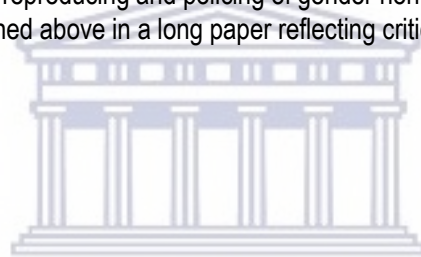
- describe and explain feminist critiques of dualisms built around biological sex (biological essentialism/determinism)
- describe and explain what feminist theorists mean when they use terms like masculinities and femininities
- explain what gender theorists mean when they say gender is a performance
- contrast and compare normative performances of gender (masculinity/femininity) in South Africa with alternative versions of gender in other parts of the world
- identify, describe and reflect critically on the key differences between societies with 2 genders and societies with 3 or more genders
- identify, describe and critically evaluate ways in which normative performances of gender are produced and policed in South Africa
- reflect critically on the ways in which we are each implicated in reproducing and policing of gender normativity
- Demonstrate your mastery of the theorizing and concepts outlined above in a long paper reflecting critically on what you have learned in this module



Module Convenors...

Tutors...

Module hashtag #WGS2



Monday LECTURE 12-1 in A4	Wednesday LECTURE 2.20- 3.20 in C3	TUTs	READINGS*, WORKSHEETS, TUTORIALS <i>*All readings can be found under "Module Resources" on Ikamva.</i>
5 Feb: Lecture 1 Module outline; Learning objectives Assignments & Class presentations Photo essay & exam scope	7 Feb: Lecture 2 Prior knowledges How will you be assessed in this module? Ikamva & Turnitin	NO TUT	Enrichment text*: Greenberg, Z. 2017, October 24. 'When a student says 'I'm not a girl or a boy'. <i>New York Times</i> . Available at https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/24/well/family/transgender-gender-nonbinary-students.html , site accessed 1 February 2018. <i>For a list of additional enrichment texts see page 8.</i>

<p>12 Feb: Lecture 3 Unlearning & the challenges of thinking differently What is sex? And how is it different to gender?</p>	<p>14 Feb: Lecture 4 Thinking differently about biological sex Documentary Film: <i>Intersex</i> part 1</p>	<p>TUT 1 Intersex</p>	<p>Online worksheet 1 due noon Wed 14 Feb Fausto Sterling, A. 2003. 'The 5 sexes: Why male and female are not enough'. In <i>The Social Construction of Difference and Inequality: Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality</i>. T. Ore, Ed. Boston: McGraw Hill.</p> <p>Things to think about for tutorial 1</p> <p>Deciding on a date and topic for your presentation!</p> <p>Unthinking the binary of biological sex. Why is this article entitled 'why male and female aren't enough'? What does the title mean? Should everyone fit into the binary of male or female? Should people whose bodies don't fit into the binary of male/female have surgery so that they do fit? What would have to change if we didn't expect people to live in this world as male or female? How would things change? What does that mean for gender? How is gender different to biological sex? Can you explain the difference between the concepts 'male' and 'man'? Can you explain the difference between the concepts of 'female' and 'woman'? Why are forms that ask your gender asking the wrong question? What do these forms really want to know?</p> <p>Additional sources https://aeon.co/essays/people-born-intersex-have-a-right-to-genital-integrity Intersex 20/20 part 1 of 2 available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xv1yk2Va9qc&feature=youtu.be</p>
<p>19 Feb: Lecture 5 Thinking differently about biological sex: Documentary Film: <i>Intersex</i></p>	<p>21 Feb: Lecture 6 Thinking about social identities, intersectionality and positionality Who gets to decide who <i>you</i> are? Is it</p>	<p>TUT 2 Self & identity</p>	<p>Online worksheet 2 due noon Wed 21 Feb CHOOSE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING Cofer, J. O. 2003. 'The story of my body'. In <i>The Social Construction of Difference and Inequality: Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality</i>. T. Ore, Ed. Boston: McGraw Hill. OR: Mavuso, A. 2017. 'My personal journey: Being a black woman student activist on Tshwane University of Technology Soshanguve Campus'. <i>Agenda</i>, 113, pp.5-9.</p>

