

**Walking the Spatial Triad: How do Rhodians experience Rhodes
University as a place?**

**A thesis submitted to Rhodes University in partial fulfilment for the degree
of Master of Art in Political and International Studies**

By

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Abstract

Globally and locally the documentation of the experience of the tertiary education institution as a place in the human or cultural geography sense of the word is an under-utilised academic exercise. Locally, however, with the 2015 #RhodesMustFall moment which highlighted South Africa's tertiary education institutions as places of meaning and accompanying experience, the documentation of such overlooked place experience became ever more pressing. The purpose of this thesis is to document how some members of the population of one South African tertiary education, the Rhodians of Rhodes University, experience that university as the place that it is to them. This is a phenomenological documentation of experience as the thesis makes it a point to look at a selection of Rhodians and their experience of emplacement in the place that is Rhodes University. In-depth mobile interviews, closely related to transect walks, were conducted with 12 Rhodians randomly selected in the hope for maximum sample variation. The interviews were conducted with the aid of a camera recording each participant's daily transit route through campus as they reflected on their experience of Rhodes University as the place it is for them. The thesis finds that the experience of Rhodes University as a place is highly informed by the university's built and decorated environment being a visual experience that is both walked through as part of living in the place, and wherein people find themselves engaging in social relations with other Rhodians. The thesis also finds that the experience of Rhodes University as a place is also highly informed by previous experiences of places as visual and social activity entities – that the participants bring other places with them into *this* place. The Rhodians who participated in this research experience the placeness of Rhodes University as an emplacement that is part old, part modern, part intrigue, and part contest. Socially the university is found to be both challenging and negotiable in line with what the individual Rhodian is and is not willing to do in accordance with their emplacement and its social demands. Ultimately, the experience of Rhodes University as a place is highly

determined by the individual Rhodian's past experiences of emplacement and the expectations that they bring with them which shape what their present place is to them.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mother Ms Lindeni Mtolo. Okungijabulisayo wukuthi kubukeka ngathi okuningi owangifundisa kusenami. Imfundiso yakho iyangilandela.

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Chapter 1: Introduction:

1.1. Background and Rationale for current study:

The post-apartheid South African tertiary education sector has been extensively researched since the early 1990s (see Badat, 1994, 1995; Bunting, 1994; Fisher, 1998; Cloete and Bunting, 2000; Cooper and Subotzky, 2001). This research has been focused on particular realms of the country's tertiary institutions. There has been relatively large emphasis on research related to topics of transformation in all its facets (see Kraak, 2000; Ensor, 2006; Akooge and Nkomo, 2007) and the experiences of people within those realms that are related to transformation (see Badsha and Harper, 2000; Woods, 2001; Sennett *et al.*, 2003; Walker, 2005; Pattman, 2007). What has been consistent, however, with this engagement has been the piecemeal manner of looking at the experiences of people within the tertiary institution sector. For instance, there are volumes of work on the experiences of lecturers (see Waghid, 2002; Coetzee, 2004; Coetzee and Rothmann, 2005; Jaffer *et al.*, 2007; Bezuidenhout and Cilliers, 2010), the previously disadvantaged and excluded populations (see Tait *et al.*, 2002; Hay, 2008; Mqgqwashu, 2009; Petersen *et al.*, 2009), and the need to transform universities even further (see Cloete *et al.*, 2002; Naude *et al.*, 2003; Cloete, 2006; Sehoole, 2013).

In comparison, other topics such as the interwoven experiences of people from all walks of life who are not considered as part of a particular group of the concerned university's community (see Schrieff, 2004; Cross and Johnson, 2008; Cross *et al.*, 2009; Sartorius and Sartorius, 2013) have not been extensively researched. Furthermore, research of the tertiary institution as a space existing beyond just that of possible transformation, the experiences of the (previously) disadvantaged, and other such topics that affect not only South Africa but the rest of the world as well have been rather neglected (see Chow and Healey, 2008; Xu *et al.*, 2015). Ultimately, the South African tertiary institution sector as an entity greater than the sum of its parts – at least for those experiencing it from within – has been largely overlooked.

In the year 2015 in the month of March at the University of Cape Town was highlighted –rather voluntarily – an area of possible research within the tertiary institution, and the rest of South African society, that has remained largely overlooked. The defacing of the Cecil John Rhodes statue at the University of Cape Town that saw the establishment and introduction of the

#RhodesMustFall movement did two things: (a) the instance highlighted the “pain” that some individuals felt when seeing some decorations of that nature upon their physical and decorated environment and, perhaps more importantly, (b) the instance highlighted an experience of the built and decorated environment of some of the country’s tertiary institutions as spaces of meaning in terms of their being places (see Lemon, 2016; Mamdani, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2016).

The literature that currently exists on the experience of the built and decorated environment as a meaning-infusing (and infused) part of tertiary institutions – not just here in South Africa but globally –remains largely focused on the experiences of the disabled occupants of tertiary institutions (see Losinsky *et al.*, 2003; Crouse, 2004; Howell, 2006; Matshedisho, 2007a, 2007b). As far as the environment of the tertiary institution is concerned, the word ‘environment’ is mentioned some fourteen times in the momentous White Paper of 1997, displaying its importance to any notion of transformation. In other documents such as the National Plan for Higher Education of 2001, the Restructuring the Higher Education System document also of 2001, and the Green Paper for Post-School Education of 2012, the word ‘environment’ is used extensively. Following the term throughout the documents makes known the many and differing usages of the term. In the numerous instances of reference to ‘environment’ it is in actuality a look at ‘atmosphere’ (or ambience) and what it makes of the living experience of the student – and in some cases the academic and support staff. Usage of the term is also linked to reflections upon topics such as tolerance, conduciveness to successful study and the unhindered exertion of academic capability.

It is crucial to look at tertiary institutions and the ways all races and creeds of people experience them, as places which are meaningful in their ‘placeness’. The notion of place, and thus placeness, that is used in this introduction is that advanced by the place theorist Yi Fu Tuan in his work entitled “*Space and Place: A Humanistic Perspective*” (1979). According to this work, place is an entity with three traits. Places are within themselves spaces of spirit, personality and sometimes can be sensed. By spirit Tuan means the sacred ‘places’ within spaces (Tuan, 1979: 408). Tuan argues further that the personality of the place can be found in the interaction between the space’s natural endowment and the decorations which have been added upon this natural environment. For instance, Grahamstown is a different place with all the human (and sometimes natural) modifications and additions to its landscape than it is

without them. Lastly, people can have a sense of place (Tuan, 1979: 408-409). This is to say that places are experienced through the five senses and this sensing informs the 'relationship' that a person grows to have with a place.

The #RhodesMustFall moment highlighted the need for place experience to be documented as it is a door to an overt (and historic) conversation between individuals and meaningful built and decorated environments (see Tuan, 1974; Buttimer, 1976; Relph, 1976). This thesis is an attempt at presenting a part of the experiences individuals have while finding themselves within meaningful built and decorated environments as tertiary institution inhabitants.

1.2. Conceptual framing: the concept of place

This study was carried out at Rhodes University. Rhodes University like all universities in the world looks to be a place that is welcoming and comfortable for all people who walk through its doors or are affiliated with the institution through means other than study. In recent years there has been an emphasis on communicating Rhodes University as a "home for all" people regardless of previous experiences as informed by race, gender, and other informants of life experiences. Feeling 'at home' is part of the experience of place (see Sixsmith, 1986; Moore, 2000). The #RhodesMustFall moment, which was the result of a culmination of not feeling 'at home' by some people both acted as a conversation between the individual and the environment and touched on the importance of the experience of tertiary institutions as places, i.e. meaningful (built and) decorated environments (see Gray, 1978, Higgins, 2002; Cartland *et al.*, 2003; Lindseth and Norberg, 2004; Sanchez-Carretero, 2014). This experience-through-conversation has shown itself to lead to overt actions and emotions. It is therefore crucial for those involved in it to document some part of the experience.

Disciplines including Philosophy, Psychology, Geography, and Politics have been influential in the study of place. The concept has proven itself rather complicated, and thus allows extensive utility between disciplines often thought as unrelated (Malpas, 1999; Cresswell, 2014). For this research undertaking, the concept of place is thought of in the classic sense of referring to meaningful (built and) decorated environments of life worlds (see Relph, 1970, 2015; Tuan, 1976, 1979; Entrikin, 1976). People find themselves often emplaced within

geographical sites that grow to be (and are) meaningful (see Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987; Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Jackson, 1989; Anderson and Gale, 1992).

1.3. Scope of the study

The focus of the study are the Rhodians and their experiences of Rhodes University as a place. This is not a study focusing on any particular group of Rhodians. It is a study of the Rhodian, i.e. any member of the Rhodes University population regardless of race, gender, class or preoccupation within the geographical site that is Rhodes University. The experience of Rhodes University as place is important to grasp from all its possible angles. This documentation does not (and cannot) claim to speak for all Rhodians and their experience of Rhodes University as a place. The research instead presents some of the experiences of place to be found among the community of Rhodians. The experiences relayed by the Rhodians speak on place experience as being informed by both the physical environment and the social environment. The Rhodians often separate the two facets of place experience (physical build and social space) so as to delve deeper into their personal and more consequential experiences of emplacement. If an experience of whatever nature is consequential enough, it informs the overall quality of place experience by the Rhodian.

1.4. Structure

1.4.1. Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter introduces the prevailing thesis as a pressing addition to contemporary debates that surround the experience of place. The introduction provides an overview of the current literature in relation to the South African tertiary education landscape's 'placeness'. The thesis aims to look at a usually underutilised part of the debate on emplacement.

1.4.2. Chapter 2: Background and Context

This chapter looks at Rhodes University specifically. The chapter contextualises Rhodes University as a party that is affected by the prevailing debates over the experience of emplacement by individuals. To outline how it is that Rhodes University can be argued as affected, the chapter looks at the history of Rhodes University as a built and decorated

environment alongside looking at some studies which have touched on some of the themes of emplacement experience.

1.4.3. Chapter 3: Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of the literature on the topic of place. The discussion of place is looked at both historically, in terms of how it has developed a discussed topic, and also in terms of the numerous debate areas which have sprouted from this rather lively area of preoccupation.

1.4.4. Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

The chapter zooms in on the part of the debate over place experience that the author of this thesis utilises in order to look at the Rhodians' experience of place. The theory by the French Marxist theorist, Henri Lefebvre, is utilised. The chapter explains this theory and looks at it in relation to other theories of place in an attempt to highlight the merit of utilising such a theory.

1.4.5. Chapter 5: Methodology, procedures, and techniques

This chapter is a recollection of all methods and procedures that were utilised by the author of the thesis in order to manage and organise the data that was collected from the participants of the research. This chapter contains extensive details of the qualitative research paradigm utilised, the data collection process and how data was analysed in order to come up with the information presented throughout the rest of the thesis. This research is a phenomenological documentation of Rhodians' experience of the place that Rhodes University is. In-depth mobile open-ended interviews were conducted with 12 Rhodians who were kind enough to communicate their experiences of Rhodes University as a place. The interview process was then coded using In Vivo and Focused coding methods. Interviewing stopped when no new information was being gained from the participants.

1.4.6. Chapter 6: Being within the design

This chapter looks at the experience of being within the Rhodes University built and decorated environment –especially as an environment that is first and foremost experienced as a visual

experience. This chapter looks at the Rhodes University visual in terms of expectations, the deliberate looking at the physical environment and the possibilities that some Rhodians see for contestation over the alleged disposition of the built and decorated environment.

1.4.7. Chapter 7: The people who walk between the buildings

This chapter primarily looks at the social relations that can be found on the Rhodes University campus and how some Rhodians experience such relations. The chapter looks at person-to-person relations, the experience of alleged social cultures found at Rhodes University, the experience of community within campus, and feelings of being ‘at home’ within the Rhodes University campus.

1.4.8. Chapter 8: Subjectivity and Rhodes University

This chapter looks to delve a bit deeper into why Rhodians believe that they have the experience that they have of Rhodes University as a place. The chapter focuses extensively on the theme of subjectivity and how it affects the experience of emplacement. The emotional response of some Rhodians to the experience of Rhodes University as a place is briefly looked at as well.

1.4.9. Chapter 9: Conclusion

This chapter summarises the findings of the research. The experience of the placeness of Rhodes University is shown as affecting Rhodians consequentially for they are subject to various ideas about what it means to be a Rhodian experiencing Rhodes University as their current area of emplacement. The Rhodians touch on the experience of the aesthetic that Rhodes University is, and the social relations reality that is to be found on campus. Through the experience of both these realms of Rhodes University’s existence the Rhodians feel they react according to the sort of people they are or believe that they are. The thesis argues for many factors being consequential to the resulting experience of Rhodes University as a place.

1.5. Summary

This thesis examines how Rhodians (a term referring to any member of the Rhodes University population) experience being in the place that Rhodes University is. Employing the

phenomenological approach, using the concept of 'place' as my theoretical framework, I look at how some Rhodians experience their emplacement within Rhodes University. The analysis of the information I received from the participating Rhodians yielded themes of 'being within campus,' 'people found on campus,' and 'subjectivity within campus'. These themes I presented as they were relayed my way by the Rhodians as they often came from different angles of the experience. It then became important to present the findings side-by-side to show variation upon themes. The Rhodians spoke extensively on those experiences of emplacement which matter to them in determining their overall quality of place experience within Rhodes University. There are some divergences in experience (owed to numerous factors that inform subjectivity) and there are convergences (mostly owed to the built and decorated environment that the Rhodes University campus is) in the experience of Rhodes University as place.

Chapter 2: Background and Context

2.1. Introduction

Globally, the university remains a problematized environment. There are numerous calls for both reform and transformation in regard to the many realms of the tertiary institution's existence (see for example Sporn, 2003; 21st Century Commission on the Future of Community Colleges, 2012; Durie, 2009; Besong, 2014; Yizengaw, 2008, Asian Development Bank; 2012). Globally, the university has been reflecting upon its profile as a 'living and lived' environment.

In most of the global South, and by extension in South Africa, the university in its recent and current incarnation is a colonial construct. With the colonial past being exclusionary, the university has had to self-engage and codify policies aimed at a two-fold inclusion; this is inclusion both in terms of increasing the number of the previously excluded population enrolled at the tertiary institution and inclusion in terms of integrating these previously excluded people within the institution's living and lived environment (see for example Ministry of Education, 2001; Cloete *et al.*, 2006; Council on Higher Education, 2000).

The tertiary institution in South Africa has extensively been engaged by both reform and transformation (Department of Education, 1997; Ministry of Education, 2001; Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions, 2008; Department of Higher Education and Training, 2012). Universities have been doing extensive self-reflection, either voluntarily or at the behest of such documents as the Education White Paper. There have also been follow-ups on this reflection that is meant to create concrete policy. The institutions have been judged accordingly upon their merits (Council on Higher Education, 2007; Badat, 2010, Mouton et al., 2013). Inevitably, the level of inclusiveness among the tertiary institution's population has been the area of much focus.