part 2 & discussion	you? Or is it more complicated than that?	<p>Things to think about for tutorial 2</p> <p>Most people think gender and race are biological constructs (based on human biology) So why do Cofer and Mavuso (amongst other writers) say that gender (and race) are social (not biological) constructs? <i>How</i> can race or gender be a social construct? How did Cofer and Mavuso realise that <i>their own</i> race and gender identities were socially constructed? What happened in their lives to contribute to their understandings that race and gender are social constructs? Have <i>you</i> had any experiences or insights that show how gender and race are social constructs?</p>	
<p>26 Feb: Lecture 7</p> <p>Repeat of introductory class held on 5 Feb: How to pass (or fail) this module, assessment & Exam scope Ikamva & Turnitin</p>	<p>28 Feb: Lecture 8</p> <p>Learning to do gender, becoming a gendered person</p>	<p>TUT 3</p> <p>Doing gender</p>	<p>Online worksheet 3 due noon Wed 28 Feb</p> <p>CHOOSE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING</p> <p>Martin, K. 1998. 'Becoming a gendered body: practices of preschools'. <i>American Sociological Review</i>, 63(August), pp.494-511.</p> <p>OR Thorne, B. 2007. 'Girls & boys together...but mostly apart: gender arrangements in elementary schools'. In <i>Feminist Frontiers</i>. V. Taylor, N. Whittier & L. J. Rupp, Eds. Boston: McGraw Hill.</p>
		<p>Things to think about for tutorial 3</p> <p>Think back to your own early years of school. Were boys and girls treated the same in your school? What did <i>you</i> learn about gender in school? What happened to children who didn't conform? Why did this happen? Why do teachers teach gender? What would happen if they stopped? Do you think it is possible to have gender free schools? Who might resist this and why?</p>	
<p>5 March: Lecture 9</p> <p>Doing femininity/acting like a girl; being positioned as a woman</p>	<p>7 March: Lecture 10</p> <p>Doing appropriate femininity/doing gender like a woman</p> <p>Documentary Film: <i>Over the Hill</i> Part 1</p>	<p>TUT 4</p> <p>Doing femininity 'right'</p>	<p>Online worksheet 4 due noon Mon 5 Mar</p> <p>Sanger, N. 2009. 'New women, old messages? Constructions of femininities, race and hypersexualised bodies in selected South African magazines, 2003-2006'. <i>Social Dynamics</i>, 35(1), pp.137-148.</p>

		<p>Things to think about for tutorial 4</p> <p>Who is Nadia Sanger? What can you find out about her? How important do you think magazines have been in shaping <i>your</i> understanding of appropriate femininity? How has SA media shaped your understanding of appropriate femininity? Sanger was writing almost 10 years ago about magazines, before the rise of social media. Are magazines still as important or is social media increasingly important influencing/shaping ideas about appropriate femininity? What examples can you give from your own life? What have your parents, grandparents, families, communities etc taught you about appropriate femininity?</p>	
<p>12 Mar: Lecture 11 Documentary Film <i>Over the Hill</i> part 2</p> <p>Femininity in cultural perspective</p> <p>Student Presentations & discussion</p>	<p>14 Mar: Lecture 12 Femininity in cultural perspective part 2</p> <p>Student Presentations & discussion</p>	<p>TUT 5 Gender & culture</p>	<p>Online worksheet 5 due noon Mon 12 Mar</p> <p>Tamale, S. 2008. 'The right to culture and the culture of rights: A critical perspective on women's sexual rights in Africa'. <i>Feminist Legal Studies</i>, 16, pp.47-69.</p>
		<p>Things to think about for tutorial 5</p> <p>Who is Sylvia Tamale? what can you find out about her?</p> <p>What are the key points Tamale makes to suggest that African cultures and traditions around appropriate femininity offer African women opportunities for gender justice? What does Tamale mean when she talks about 'hetero patriarchal' interests? who are the heteropatriarchs? Can you think of aspects of your own cultural upbringing that empowered women in your family or community? In what ways are women in your own communities powerful decision makers? How are these powerful gender roles embedded in your culture? And in what ways are women's ability to make decisions constrained in your culture? Can culture change? How? Who changes it? What does it mean to speak of gendered cultures? how is <i>your</i> culture gendered?</p>	
<p>19 Mar: Lecture 13 How to take cool photos for your photo essay</p>	<p>21 Mar Public holiday: no class</p>	<p>NO TUT</p>	<p>CHANCE TO CATCH UP and earn an A</p> <p>Online worksheet 6 due noon Wed 21 Mar</p> <p>Sanger, N. 2008. "There's got to be a man in there': Reading intersections between gender, race and sexuality in South African magazines.' <i>African Identities</i>, 6(3), pp.275-291.</p>
<p>26 March Vacation</p>	<p>28 March Vacation</p>	<p>NO TUT</p>	<p>CHANCE TO CATCH UP and earn an A</p> <p>Online worksheet 7 due noon Tues 3 Apr</p>

			Langa, M. 2010. 'Contested multiple voices of young masculinities amongst adolescent boys in Alexandra township'. <i>Journal of Child and Adolescent Mental Health</i> , 22(1), pp.1-13.
2 April: Public Holiday	4 April: Patriarchy, feminism & intersectionality	TUT 6	<p>Online worksheet 8 due noon Tues 3 Apr CHOOSE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING</p> <p>hooks b. 2004. 'Understanding patriarchy' in <i>The will to Change: Men, Masculinity and Love</i>, pp.17-33</p> <p>Langa, M. 2008. 'Using photo narratives to explore the construction of young masculinities'. <i>Psychology in Society</i>, 36, pp.6-23</p> <p>Dosekun, S. 2007. 'Defending feminism in Africa'. <i>Postamble</i>, 3(1), pp. 41-47.</p> <p>Things to think about for tutorial 6</p> <p>Who is bell hooks? Can you summarise her explanation of the concept 'patriarchy' in your own words? What do you think is the most important point she makes? What patriarchal behaviours can you identify in your own family? in your community? here at UWC? Do you ever find yourself reproducing patriarchal behaviours? what examples can you think of, and why do you think that happens? How could you challenge this?</p> <p>Who is Malose Langa? what does he say about patriarchy and appropriate masculinity? what are the key issues that young boys confront in developing a sense of themselves as masculine? Langa employs a 'social constructionist' approach to gender/masculinity. How is masculinity a social rather than a biological construct? To what extent have you seen these kinds of tensions around masculinity operating in your own life and context?</p> <p>Who is Simidele Dosekun? How does she define feminism? Why does she feel the need to defend feminism? What does feminism offer African women according to Dosekun? Does this definition of feminism offer <i>you</i> anything useful? How would you change it? What alternative understandings of feminism interest you? What do you think are the key ideas of feminist theory? Does feminist theory have anything to offer men? Could men benefit from gender equality? How might SA men benefit from gender equality?</p>
9 April Guest Lecture: Patrick Godana (TBC)	11 April Documentary Film: <i>A Few Good Men & discussion</i>	TUT 7	<p>Online worksheet 9 due noon Mon 9 Apr</p> <p>Barker G. and Peacock, D. 2010. 'Making gender truly relational: Engaging men in transforming gender inequalities, reducing violence and preventing HIV'. <i>ALQ</i>, January 2010.</p>