A number of documents dealing with the desired transformation of the university in South Africa closely link inclusivity to a notion of the 'environment'. For an example of this relationship, the word 'environment' is mentioned some fourteen times in the momentous

White Paper of 1997, displaying its importance to any notion of transformation. In other documents such as National Plan for Higher Education of 2001, the Restructuring the Higher Education System document also of 2001, and Green Paper for Post-School Education of 2012, the word ‘environment’ is used extensively. A cultured following of the term throughout the documents makes known the many and differing usages of the term. In the numerous instances of reference to ‘environment’ the term in actuality looks at ‘atmosphere’ (or ambience) and what it makes of the living experience of the student or in some cases the academic and the support staff. Usage of the term is also linked to reflections upon topics such as tolerance, conduciveness to successful study and the unhindered exertion of academic capability.

My research seeks to move away from such reflection upon the tertiary institution. I look to focus extensively on the placeness of Rhodes University –especially on the images, statues and cultured architecture –and the social relations upon the university campus. Looking specifically at Rhodes University, an institution that at some point in its recent past looked to be a ‘home for all,’ I hope to discuss a reflection upon the tertiary institution environment which has been historically under-utilised in thoughts towards transformation.

a. A look at historical Rhodes University

Rhodes University is a tertiary institution located in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape – one of the poorer provinces in the South Africa. The university was established in the year 1904 as the Rhodes University College. The university came up with its name through convenience as it had looked to procure a grant from the Rhodes Fund (Hendricks and Vale, 2005: 15-16). This procurement cemented a connection between the institution and the champions of imperialism. Ultimately, the institution would be both a physical and ideological construct (Hendricks and Vale, 2005: 233).

The physical environment of Rhodes University College was designed by the architect Sir Herbert Baker. Alongside its ideological aims of countering the Dutch/Afrikaner nationalism, which at the time was engulfing the Western Cape, Rhodes University College was constructed to be distinctively English and based on the so-called Oxbridge model (Hendricks and Vale, 2005: 185; Maylam, 2014). The buildings were English; the culture was English (gowns for supper and tea at specific times) and the atmosphere was English (unmistakably British images

were displayed on the walls and English poetry was the order of the day) – a close ‘Oxford in the bush’.

The buildings were inspired by those found in Oriel College at Oxford University (Hendricks and Vale, 2005; Schmahmann, 2013) and would be made to meet English conventions for tertiary institutions. As the institution was meant to make manifest an English connection, the building architecture had to be unmistakably English. Although Cecil John Rhodes had initially wished for a university which would bring together the English and the Dutch/Afrikaner – a university he most probably did not envision being located in the Eastern Cape – the encouraged and predominant institutional culture found at Rhodes University College was English. This English-leaning was not unexpected as Rhodes University College became fundamentally an English imperialist project looking to advance its commitments to the English nationalists.

Dr Currey, in his book entitled “*Rhodes University 1904-1970: a chronicle*”, documents the gradual expansion of Rhodes University College. Initially a site converted from army barracks, the university gradually needed more space to properly facilitate its educational commitments. The university often received its funds from private individuals or the State and thus sometimes acquired its needs and wants timeously (Currey, 1970:67). As the years and success increased, the university soon found itself with increasing numbers of students. These students soon required places of residence wholly owned by the university and not provided for by the surrounding schools as was initially the arrangement (Currey, 1970:70). Over the years, the university acquired private properties surrounding its site. These properties surrounding what was formerly just Rhodes University College became part of the actual university campus. It can be justifiably argued that these initial acquisitions of private property are responsible for the residential look of most of the contemporary university campus.

To every physical entity, such as a building, there is an accompanying aesthetic disposition (South African Association of Art and Architectural Historians, 2002: 98). The aesthetics are meant to clothe what is, and was especially in the olden days, an otherwise minimalist physically modified site. Ultimately the aesthetics add character to the building or space (South African Visual Arts Historians, 2005: 79). The aesthetics have historically been added to be

“read” –and sometimes written –by the occupants of that particular site as a built-up and decorated situation (SAAAH, 2002:18). As has been already mentioned, Rhodes University College became an English project meant to advance English imperialistic aims. It therefore followed that the aesthetics of the site (Rhodes University College) were to be those found satisfactory by those people included in this English project. For the time it was white South Africans who were considered Rhodians.

Currently Rhodes University has a specific definition for what constitutes its visual culture. According to the Visual Representation, Arts and Culture Task Team (VRACC), Rhodes University’s visual culture includes:

- “1. Works of art on public display (paintings, drawings, sculpture, photographs, tapestry).
2. Architectural and buildings styles.
3. Symbols (such as the university’s coat of arms/crest, ‘Physical Energy’).
4. Communication and marketing material (logos, letterheads, etc.).
5. Ceremonies and their associated regalia (such as graduation, inaugural lectures, Founder’s Day events).
6. Artefacts (such as items on display in departments).
7. Memorabilia.” (Maylam, 2014: 4).

The above items make up the visual experience that is Rhodes University. By being the decorations found in the Rhodes University built-up environment, these items represent not only to Rhodians –but to the world at large –the place that Rhodes University is.

Brenda Schmahmann (2013) provides what is one of the more expansive accounts of the visual culture of Rhodes University and the South African university. As already stated above, Rhodes University College became connected through convenience to the imperial project. As a way to honour its funders, the university thought it logical to install busts of Cecil John Rhodes and Alfred Beit, as the two were instrumental from the beginning in facilitating the formal establishment of the university college (Schmahmann, 2013: 44). It is not clear whether this decision was a nod to imperialism or if it were legitimately a show of gratitude to people who

had helped found the university. Whatever the aim, the busts were erected at the entrance to the university's Administration Block, ensuring that anyone who came to study at the university became acquainted with the two figures (Schmahmann, 2013: 45).

Other parts of the visual culture of Rhodes University (College) that Schmahmann looks at are the university's coat of arms and the historical paintings of the university's former masters. The university coat of arms told/tells the story of Grahamstown, English and Dutch/Afrikaner reconciliation and Cecil John Rhodes. The historical paintings displayed/display masters who are exclusively white men. These two manifestations of the university's realms of existence, like most art, can be argued to be contextualised-time pieces (SAAAH, 2002: 98). In other words, the two manifestations are products of their life and times. Time pieces –especially if they are ideological –become problematic when times change (Schmahmann, 2013; SAAAH, 2002). For instance, although Rhodes University (College) found little problem in linking its existence to Cecil John Rhodes during the period of the oppression of black people –during the advent of apartheid and the struggle against it –once Black people attained their freedom the link became problematic (SAAAH, 2002; SAVAH, 2005).

To keep with the ideology linked with imperialism the university, for an extended period, did not admit black students to its campuses –they were instead sent to a satellite campus in East London. Historically, however, the institution did employ black general staff from the nearby townships of Grahamstown (Hendricks and Vale, 2005: 235). This reality ensured that Rhodes University remained aloof to its immediate surroundings.

Professor Paul Maylam, in Hendricks and Vale (2005), argues that Rhodes University, through its activities from its establishment in 1904 till the 1970s, had shown itself to be a segregationist institution. The institution did not believe in the races mixing socially. In the case of Rhodes University College as an institution for English Imperialism, it is logical that the Dutch too were not received kindly into the university's environment. Coincidentally, Rhodes University College would later on prove to be an amicable champion of the segregationist policies of the apartheid government which assumed office in 1948.

For decades, black students could not attend Rhodes University without special permission from their respective native authorities that were cut along ethnic lines (Hendricks and Vale, 2005: 16). This permission clearly made known the conditions which made it crucial for the prospective student to wish to pursue their studies in the segregationist universities. Those without permission could not study at Rhodes University; they would be taken by other universities also separated along racial lines (Mangcu, 2012: 114-115). This meant that there was always a low number of non-white students within Rhodes University.

As a result of the above-mentioned state of affairs, the black student population was often aggrieved. The governing Nationalist government had enshrined segregation into the executive policies of the country (Wolpe, 1972: no page number). These policies effectively put the black person, and whatever preoccupations this person was taken by, at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Mangcu, 2012: 124, Hendricks and Vale, 2005). This led to the elevated sense of politics among the South African student body.

The above-mentioned elevated sense of politics led to particularly turbulent times from the 1970s onwards as student politics became more radical (Hendricks and Vale, 2005: 188). The issue of separate residences was highly visible in the public space (Hendricks and Vale, 2005: 190) and the happenings in the rest of the country and the rest of the world provided a context conducive to protest action (Mangcu, 2014: 157). The relationship between the Rhodes University student body and the institution's administration thus became strained as apartheid policy became progressively entrenched in student politics.

Apartheid did eventually end in the 1990s. This signalled an end to South Africa's colonial period. This reality also meant, however, a new role for the tertiary institution in South Africa (Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck, 2013: 7; Readings, 1996). Rhodes University had to adjust to this new environment. Therefore, as early as in the year 1996, the student body was already made up of 45% black students and 55% "whites and other races" (Markinor, 1996). For a change, the university was also home to a majority Eastern Cape-dwelling population –some 40-45% of the student body was from the Eastern Cape. This was a positive move that disputed

the worry that Rhodes University had historically overlooked its own base and was an exclusionary ivory tower ‘in the clouds’ (Hendricks and Vale, 2005: 182).

b. Contemporary Rhodes University

Rhodes University prides itself on transformation (Rhodes Exchange, 2014). The university looks to be fully representative of the ‘Rainbow Nation’ and its ideals of inclusion and equality (Rhodes University Institution Transformation Plan Draft, 2014). Former Vice-Chancellor, Dr Saleem Badat (2010), once argued for a Rhodes that is ‘a home for all’. The current Vice-Chancellor, Dr Sizwe Mabizela, has espoused similar sentiments (Macupe, 2016: no page number). It is therefore expedient to look at the statistical reality that is Rhodes University.

From the opening section of the context, I made it known that talk of transformation often focuses on a two-fold inclusion, viz. numbers of previously excluded and now included and their integration. The tables below present the figures for enrolment in the last six years and their racial composition.

Table 1: Registered Undergraduate and Postgraduate students

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Undergraduate	5309	5316	5281	5183	5212	5602
Postgraduate	1557	1958	2114	2302	2307	2329
TOTAL	7166	7274	7395	7485	7519	7931

Extracted from Rhodes University Digest of Statistics Version 19: 2015.

Table 2: Racial Composition of Students

Race	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	% 2014
Indian	274	279	289	303	365	5%
African	3614	3746	3877	4046	4169	55%
Coloured	255	256	284	286	296	4%
Black	4143	4281	4450	4629	4830	64%
White	3023	2993	2945	2856	2659	36%
TOTAL	7166	7274	7395	7485	7519	

Extracted from Rhodes University Digest of Statistics Version 19: 2015.

From the above tables it is evident that the Rhodes University student population hovers in the 7000-8000 range. From this range I have focused on the ‘Black Pupil’. Looking at the history of Rhodes University as laid out in the section above, the Black Pupil’s enrolment rate should be a formidable challenger to any idea of the remaining ‘whiteness’ of Rhodes University. Looking at the years 2012 till 2014¹, the Black Pupil has consistently risen in number compared to the white counterpart. The African has contributed most to this increase. In 2012, 60.18% of the student body was black; in 2014, 64.24% of the student body was black. It is the case that Rhodes University is doing well in terms of enrolment numbers and their relation to transformation through representative demographics.

It is expedient to also look at those people that stay to pursue postgraduate studies. I am making a rather elementary presumption here; I am taking it for granted that the majority of postgraduates are from Rhodes University, i.e. they were around as undergraduates. It is not the case that a large number of the postgraduates come from having done their undergraduate studies in other universities.

The table below displays the figures for the racial composition of postgraduate study.

Table 3: Racial Composition: Postgraduate

Race	2010	2010	2011	2011	2012	2012	2013	2013	2014	2014
		%		%		%		%		%
Black	986	53%	1059	54%	1180	56%	1314	57%	1377	60%
White	871	47%	899	46%	934	44%	988	43%	930	40%

Extracted from Rhodes University Digest of Statistics Version 19: 2015.

The percentage of black postgraduates is consistently higher than that of their white counterparts. This is important for my research if I follow my assumption that most postgraduates have been Rhodians since undergraduate study. This would mean that they have been within the Rhodes University environment for many years experiencing this environment as, hopefully, socialising pupils.

¹ There are currently no available racial composition figures for the year 2015.

In terms of gender, Rhodes is made up of a largely female population (Rhodes University Digest of Statistics, 2015: 20). At last count (2014), black females accounted for 62% of the black student population; white females accounted for 54% of the white student population. For both races, the females make up the bigger chunk of enrolled students – an improvement from the colonial past in terms of gender composition (Hendricks and Vale, 2005: 180).

The nationalities of students have also proven important. The university has a large cohort from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region (Digest of Statistics, 2015: 21-25). From this cohort, the Zimbabweans contribute the greater numbers. While South African blacks contributed 73% to the Black Total in 2014, the Zimbabweans contributed a relatively high 17% to the same Black Total. This is consequential when pitted against the rest of the contributions from the SADC region – a region comprising of countries with colonial pasts and governments who have pursued certain policies in attempt to acknowledge said past.

As they are located throughout the built environment that is Rhodes University, it is expedient to look at the faculties and their numbers. Table 4 below lists the faculties.

Table 4: Registered students per faculty

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Commerce	1834	1725	1691	1614	1537
Education	657	785	780	804	777
Humanities	2803	2799	2791	2847	2909
Law	165	175	192	187	180
Pharmacy	426	437	473	565	588
Science	1281	1353	1468	1468	1528
TOTAL	7166	7274	7395	7485	7519

Extracted from Rhodes University Digest of Statistics Version 19: 2015

There are no outlying fluctuations in terms of faculty numbers. This means consistent footmarks from the respective faculties. Attrition does not seem all that consequential to the numbers. It is therefore logical to assume that there are more or less the same classes (if not in

material, maybe in number) being offered throughout the years –classes that have more or less unchanging venues. The number of students in university residences can also be used to gain some insights into experience. As a residential campus, Rhodes University looks to house as many students as possible within its residences which are either on campus or a short distance from campus. Staying in residences is supposed to be home away from home. The students spend most of their academic year in the residences. It should follow logically that students grow to analyse their environment and its decorations and preserved culture. The Residences tables below show the numbers of students within residences and their racial composition.

Table 4.1: Students in Residence

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Total Students	3201	3435	3373	3453	3498
Female	1937	2066	2036	2078	2172
International	564	710	733	667	645

Extracted from Rhodes University Digest of Statistics Version 19: 2015

Table 4.2: Racial Composition of Residence population

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Indian	164	158	171	169	197
African	1643	1929	2027	2172	2245
Coloured	105	120	121	109	124
White	1289	1228	1054	1003	934

Extracted from Rhodes University Digest of Statistics Version 19: 2015

The tables above illustrate that females do make up the majority of residence-dwelling students. The tables also show that the category African makes up the majority of the residences’ racial population. It is logical to assume that these figures also indicate those students constantly within the university’s environment. For recreational and academic commitments, these students are likely to spend most of their time within the university’s ‘infrastructure’. Those students not within the residences system must move from slightly different environments and into Rhodes University almost every day –these students often inhabit private houses either in the immediate neighbourhood of Rhodes or in the townships. This must have an effect on how they perceive the environment that is Rhodes University.

Lastly, a category that is crucial for my project is that of staff, both academic and support/general. Table 5 below displays the numbers for support and academic staff.