	Patriarchal masculinities	Things to think about for tutorial 7 Who is Dean Peacock? How does Peacock define patriarchy and how does this compare to what hooks says? What unearned privileges do SA men get from patriarchy? How is patriarchy harmful to SA men? What is a zero sum game? Is gender equity a zero sum game? What could gender equity and feminist theory offer SA men? Where do hooks and Peacock agree with each other? Where do they differ? Do you think SA men would benefit from gender equity? If so how? Can masculinity without patriarchy exist? What would it look like?	
16 April Student presentations & discussion: Masculinity	18 April Transgender	TUT 8	Online worksheet 10 due noon Mon 16 Apr le Roux, G. with Saeed, H. & Tebbutt, C. 2012. 'Proudly African and Transgender'. <i>Women: A Cultural Review</i> , 23(1), pp.79-95
		Things to think about for tutorial 8 How is transgender different to intersex? what is the key difference between intersex people and transgender people? Why have the classes on intersex and transgender been separated in this module? What does the concept 'gender diversity' mean to you? How have different societies around the world accommodated gender diversity? Which society is right? and how do you know?	
23 April Transgender in cultural context	25 April Your photo essay; introducing the rubric	TUT 9	Online worksheet 11 due noon Mon 23 Apr Nkabinde, N. & Morgan, R. 2005. "This has happened since ancient times...it's something you are born with': Ancestral wives amongst same sex sangomas in South Africa'. In <i>Tommy Boys, Lesbian Men and Ancestral Wives</i> . R. Morgan & S. Wieringa, Eds. Jacana. <i>(Please note this text is in two parts, please read both)</i>
		Things to think about for tutorial 9 To what extent have/do African cultures accommodate gender & sexual diversities? why is so little known? why have gender non conforming behaviours been marginalised and criminalised in parts of Africa? Should such marginalisation be challenged? and if so how? How do traditional cultures offer opportunities for more socially just communities	
30 April No class: Work on your photo essay	2 May: No class: Work on your photo essay		

7 May Outstanding class presentations	9 May Outstanding class presentations		
14 May No class: Photo essay due today at noon	16 May No class: online evaluation of module		
STUDY PERIOD	18 May – 20 May		
ASSESSMENT	21 May - 13 June		
Re Evaluation	18 June – 28 June		

Enrichment texts:

Here are a selection of texts which you can explore if you're particularly interested in (or confused by!) a topic and would like to know more. Many of them are local and a number are written by students from UWC and other South African universities, particularly around issues raised in the context of the recent student movements.

[You will find all of these texts on Ikamva.](#)

If you'd like to know more about gender as learned and a performance:

- Lorber, J. 2003. 'The social construction of gender'. In *The Social Construction of Difference and Inequality*. T. Ore, Ed. New York: McGraw Hill.
- West, C. & Zimmerman, D. 1998. 'Doing Gender'. In *Feminist Foundations*. K. Myers, C. Anderson & B. Risman, Eds. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

If you'd like to know more about social identities, intersectionality and positionality, and how these play out in the 'real world':

- Crenshaw, K. 1991. 'Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics and violence against women of colour'. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), pp.1241-1299.
- Gouws, A. 2017. 'Feminist intersectionality and the matrix of domination in South Africa'. *Agenda*, 111, pp.19-27.
- Khan, K. 2017. 'Intersectionality in student movements: Black queer womxn and nonbinary activists in South Africa's 2015-2016 protests'. *Agenda*, 113, pp.110-121.
- Meer, T. and Müller, A. 2017. 'Considering intersectionality in Africa'. *Agenda*, 111, pp.3-4.
- Patel, N. 2007. 'Violent cistems: Trans experiences of bathroom space'. *Agenda*, 111, pp.51-63.
- Prah, E. 2017. 'Stratifications of blackness: Meditations on the intersect of gender, race and age'. *Agenda*, 111, pp.71-77
- Scott, L. 2017. 'Disrupting Johannesburg Pride: Gender, race and class in the LGBTI movement in South Africa'. *Agenda*, 111, pp.42-49.