Table 5: Support Staff vs Academic Staff

Staff	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Support	988	1001	998	998	1000
Academic	321	319	336	351	351

Extracted from Rhodes University Digest of Statistics Version 19: 2015

A majority of the support staff is black; at the same time the majority of the academic staff is white (Digest of Statistics, 2015: 66). Arguably, the two categories of staff do largely differing work: the academic staff arguably do mental work whereas the support/general staff do manual labour most of the time. Utilising the positional experiences of these groups will be of consequential importance for a far-reaching look at the experience of the Rhodes University built-up and decorated environment. It may also be pressing to discuss the reality of most academic staff being male and white (Digest of Statistics, 2015: 65-66).

The above section has illustrated the current statistical and social disposition of Rhodes University. Any attempts at gaining an essence of lived experience and locating areas for possible engagement needs to take the facts and figures into account. The institution will need to be commended for where it has made tremendous strides; it also must be pointed in the right direction in those areas that compromise the pursuit of a sincerely transformed tertiary institution.

2.2. Contemporary Rhodes University and Visual Culture

It must be reiterated that because Rhodes University remains a socio-historical entity, it is a necessity for it to move with the times. For instance, at the time of establishment the university looked to acquire funds from the Rhodes Trust – an entity which had the financial resources at the time, an entity also unfortunately linked to the imperial project of the time (see Schmahmann, 2013; Hendricks and Vale, 2005; Currey, 1970). Furthermore, the university progressively erected monuments and memorials –some of which remain standing today –in

the acknowledgement of the times of the period (SAAAH, 2002: 56-59). Such a historically-influenced existence, however, opens the institution up to constant debate over which parts of history to legitimately acknowledge proudly and which parts to leave out or acknowledge less overtly than through visual culture.

As South Africa attained freedom from apartheid after much struggle, aspects of the Rhodes University visual culture became more problematic. In visually acknowledging its past masters and funders, the university embraced a largely white past –a past known to be discriminatory not only in enrolment composition but also in terms of visual representation (Hayden, 1995). The busts of Cecil John Rhodes and Alfred Beit at the entrance of the administration block were removed in the year 1996 as society and students wanted to acknowledge the allegedly negative role the two men played in history (Schmahmann, 2013). This popular censoring spread to other areas of visual culture which were also connected to the discriminatory and colonial past of the institution. In South Africa's quest to be a country beyond discrimination and segregation it had to project the acknowledgement of a past of racial violence and the need to not have entities which may be argued to preserve this past in a positive manner (SAAAH, 2002:60). Rhodes University had to follow suit with the rest of society and be sensitive to the discriminatory and segregationist policies of the past that disadvantaged many.

Post-Apartheid Rhodes University has made at least two additions to its aesthetic features that warrant attention. In the year 2004, as the university was celebrating its hundred-year anniversary, Gavin Young produced an artwork entitled the *Century Prytaneum* (Schmahmann, 2013:122-128). This work of art honestly acknowledges the time period Rhodes University has existed in. The work acknowledges Grahamstown and the people who have historically lived in the town – most prominently amaXhosa and their occupations; the work also acknowledging that Rhodes University is an institution of higher learning attempting to be as proficient in this realm as possible. Furthermore, the work is placed strategically around the Administration Building so that as many people as possible see part of this physical work of art so connected to the entity that is Rhodes University.

To continue with the aim of honestly reflecting upon the history of Rhodes University –a history connected greatly to that of Grahamstown and the colonial period –the university introduced a work of art almost similar to the *Century Prytaneum* in 2011. The university solicited the help of the Keiskamma Art Project collective for a most honest reflection on the university’s existence (Schmahmann, 2013: 225). The collective was asked to knit a Rhodes University Tapestry that contained most of the history of Rhodes University –both the good and the bad periods. As a melding of the histories of both Grahamstown and Rhodes University, the artwork is a timeline containing both the Frontier Wars period and the post-1994 period (Schmahmann, 2013: 226-237). As an honest reflection, the work includes periods wherein apartheid seems to have been in lockstep with the university, and when the university honoured struggle heroes such as former president Nelson Mandela. To the university, self-knowledge in context is crucial (Lange, 2014:19).

What the above works of art on the Rhodes University campus illustrate is the importance of honest reflection upon history so that the future can potentially be managed in a better way (Hayden, 1995). Furthermore, the works acknowledge the importance of visual representation – a representation that in this case the university believes the viewer (student and staff member) actually reads (SAAAH, 2002:16). These illustrations are there for all Rhodians to view, and the hope is that they walk away with some reflection upon their interaction with the craft. The works are also socio-historical for they reflect and project the times in which the university finds itself (SAAAH, 2002; SAVAH, 2005).

2.3. Existing studies on experience at Rhodes University

a. Staff

As stated above there is an unmistakable link between the usage of the term ‘environment’ and some connection to atmosphere/ambience² as espoused by the documents on transformation and reform. Rhodes University has in the recent past conducted studies (through surveys) on the ‘feelings’ of segments of the university’s population. Of importance for my research is the *Rhodes University Institutional Culture Survey Report* of 2014, specifically chapters 6 and 7.

² Connected further to ideas of tolerance, conduciveness to successful study and the unhindered exertion of academic capability.

These chapters discuss staff (academic/support/general) experiences of the social environment and the physical and environment of Rhodes University.

Table 6 below displays the levels of satisfaction staff experience with the social environment.

Table 6: Levels of Satisfaction with the Social Environment

	Statement	Level of Agreement %
1.	I feel supported by others working in my Department/Division	71
2.	An atmosphere of cooperation and collaboration exists at RU	49
3.	There is regular and open communication among all staff at RU	30
4.	Communication in my Department/Division generally takes place in a language/languages in which I am comfortable.	81
5.	RU recognises the need for balance between work responsibilities and personal life	46
6.	I generally have a good relationship with the students with whom I interact	93
7.	I generally have a good relationship with other staff members at RU	90
8.	There is adequate flexibility in my job in terms of working hours and conditions of service.	64
	Average score for this section	66

Extracted from Rhodes University Institutional Culture Survey 2014

The table above looks at the social environment as one that consists of people with colleagues and some commitments to attend to besides academic responsibilities (Institutional Culture Survey, 2014: 82). From the levels of agreement, one can gain a sense that the academics simply look for more leisure time – satisfaction with personal relationships are rated in the 90s while the questions surrounding work show lower levels of satisfaction.

The above is in line with the kinds of transformations to the tertiary institution that have been discussed in the recent past. A more ‘affording’ environment is the goal. By ‘affording’, I mean that the encouraged transformation makes it more enjoyable to be an academic. Such an environment is one in which academics are not always grumpy from work overload, in which academics are friendly in their relationships to one another and that is one of optimal academic exertion (Education White Paper 3, 1997; Department of Higher Education and Training, 2012).

Support staff were also included in the study of social environment. Separated into categories of race, gender and qualification level, these staff members did illustrate varying levels of comfort within the social environment (Institutional Culture Survey, 2014: 84). It proved important to have people from the same category as yourself to talk to within your work environment. For instance, Xhosa speakers found peace of mind when they could relate to fellow Xhosa speakers in their language. The physical environment of Rhodes University was the next realm of the university to be analysed in terms of effects on staff experience. Table 7 below illustrates the satisfaction levels with the physical environment and infrastructure.

Table 7: Satisfaction Levels with Physical Environment and Infrastructure

	Statement	Level of agreement %
1.	RU campus is a pleasant place to work	84
2.	My immediate work environment (e.g. my office or area where I am based, as well as the tea room and toilets I use, etc.) is comfortable and welcoming	70
3.	I feel safe and secure at work	73
4.	I have the equipment necessary to do my work	76
5.	I receive the technical and other support necessary to do my work	70
	Average score for this section	74

Extracted from Rhodes University Institutional Culture Survey 2014

It is evident that staff are largely satisfied with their physical and infrastructural environment. The above table is a representation of the level of conduciveness staff felt they had in their

work, no matter what area of work this was. This simply translates to staff being given enough rope to either do academic work or mow the lawn. There is a need for the least friction between what is expected and how staff achieve these expectations. Here also, however, the levels of satisfaction were informed by which ‘category’ in terms of gender, race, and educational prowess a staff member was classified into.

The support/general staff tend to embody the least satisfaction in terms of physical environment (Institutional Culture Survey, 2014: 97). Facilities for general staff tend to be of poor quality, and there is the constant worry that their issues with work environment are not taken seriously. There are also incidents of disrespect that the support/general staff have to endure, not only from other staff members but also from the students of the university.

b. Students

Students have also been surveyed as part of the population of Rhodes University. Students dwell within the university’s numerous residences. Between 2011 and 2013 the *Quality of Residence Life Survey*, an anonymous questionnaire that students filled in, was sent out annually. The survey focused on residence life as it was experienced through the realities of everyday campus life. I will be focusing on discipline, social issues, sexism, racism and xenophobia, religious intolerance, homophobia, and disability. I focus on these items because I believe they prioritise yet again the ambience of Rhodes University as made and experienced by people.

Working strictly with numbers, the surveys looked to aggregate people into groups of those who either agree or disagree³ with certain propositions about residence life. A caveat is that the themes are not particularly well-explained – it is as if the participant is to respond based on their own understanding/interpretation of the proposition. The tables below come from the broad item ‘Residence Life’. From a total of 2 796 participants, an encouraging 1211 of the correspondents agreed that living in residence had enriched their personal development.⁴ From

³ Variations of agreement and disagreement are included such as ‘strongly agree,’ ‘strongly disagree,’ and ‘neutral’.

⁴ There is no ready definition of what ‘personal development’ might mean.

a total of 2 741 respondents, 1134 agreed that they enjoyed the spirit and sense of community in their residence.

Student Table 1: Living in residence has enriched my personal development

Frequency:	Count:	Percentage:
Strongly Disagree	70	2.5
Disagree	125	4.5
Neutral	672	24.0
Agree	1211	43.3
Strongly Agree	718	25.7
TOTAL	2796	100.1

Extracted from Quality of Residence Life Survey of 2013

Student Table 2: I enjoy the spirit and sense of community in my residence

Frequency:	Count:	Percentage:
Strongly Disagree	70	2.6
Disagree	147	5.4
Neutral	696	25.4
Agree	1134	41.4
Strongly Agree	694	25.3
TOTAL	2741	100.1

Extracted from Quality of Residence Life Survey 2013

Although an explanation of terms was overlooked, it appears to be the case that the majority of the surveyed residence population has a positive experience of residence life for considerations of personal development and sense of community. Under the theme of discipline also, the majority agreed that conflict within the residences was resolved quickly and effectively (Res Life Quality, 2013: 16).

This rather positive experience of residence life carries on to the other themes as well, with the majority of the surveyed population often in agreement with the positively-framed questions. For instance, the comparison between those who agree and those who strongly agree is closest

when it is proposed that living in residence has taught people a lot about diversity of culture, belief and life-style (Res Life Quality, 2013: 29). This comparison is even more impressive when a majority of the students (1381)⁵ actually strongly agree about being comfortable living with people who are HIV positive (Res Life Quality, 2013: 31).

Student Table 3: Living in residence has taught me a lot about diversity of culture, belief and life-style

Frequency:	Count:	Percentage:
Strongly Disagree	49	1.7
Disagree	92	3.3
Neutral	446	15.9
Agree	1180	42.1
Strongly Agree	1038	37.0
TOTAL:	2805	100.0

Extracted from Quality of Residence Life Survey of 2013

The surveys also explore potential negative aspects of residence life, i.e. experiences of sexism, homophobia, xenophobia, racism and religious intolerance. While there are instances of negative experience (Res Life Quality, 2013: 34, 36, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44), they are in the minorities, and students do frame their overall experience in positive terms –supporting the prior assertions of positive personal development and sense of community.

The item ‘Disability’ was also included in the survey, but once again little explanation of exactly what was asked was given. For this disability section, just over 2600 people were interviewed. It is unclear whether all these people are disabled, or whether the people interviewed were already taking part in the rest of the survey and were asked to complete this section whether they were abled or disabled.⁶ Consistent with the positive experience of residence life, the tables below illustrate an environment largely tolerant to disability. The majority of students have not been subjected to hate speech or discrimination because of their disability. Furthermore, most students are comfortable living with people who are disabled.

⁵ An equally impressive 1001 agree.

⁶ In which case it would be rather alarming the number of people who filled in the disability section. The survey had optional sections in case the respondent had no need to respond to a question outside their lived experience.

Ultimately, the residence system of Rhodes University was shown to provide a positive atmosphere for its dwellers.

The above studies, the Institutional Culture Survey and the Quality of Residence Life Survey, provided some insights into the general atmosphere at Rhodes University. This is important for it gives an indication how other aspects of Rhodes are experienced and reflected upon because of previous interactions with specific realms of the university. In other words, if a worker feels that their work environment is racist, this individual is likely to generalise their experienced racism to the whole of Rhodes University. Such studies merely lay out the values that inform future reflection.

The additions and subtractions to the aesthetical environment of Rhodes University mentioned in the section “*Contemporary Rhodes University and Visual Culture*” were not precipitated by any expansive evaluation of Rhodian sentiments. In most cases, the struggle over aesthetics was the occupation of university management and faculty teaching staff (Schmahmann, 2013: 223-224). There has not been much qualitative research that combines and possibly contrasts the general experience of all the Rhodians. The university did have a Task Team that specifically looks at visual culture.

2.4. Visual culture and all Rhodians

For the years 2010 till 2014 the Visual Representation, Arts and Culture Task Team (VRACC) existed. The team looked at the university’s alleged visual culture and how it was received and reflected upon by the Rhodians. The task team used questionnaires to gauge opinion on visual culture (Maylam, 2014: 2). According to data from the 65 respondents to the questionnaire, the Rhodians appeared to have been content with the visual culture. Some former Rhodians – and now funders – insinuated a probable decrease in their donations were the visual culture to be altered in any manner (Maylam, 2014: 2). Maylam argues further that these insinuations and results were problematic as most of Rhodes University’s visual culture had or has the potential to be alienating to large segments of the university’s contemporary Rhodians.

The Task Team concluded that all items considered the university's visual culture, from the university's coat of arms to university artefacts, should be modified so as to have a culture that is more honest and contemporary than in times past (Maylam, 2014: 5-9). For instance, visual representation of university history had to acknowledge both the bad (segregation/racism) and good (inclusion/diversity) past of the university. Furthermore, there needed to be designated places for such encompassing reflection – places whose utility would be carefully written out (Maylam, 2014: 7). The Task Team felt the need for a visual culture of an all-encompassing disposition. Ultimately, the goal was to have a more honest and inclusive place.

2.5. Politics of Place

From the viewpoint that considers the university as a space of pause, Rhodes University is a place (Tuan, 1974, 1977). Furthermore, Rhodes University is a manifestation of place and its numerous meanings (see Duncan and Agnew, 1989; Seamon, 1979; Buttimer and Seamon, 1980; Entrikin, 1991). By virtue of the context that I have provided – looking at the facts and figures of the university, its history, its populations and some of the experiences within the site that is the university – it is logical to think of Rhodes University as a place.