If you'd like to explore transgender in more depth:

- Bonvillain, N. 1998. 'Gender and the body'. In *Women and Men: Cultural Constructs of Gender*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Davids, L. 'Violent exclusion': Address given at the Gender Dynamix & Iranti-org Trans Health, Advocacy and Research Conference, 3 March 2017. *Agenda*, 113, pp.31-34.
- Zama. 2009. 'Zama's story: 'to be the best man I can be''. In *TRANS: Transgender life stories from South Africa*. R. Morgan, C. Marais and J.R. Wellbeloved, Eds. Johannesburg: Jacana.

If you'd like to read more about (African) masculinities and male feminists:

- Peacock, D. 2005. 'We exist! Voices of male feminism'. In *Defending our Dreams: Global Feminist Voices for a New Generation*. S. Wilson, A. Sengupta and K. Evans, Eds. London: Zed Books.
- Swartz, S. & Bhana, A. 2009. 'Being there and providing; that's my job': young father's perspectives on good fathering. In *Teenage Tata: voices of young fathers in South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. 41-55.
- Ratele, K. 2008. 'Studying men in Africa critically'. In *Masculinities in contemporary Africa*. CODESRIA Gender series. E. Uchendu, Ed. Volume 7. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Uchendu, E. 2008. 'Are African Males Men? Sketching African Masculinities'. In *Masculinities in contemporary Africa*. CODESRIA Gender series. E. Uchendu, Ed. Volume 7. Dakar: CODESRIA.

If you'd like to read more around homosexuality and homophobia:

- Frye, M. 2000. 'Lesbian "Sex"'. In *Gender Through the Prism of Difference*. M.B. Zinn, P. Hondagneu-Sotelo and M. Messer, Eds. Needham Heights: Allyn & Bacon, pp.200-204.
- GALZ. 2008. *Unspoken facts: A history of homosexualities in Africa*. Harare: GALZ, pp.1-41
- Kendall, K., 1999. 'Women in Lesotho and the (Western) Construction of Homophobia'. E. Blackwood & S. Wieringa, Eds. *Female desires: same-sex relations and transgender practices across cultures*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 157-178.



Assessment and Evaluation - summary

MARK ALLOCATION WGS2 2018		
CONTINUOUS ASSESSMENT 50%		No. of As
	Tutorials	9
	Discussion Forum	2
	On Line Worksheets	11
	Total no of As	22
EXAM 50%	20% Class Presentation	
	30% Reflective Photo Essay	



The thing is, it's **patriarchy** that says men are stupid and monolithic and unchanging and incapable. It's patriarchy that says men have animalistic instincts and just can't stop themselves from harassing and assaulting. It's patriarchy that says men can only be attracted by certain qualities, can only have particular kinds of responses, can only experience the world in narrow ways.

Feminism holds that men are capable of more – are more than that.

WHEN I ASK FOR
EQUAL RIGHTS
WHY MUST YOU
ASSUME I WANT
TO BE TREATED
LIKE A MAN?



CONTINUOUS ASSESSMENT: EARN MARKS BY COLLECTING As

TUTORIALS There are 9 tutorials and so there are 9 opportunities to earn As		
A grade	B grade = No Grade	Note:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attend the tutorial - Arrive on time - Able to demonstrate to the tutor's satisfaction that the required text/s have been prepared/read. (Make sure you discuss how you do this with your tutor.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attend the tutorial - Arrive on time - Unable to demonstrate to the tutors satisfaction that the required text/s have been prepared 	Tutorials are optional. This A is for attendance and participation ; if you do not attend and demonstrate that you have prepared for the tut then you will not get a grade. If you are sick or unable to attend the tut for any other reason then you will get a 'B' or 'No grade'. Sick notes do not count.
DISCUSSION FORUM There are 2 opportunities to earn an A grade via participation in the Discussion Forum		
Earn an A Grade in each quarter by making 5 or more relevant posts before the end of the quarter. In the first quarter your first post could be a brief introduction to yourself, who you are where you come from, why you are doing gender studies, any anxieties you might have about the module, and tell us something that you care about! Subsequent posts could be about something topical that involves gender, sex, sexuality, etc., that you'd like to share, or you could discuss an issue raised in class or in the media. You could tell the class about something you have read or experienced on campus or off; you could relate this to the theory being covered, and/or you could respond to something that someone else has shared. Ultimately, this is about joining the conversation and having your say! The deadline for the 5 posts in the 1st quarter is noon Friday 23 March. The deadline for the 2nd quarter is noon Friday 9 May.		
ONLINE WORKSHEETS There is at least 1 online work sheet each week (sometimes more than one) and here's how you earn an A for one of them		
A	B B's DON'T COUNT FOR MARKS	No Grade
Clearly and unambiguously engage with ONE of the relevant required readings ²⁹ ; 400-500 words long and submitted on/before due date; <u>Correctly referenced</u> (in text AND ref list), with academic conventions around referencing followed accurately ³⁰	WONT GET THE A if you: Don't meet the required word length OR Mess up your referencing (eg in texts refs missing, ref list missing; Miss the due date; But all is not lost – if you are lucky you might be offered a chance to fix the errors and get the B turned into an A.	No chance to fix errors will be offered if the submission: Fails to engage clearly and unambiguously with one of the relevant readings; Engages with the wrong reading. Is much too short.

²⁹ You could summarise the text, identify the key points, or reflect critically on something that is said in the text. You could draw attention to key ideas raised in the text that overlap with other modules or other texts, or things that you find confusing or challenging to understand. Show that you have read the text – you have to convince me you have read it to get the A grade.