An experience of a place usually links in to meanings that places can have. The population of a particular place has experiences that are linked to their very being in that place. Through the previous sections, I have referred to two surveys which were conducted on segments of the university population in an attempt to gauge their experience of the university's atmosphere. These experiences led the people experiencing the numerous realms of its existence to certain opinions about the university. People may either have positive, neutral or negative views about place. Ultimately, depending on these senses of place, people re-work their relationships with place – working out whether they will be like sponges and absorb all that places project to them or whether they will attempt to project their own views unto place (Cresswell, 1996: 58).

There is much literature on place and the contestations over its meaning (see Di Masso *et al.*, 2011; Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Bell *et al.*, 1996). The acquisition of meaning by place is political and leads to repercussions within the inhabitants and users of that place (Cresswell, 1996; 56, 2014; Pred, 1984; 279). There is then a meta-conflict, beyond often a physical

conflict, over what the place should mean for each and every soul that inhabits it. Rhodes University cannot escape this feature of place. As a place, it too carries within its psycho-physical manifestation certain meanings. For my research I will be looking to gain insights into these subjective meanings, and how they may or may not affect the experiences of the numerous populations of Rhodes University.

2.7. Focus of this research undertaking

My research is a deliberate look at the university environment as a persevering history of culture. There are certain features, either a part of expected behaviour or decoration, which persist with the existence of the university. It should not be lost on the reader that the #RhodesMustFall Movement of late has strategically linked decolonisation with the desecration of certain aspects of the decorated environment of the tertiary institution and South Africa at large (Fairbanks, 2015, Boroughs, 2015). The incidents that unfolded at the University of Cape Town exposed an interaction that is often ignored: the interaction between the university student and the decorations of their lived (and allegedly living) environment. Through looking at Rhodes University as, on some level, an interaction between members of its population and its decorated environment, I hope to make known the conversations that people, have firstly with themselves and then sometimes with others in relation to the Rhodes University lived environment. This should have some consequences for future reform and transformation policy.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1. Introduction

There has been much consistent discussion of ‘place’ since the late 1950s (see Hartshorne, 1959; Leighly and Sauer, 1965; Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; de Certeau, 1984; Pred, 1984; Lefebvre, 1991; Sack, 1997; Malpas, 1999). This debate has focused on both definitional matters and issues of the physical lived environment. There has been the acknowledgment of the complex subject that ‘place’ is (see Tuan, 1974, 1976; Casey, 1993; Massey, 1994; Cresswell, 1996, 2014; Thrift, 1999; Malpas, 1999), and it has emerged that place is a notion that is dear to most people. Therefore, many have looked to contribute to the debate around place under the influence of their adopted values, which are informative in all analysis.

The debate over place has emerged historically to be the debate of two schools, viz. the cultural geographers (see Wagner and Mikesell, 1962; Duncan and Agnew, 1989; Anderson and Gale, 1992; Duncan and Ley, 1993; Cresswell, 1996) and the humanist geographers (see Seamon, 1979; Buttner and Seamon, 1980; Entrikin, 1994; Lefebvre, 1991; Sack, 1997). The former discuss place as a social construct projecting to the people living within the place certain values and dispositions, often those of a powerful enough group that the place’s meaning is of their making. The latter geographers are involved in a discourse focusing largely on the environment and the individual being mutually informative to each other in terms of disposition and the resultant quality of place experience. Whatever the contentions between the two groups, however, there is the acknowledgment that each camp brings an insightful analysis for the advancement of knowledge in place discourse.

Place, as the literature review will soon show, is a huge area of engagement. Instead of simply listing all the areas in which place has some utility as a research factor, this literature review will look at those areas which remain dominant within the discourse through sheer research output. The review will firstly look at place and place attachment, sense of place and place identity. Secondly, the review looks at place and body literature. Thirdly, the relation between place and inclusion/exclusion will be discussed. The penultimate area of much activity is the literature on place and community. The review then rounds off through mentioning areas of lesser output. The review will show that most of research in relation to place is done in the

Western world. The Third World is still some distance behind in terms of discussions of place. Place will also be shown as a rather porous area of study, for its many realms have proved to be useful in some aspect for many research designs. There has not been much literature, globally and locally, on the university as ‘place’ in both senses of cultural geography and humanistic geography (see Belina *et al.*, 2013; Chow and Healey, 2008; Scopelliti, 2011). When the tertiary institution has been looked at in terms of its lived environment, it has mainly been in relation to ‘disability’ studies (see Gardiner and Anwar, 2001; Losinsky *et al.*, 2003; Tinklin *et al.*, 2004; Fidzani, 2015).

3.2. Place attachment, place identity, and sense of place

a. Place Attachment

Place attachment alone is responsible for the most reflections upon place. The literature firstly defines what is meant by place attachment (Stockols and Shumaker, 1981; Taylor *et al.*, 1985). Place attachment refers to the person-place relationship – a form of topophilia, to use Yi-Fu Tuan’s lexicon. The survey work by Kasarda and Janowitz in 1974 was among the first to document some notion of place attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Ever since that research, there have been some reflections upon method, as there is no conclusion over what criteria determines place attachment most dearly (see for example Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Stedman 2003; Lewicka, 2011).

The arguments have been largely as a result of methodology for research, specifically over the reliability of method (Lewicka, 2011). Firstly, it is evident that on some fundamental level people do have a bond with their decorated place (see Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 1993; Droseltis and Vignoles, 2010; Charleston, 2009; Milligan, 1998, Williams and Van Patten, 1998; Beckley, 2003). Other parts of the literature argue for an attachment to more fluid conceptions of ‘place’ as a result of the advents of globalisation and cyberspace (see Meyrowitz, 1986; Auge, 1995; Beatley, 2004).

The methods within place attachment research have utilised both qualitative and quantitative designs. Quantitative methods have been in operation since the early 1980s as objective measures of place attachment (see Riger and Lavrakas, 1981; Taylor *et al.*, 1984; Taylor *et al.*,

1985). As research progressed there was argument over which factors were most influential to place attachment. The literature can be grouped into that focusing on unidimensional considerations (see Bonaiuto et al., 1999; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2005) and that focusing on multidimensional considerations (see Felonneau, 2004; Hammitt *et al.*, 2006; Kyle *et al.*, 2005; Lalli, 1992; McAndrew, 1998; Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Williams and Vaske, 2003). It becomes evident through sheer engagement that more authors were convinced of the multidimensional approach in quantitative research.

Lewicka (2011:220) argues that the above-mentioned literature focused on the ‘what’ questions. She further argues that what became important were the ‘how much’ questions. Qualitative studies could document this change of paradigm. Lewicka sees the qualitative research as falling into two camps. The first camp focused on qualitative documentation done through tools such as in-depth interviews, verbal reports and thoughts on place preference (see Van Patten and Williams, 2008; Fishwick and Vinig, 1992; Bow and Buys, 2003; Devine-Wright and Howes, 2010). The other camp used technological supplements to locate whatever it was that inspired the participant’s place attachment (for example see Beckley *et al.*, 2007; Galasinska, 2003; Grosjean and Thibaud, 2001; Ponzetti, 2003; Stedman *et al.*, 2014).

There have been suggestions to combine both methods of research in order to gain even more profound insights (Lewicka, 2011). Lewicka argues further that the suggestion to combine was made most pressingly by the interactions between Beckley *et al.* and Williams and Patterson – teams who looked at place attachment from both the qualitative and quantitative camps– in an issue of *Society and Natural Resources* in 2007. This interaction spoke of a needed amalgam in methodology.

b. Place Identity

The literature on place identity has been presented since the late 1970s (see Proshansky *et al.*, 1978, 1983, 1989; Korpela, 1989; Lalli, 1992; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996; Dixon and Durrheim, 2000). The 1983 paper entitled ‘Place Identity: physical socialisation of the self’ by the authors Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff can be viewed as the pioneer contribution to the field of place identity. This work by Proshansky *et al.* was written with the aim to advance a

theory of identity alongside that advanced by the work of social identity theorists (see Korpela, 1989; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). From its publishing date, the work by Proshansky *et al.* came under criticism because other theorists who dealt with identity felt the work dealt with only a part of the story of place identity (see Sarbin, 1983; Suls, 1983; Korpela, 1989). This historic debate led to ever-increasing realms of identity being added to place identity.