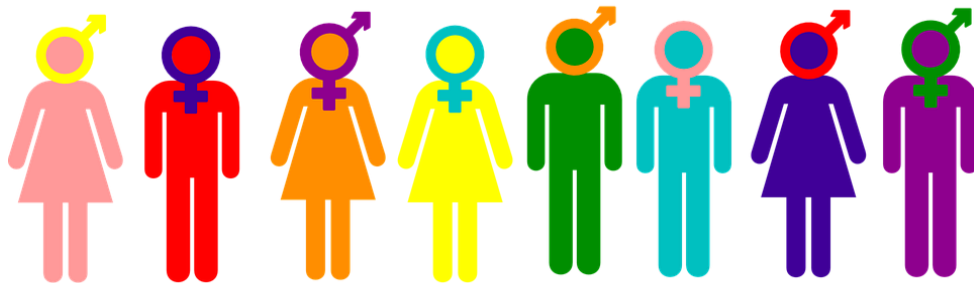
³⁰ Referencing must be accurate, complete and consistent for an A to be awarded. It doesn't matter which referencing convention you use, but be careful not to mix and match systems. Referencing is difficult and so you **may** be given an opportunity to fix referencing mistakes in the first quarter in order to upgrade from a B to an A.

How do As convert into marks?

How do the As you collect for the Continuous Assessment component of the module translate into marks? **You** decide how many As you want and plan your work accordingly!

See table on the right...

- If you want a coursework mark of 30 what should you do?
- If you want a coursework mark of 50 what do you need to do?
- If you wanted a coursework mark of 60 what do you need to do?
- How would you get a coursework mark of 70?
- Is it possible to get a coursework mark of 100? How could you do it?



CONTINUOUS ASSESSMENT A GRADES	
16+	100%
15 As	90%
14 As	80%
13 As	70%
12 As	60%
11 As	55%
10 As	50%
9 As	45%
8 As	40%
7 As	35%
6 As	30%
5 As	

"Often in my lectures when I use the phrase "imperialist white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy" to describe our nation's political system, audiences laugh. No one has ever explained why accurately naming this system is funny. The laughter is itself a weapon of patriarchal terrorism."

~ bell hooks

EXAMINABLE TASKS:

1. Presentation & peer reviewing of presentations 20%

Working either alone or in a group, and in consultation with your lecturers or tutors, prepare a short presentation (maximum 5 minutes) around ONE of the following tasks. Your starting point needs to be your own life experiences of being a gendered person. Consult your lecturers and tutors for ideas and to decide on an appropriate date for your presentation to the class. The availability of time slots will be limited (so if you have a preference let us know ASAP!) and presentations will need to speak to the focus of the class. You are encouraged to be creative. In 2017 students produced brief performances, digital stories and short films as well as PowerPoint presentations. And remember that this presentation offers an opportunity to get feedback for your photo-essay exam that is due at the end of the module.

1. Draw on your own life and cultural background to explain/show the difference between sex and gender in a language that is **not** English. Your presentation must draw on appropriate academic texts and be intelligible to students (and teachers) who **don't** speak the language you have chosen.
2. Draw on your own life and cultural background to explain/ show how gender is socially constructed and how gender differences/inequalities are socially produced eg through the consumption of everyday products. Remember to draw on appropriate academic texts.
3. Draw on your own life and cultural background to describe/show behaviours associated with appropriate/hegemonic masculinity in contemporary South Africa. Your presentation should draw on appropriate academic texts and everyday examples to illustrate behaviours read as masculine by students.
4. Draw on your own life and cultural background to describe/show behaviours associated with appropriate femininity in contemporary South Africa. Your presentation should draw on appropriate academic texts and everyday examples to illustrate behaviours read as feminine by students.
5. Draw on your own life and cultural background to show/explain how we are each implicated in reproducing gender differences/inequalities, how we police our own behaviours to maintain gender binaries - and how we might challenge ourselves/others to do things differently. Remember to draw on appropriate academic texts.
6. Draw on your own life and cultural background to show/explain how either formal or informal systems of social control contribute to maintaining gender differences and social inequalities. Remember to draw on appropriate academic texts and use examples that students in class are likely to be familiar with.

How will your presentation be evaluated?

	Excellent 3	Average 2	Weak 1	
I knew what the presentation was going to be about because there was a clear opening statement				I wasn't sure what the focus of the presentation was going to be
The presentation stayed clearly focused on the topic				There were some parts of the presentation that didn't seem relevant
The academic references used were appropriate				No references were used, or the references were inappropriate
The presentation finished within the 5 minute limit				The presenters didn't finish in the 5 minute limit, or it was too short
I learned something from the presentation, it was interesting and made me think				I found the presentation boring

2. Examinable Photo Essay 30%

Instead of a formal examination this module will end with a photo essay in which you reflect on what you have learned over the module of the semester. You will be working on this photo essay over the whole semester through free writing exercises in class, through online worksheets, tutorial discussions and conversations on the Discussion Forum as well as through your class presentation. You are advised to maintain a learning diary/ journal. You can do this on line using the blog facility on Ikamva or you can do it the old fashioned way with pen and paper. Don't lose the bits of paper though! In this journal/blog you should reflect (after each engagement with the module, whether it's something that struck you during class, whilst doing readings, or when engaging with others, eg peers, friends or family) on what you expected to learn, what surprised you about ideas you encountered (either from readings, from other students, from lecturers or tutors) and how what you learned is or could be integrated (or not) into your daily life. This blog/journal is important because it will form the basis for your reflective essay that is the examinable component of this module.

This sentence has five words. Here are five more words.
Five-word sentences are fine. But several together become monotonous. Listen to what is happening. The writing is getting boring. The sound of it drones. It's like a stuck record. The ear demands some variety.

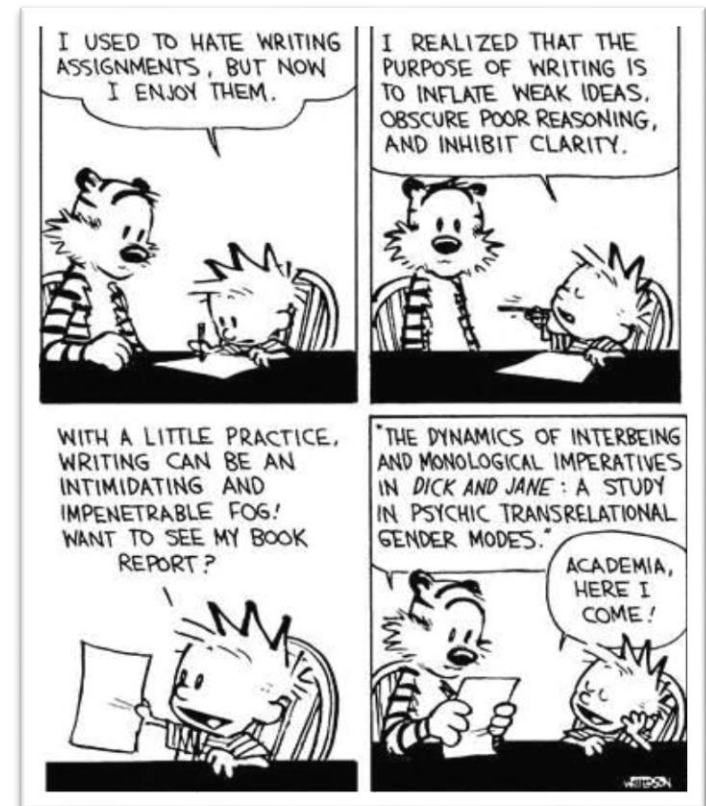
Now listen. I vary the sentence length, and I create music. Music. The writing sings. It has a pleasant rhythm, a lilt, a harmony. I use short sentences. And I use sentences of medium length. And sometimes when I am certain the reader is rested, I will engage him with a sentence of considerable length, a sentence that burns with energy and builds with all the impetus of a crescendo, the roll of the drums, the crash of the cymbals—sounds that say listen to this, it is important.

So write with a combination of short, medium, and long sentences. Create a sound that pleases the reader's ear. Don't just write words. Write music.

—Gary Provost

Essay Title: My gendered life

- Due at noon on Monday 14 May
- 2000 words & 2-4 photos
- Referencing must be correct throughout.
- A detailed rubric will be shared with the class later in the module



WGS3 2017

Research project: Succeeding at UWC

What institutional circumstances and arrangements have promoted successful learning at the University of the Western Cape in contemporary South Africa?

Have you found university easy? Or has it been a challenge? What challenges have you faced? In what ways have you felt marginalized, alienated, excluded (think about class, race, gender, sexuality, religion, ethnicity or other social/group identities)? And most importantly - how have you overcome these obstacles and challenges to arrive in your final year of study? What and who has helped/supported you? How? What resources (cultural, social, political, organizational, institutional etc) have you been able to draw on to overcome these constraints?

Lecturers:

Tutors:

Classes are held on Mondays during lunch and 5th periods in the Library Auditorium



	EVALUATION & ASSESSMENT	marks	DUE DATE	RETURNED BY
1	Draft Literature Review 1000 words	10	21 August	1 September
2	Draft Methodology 1000 words	10	1 September	14 September
3	Final Research Proposal 2500 words	15 (or 35*)	22 September	9 October
4	Data collection	10	9 October	16 October
5	Draft data analysis 2500 words	15	23 October	2 November
6	FINAL EXAMINABLE RESEARCH REPORT 6000 words	40	9 November	Marked & Submitted to external examiner by 20 November

*marks for the draft lit review/methodology papers **may** be over ridden if a higher mark is obtained for the proposal.

Learning objectives: By the end of this module you should:

- Have developed some proficiency and familiarity with the steps/ stages involved in conducting original research
- Have some understanding of how a research question can be developed
- Know how to find out what is already known and be able to write a review of this literature
- Be able to explain and justify methodological choices
- Be able to put together a coherent research proposal (plan for research)
- Understand and implement one data gathering method (photovoice in 2017)
- Understand and use a qualitative thematic analysis to evaluate and write about the data gathered
- Be able to demonstrate your proficiency with the above and your mastery of the conventions of academic writing by producing an externally examinable Final Research Report.

This research project offers a taste of what you would do if you decide to continue into post graduate study.



Date	Time & venue	Class	focus	
7 August	Lib Aud 5 th & lunch	Intro to the module The Research question Writing support Research skills Ikamva & Turnitin	What is the module about and how do you pass it? Finalising the research question What writing support is offered? How to find the literature you will need to do assignment 1 How to use ikamva and Turnitin	No tutorial
14 August	Lib Aud 5 th & lunch	Assignment 1 Lit Rev paper 10% 1000 words due Mon 21 August Literature review: writing & evaluation Referencing	How to write a literature review What is a literature review, how do you write a literature review? Introducing the Literature review rubric; how <i>lecturers</i> use the rubric to evaluate your writing How to use Turnitin effectively (and thereby avoid a visit to the Proctors office)	Tutorial 1: Assignment 1 (Draft Literature Review) Tutorial Activity 1 – find ONE reading you think is relevant to the research question. Summarise what it says about obstacles to learning in South Africa’s higher education institutions in <i>less than 300 words</i> . Share your summary with others in your group and decide which of the shared texts will be the most useful for assignment 1 Think about how you found the text, eg what your search terms were, how you chose this text above the others that came up, and why you think it’s relevant. Share your summary with others in the group, and decide which of the texts you think will be most useful for assignment 1. What criteria could you use to decide this? Tutorial Activity 2- mapping out a preliminary draft of your literature review Bring summaries of 4 relevant readings (with complete refs) and start thinking about how to turn these summaries into a literature review. Hint – look at the rubric!

21 August	Lib Aud 5th & lunch	Assignment 2 Methodology paper 10% 1000 words due Fri 1st September	How to write a methodology paper What is methodology, what's the best methodology for answering your research question? Input on qualitative and feminist research methodology Ethical issues in research Introducing the methodology rubric	Tutorial 2: Assignment 2 (Draft methodology paper) Tutorial Activity – mapping out a preliminary draft of your methodology paper Bring a list of 3 reasons why this research is feminist, or 3 principles of feminist research methodology that will guide your research. Each reason needs to be supported by a reference. Share these reasons with your group – how many different reasons can you find? Now list some key principles of feminist qualitative methodology that will guide your research project? And what about your sources? How convincing are they? What supporting references do you have? And what does the rubric have to say that might be important? And are there any queries about data gathering?
28 August	NO CLASS: Work on your methodology paper			
4 September	Lib Aud 5 th & lunch	Assignment 3: Research proposal (15% OR 35%) 2500 words due Fri 22 September	How to write a research proposal Reworking the draft lit review & methodology papers and developing a rationale (see tut 3) for the research proposal Introducing the research proposal rubric	Tutorial 3: Assignment 3 (Research Proposal) Tutorial Activity – how to write a rationale for your proposal Prepare for the tutorial by drafting a paragraph on why this research is important, why it matters to you, to other students, to UWC administration, to the government.... Who else? Share this with the group and use this to write the rationale for your proposal. Are there queries about the rubric?
11 September	Lib Aud 5 th & lunch	Assignment 3: Research proposal Writing Workshop	How to write a GREAT research proposal Making sense of feedback on drafts, using the rubric to improve your mark; common writing, referencing errors how to fix them	No tutorial – attend the writing workshop that focuses on assignment 3

18 Sept	Lib Aud 5 th & lunch	Assignment 4: Data Collection	Generating data How do you gather your data? photo voice method; data gathering rubric how to take cool photos	Tutorial 4: Assignment 4, data collection Tutorial activity – sharing stories of your learning journeys, when did you think - I can't do this? How did you overcome this? What resources did you draw on? When did you begin to think 'I <i>can</i> do this?' Who/what contributed to your feeling that you <i>could</i> get your degree? That you <i>could</i> be successful? What was this contribution? Draw on this tutorial to start write about your own experiences
25 September	No class (public holiday)			
2 October	No class (University vacation)			
9 Oct	Lib Aud 5 th & Lunch	Assignment 5: part 1 Data analysis	analyzing data How do we figure out what our data tells us? How do we use data to answer our research question? Introducing the data analysis rubric Writing a data analysis - Identifying patterns and how to write about patterns	Tutorial 5: Assignment 5, data analysis Tutorial activity - Using data to build an argument If you could change one thing on this campus to have enhanced your learning journey what would it be? Why? How would this have improved your learning? Draw on the shared data (narratives and images) generated by students to think about the patterns emerging out of the data/narratives: What patterns can <i>you</i> see about ways in which student narratives speak of obstacles to being successful, feeling disempowered or marginalized (eg class, race, gender, religion, ethnicity, sexuality etc). What evidence (ie quotes) do you see in the data to support your claim? What patterns did you expect to find? (eg marginalisations structured around class, gender, race, sexuality, or other) and did you find them? What evidence can you offer to support your claim? KEY QUESTION: What patterns can you see about ways in which the narratives show how other students <i>overcame</i> obstacles, experiences of marginalization, disempowerment? Who/what was involved? What resources were used/available? How? Where? When? What evidence in the narratives (ie quotes) can you find to support your answer?

16 October	Lib Aud 5th & lunch	Assignment 5: part 2 Panel Discussion: preliminary research findings	Student panel: What have we learned? What does the data tell us? What have we learned about how students overcome challenges? How do we make what we have learned available to others? Can we contribute to knowledge production? And if so how?	There are no more formal tutorials, However tutors will be available for individual consultations if you would like support and guidance on how to best prepare your exam paper. The Writing Centre will also be able to offer insight into improving the final research report that stands as your externally examinable exam paper.
23 October	Lib Aud 5th & lunch	Assignment 6: FINAL RESEARCH REPORT	How do you write your examinable research report? How do you put all your assignments together to write your final research report? Using the rubric	
30 October	Lib Aud 5th & lunch	Assignment 6 Writing Workshop: data analysis; final research report	your very best exam paper Engaging with feedback on writing about data; strengthening your data analysis: working through the rubric, identifying common writing and referencing errors and how to fix them; Perfecting your exam paper so that it is the very best you are capable of Evaluation of the module; preparing for the exhibition	
6 November	No class	ASSIGNMENT 6: YOUR EXAM PAPER: Your Final Research Report 6000 words due Thursday 9 November on Turnitin.		

Monday 13 November:

The module will end with a **PUBLIC EXHIBITION** of selected images and narratives
Details about the exhibition will be shared closer to the time

APPENDIX C: An example of an information letter given to students

Information Sheet

Project title: Socially just teaching in Women's & Gender Studies (WGS) at UWC

What is this study about?

This is an exploratory study that aims to develop a deeper understanding of the factors that support or undermine students' teaching and learning experiences, and to explore which teaching and learning activities can enhance learning.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

Participation may take a variety of forms. The researcher hopes to draw on class discussions, anonymous online surveys, in-class surveys, comments made on the online discussion forums as well as written work including students' reflective essays. If you agree for these kinds of engagements to be used by the researcher, please sign the 'informed consent' form. Additionally, students may be invited to participate in focus groups discussions or interviews to reflect on their experiences as a student at UWC and in particular through this WGS module. These discussions would take place on campus and last about an hour.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

Yes, your personal information will be kept confidential. To help protect your confidentiality, your real name will not be included in the data collection and all information collected will be password protected. The researcher will use pseudonyms to represent your name and only the researcher will have access to information which links you to the collected data. When the data is reported, your identity will at all times be protected.

Would my participation link to module assessments?

No; this study not linked to module assessment, and your participation, or non-participation, will not affect your module marks in any way.

What are the risks of this research?

Although it is unlikely, there may be some unintended risks from participating in this research study. You may talk about or recall traumatic experiences in your past and present. This may be emotionally uncomfortable or cause emotional or psychological distress. If you are traumatized in any way then the researcher will help you access a counsellor.

What are the benefits of this research?

It is hoped that gaining a better understanding of who WGS students are and how they experience the WGS module/s will help to improve module design and contribute to the broader project of developing transformative and socially just pedagogies at UWC and other higher education institutions.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all (eg you do not have to submit responses to anonymous online or in-class tests, and you could opt out of your essay being used for data collection by not signed the “informed consent” form, etc.). If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time by contacting the researcher or another member of the WGS staff. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating during the study you will not be penalized in any way. If at any stage you are unsure about this please contact the researcher, the module lecturer or another WGS staff member (see below).

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Susan Gredley, PhD candidate under the supervision of Prof Vivienne Bozalek (...), Director of Teaching and Learning at UWC, and Prof Tammy Shefer (...) of the Women’s & Gender Studies Department. Susan’s details appear at the bottom of this information sheet and on the consent forms and you are welcome to contact her to ask questions or report any problems you have experienced related to the study.

If you would rather contact an independent staff member, please contact:

Dr Sisa Ngabaza, Senior Lecturer
Women's and Gender Studies Department
Tel: +27 21 959 3354 / Email:

Researcher’s Details:

Susan Gredley, PhD candidate
Women’s and Gender Studies
Phone (021) 959 2234 or Email:

APPENDIX D: Informed consent forms

Focus group confidentiality binding form

Project title: Socially just pedagogies in Women's & Gender Studies at UWC

The study has been described to me in language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and that I may withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any time and this will not negatively affect me in any way. I agree to be digitally recorded during my participation in the focus group. I also agree not to disclose any information that was discussed during the group discussion, including the names of other participants.

- I **agree** to be digitally recorded during my participation in the focus group component of this study
- I **give consent** for the researcher to use the recording of the focus group
- I agree **not** to disclose any information that was discussed during group discussions, including the names of other participants.

Participant's name

Participant's signature

Date

Researcher's Details

Susan Gredley, PhD candidate
Women's & Gender Studies Department
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17, Belville 7535
Telephone: (021) 959 2234
3580431@myuwc.ac.za

Individual Consent Form

Project title: Socially just pedagogies in Women's & Gender Studies at UWC

The study has been described to me in language that I understand, and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and that I may withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any time and this will not negatively affect me in any way. I also understand that there I will receive no rewards for giving this permission, and that there will of course be no penalty for refusing to give it.

Please select from the list of options below:

- I agree that comments I make on the online discussion forums may be used by the researcher
- I agree that comments I make in written work (eg online submissions, reflective essay) may be may be used by the researcher
- I agree that the data collected by any anonymous questionnaires may be used by the researcher
- I agree to be digitally recorded in an individual interview
- I give consent for that recording to be used by the researcher

Participant's name

Participant's signature

Date.....

Researcher's Details

Susan Gredley
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University of the Western Cape
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Telephone: (021) 959 2234
3580431@myuwc.ac.za