In sum, authors wrote on the following alleged determinants of place identity: distinctiveness (see Hummon, 1986, Feldman, 1990; Lalli, 1992), continuity (see Graumann, 1983; Korpela, 1989; Giuliani, 1991), self-esteem (Uzzell, 1995) and self-efficacy (Winkell, 1981). The historic argument by the literature on place identity is that all these additions to place identity theorisations were warranted, for they all touched on an important part of identity (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996: 207-209; Dixon and Durrheim, 2000; Manzo, 2003).

c. Sense of Place

The literature on the concept of sense of place is rather complicated (see Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Stedman, 2003). This is because, according to historic theorisations, the notion of sense of place has been around since at least the late 1970s (see Relph, 1976; Krupat, 1983; Shamai, 1991; Williams *et al.*, 1992, McAndrew, 1998). Jorgensen and Stedman (2001:234-238) argue that the complexity within sense of place literature is due to the fact that (a) the concept itself encompasses other areas within place literature rather than establishing an independent definition (see Proshansky *et al.* 1978; Altman and Low, 1992, Stockols and Schumaker, 1981) and that (b) there has been no agreement on the proper method for researching and presenting theorisations about the concept (see Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Hay, 1998; McAndrew, 1998; Davenport and Anderson, 2005). This complication means that thoughts on sense of place can be found in literature on place attachment, place identity, quantitative studies and qualitative studies. Ultimately, there has been a historical call to make this area of place literature less complicated (see Greider and Garkovich, 1994; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001, 2006; Stedman, 2003).

3.3. Place and Body

a. The body's historic location

The theorist John Agnew in the year 1987 is argued to have tremendously advanced the conversation on place (Murton, 2012). Agnew had codified some reflection upon the definition of concept of place. According to Agnew, place is a site that has a complement of feelings attached towards its location and situation (Murton, 2012). A collection of authors has historically followed this conception of place (see Entrikin, 1991; Johnston, 1991; Escobar, 2001; Jones and Cloke, 2002; Castree, 2003, Cresswell 2004, Agnew, 2005). What has been extracted from this literature, however, is the dual nature of place; i.e. place as both building and dwelling (Murton, 2012).

There are two groups arguing over conceptions of place that may be informative to the considered study on the relationship between individual and the environment as place. These groups are the cultural geographers and the humanist geographers. The cultural geographers look at place as the manifestation of the human mind's preoccupation (see Soja, 1989, 1996; Anderson, 1991; Nash, 2000; Lorimer, 2005). In other words, these theorists see place as a construct of the human mind to reflect whatever ideas that mind is taken by. Ultimately, in this approach, place has to do with deliberate construction (Murton, 2012).

The humanist geographers argue for the importance of the actual being's being-in-the-world (see Relph, 1970; Tuan, 1976; Entrikin, 1976; Buttimer, 1976; Ley and Samuels, 1978). This approach borrowed much from the phenomenology of such theorists as Martin Heidegger (1962, 1977) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1964). It was taken by such theorists as Edward Casey (1993, 1996, 1997, 2001) and Jeff Malpas (1999, 2006). For the humanist geographers, place is inextricable from human experience. All such notions as place attachment, sense of place, and place identity stemmed from there being an entity experiencing through their existing (both physically and mentally) the world (Buttimer, 1976; Relph, 1976, 1981; Tuan, 1976, 1977; Seamon, 1979; Sack, 1980).

b. The body in the contemporary world

The body remains the source central to place for it thinks, acts and senses the meaning-infused space (see Tuan, 1975; Genereaux, 1983; Lefebvre, 1991; Berleant, 1998). As the body is perceptible, numerous studies have been conducted to gain the body's experience of place (Murton, 2012). Anthropologists have often worked with indigenous communities in attempt to document the experiences of bodies still greatly connected to the physical environment (see Basso, 1996; Myers, 1986; Weiner, 1991, 2002; Nast and Pile, 200; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008).

Edward Casey (2001) highlighted an important addition for the relationship between the self and the environment. The argument was that there was no inferior or superior entity in the relationship between individual and place – this was the development of a 'geographical self' (Casey, 2001). It was the case that the two (individual and environment) were moulding and moulded through their interaction. In other words, the individual oscillated between making the environment and having the environment make the individual. The literature on body and place has been taken aboard by many writers. These authors are a collection of such diverse groups as feminists (see Rose, 1993; Price-Chalita, 1994; Massey, 2013), Marxists (see Smith, 2001; Mackinnon and Cumbers, 2007; Cumbers, 2009), activists (see Cartier, 1997; Martin, 2003; Julier, 2011), scholars of pedestrianism (see Edensor, 2000; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008) and so on. Each of these authors deals with the body in place in a manner distinguishable to their field of study.

3.4. Place and inclusion/exclusion

Through existing or being in the world, individuals find that certain emotional, physical dispositions are imposed on them. Literature on inclusion and exclusion has found that feelings of being included or excluded greatly affect the individual's disposition (see Thrift, 2004; Randolph, 2004; Trudeau, 2006). Place is also linked to practices of inclusion and exclusion.

Feelings, and realities, of inclusion and exclusion are significantly linked to discussions of belonging and being acknowledged (Spicer, 2008). Place interplays here for it is often the facilitator for the individual's social interaction that provides experiences of the numerous

realms of social interaction that affect feelings of belonging, exclusion, satisfaction and so on. (see Agnew, 1987; Feld and Basso, 1996; Low and Altman, 1992; Massey, 1995, Trudeau, 2006). The literature on place argues that these experiences within the physical environment inevitably lead to the realities of place attachment, sense of place, and place identity value judgement (see Butler and Bowlby, 1997; Kitchin, 1998; Massey, 2013; Spicer, 2008).

Within the literature on exclusion, children are discussed at some length. Children are often juxtaposed to adults, who are more independent, and thus contribute toward place construction (see, for example, Christensen and O'Brien, 2003; Holloway and Valentine, 2004; Olwig and Gullov, 2003, 2013). Children, by virtue of their age and body, experience place in a somewhat different way from adults, the literature argues (see Matthews *et al.*, 2000; Valentine, 1996; Woolley *et al.*, 1999). Children are often constrained by the supervision of adults (see Christensen and James, 2000; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; James and Prout, 1997). Ultimately, the literature argues that children are excluded and included in place at the whim of adults.

The literature also deals to some extent with the incidences of more 'equal'-based exclusion. The experience of place, the literature argues, is often regulated by such realms of endowment as wealth, health, culture and the ability to move around (see Davies, 2005; Aalbers, 2005; Baum and Gleeson, 2010). As there are differing levels of each endowment mentioned above, so too are there differing qualities of experience of place, the literature argues.

There is a healthy collection of research on immigrants (see for example Bloch, 2000; Bloch *et al.*, 2011; Jones and Gill, 1995; Malheiros and Ribas-Mateos, 2002; Zetter and Pearl, 2000; Zetter *et al.*, 2006). This literature focuses on the reality of the exclusion of those ultimately 'not from our place'. The literature makes it manifest that the experience of exclusion, no matter its conduit (be it wealth, skin colour, cultural capital, etc.), has profound effects on the individual's sense of place, place identity and place attachment (see Burnett and Peel, 2001; Fonseca *et al.*, 2002; Buciek *et al.*, 2006; Zetter and Pearl, 2000). The literature argues that, initially these groups may find it hard to integrate (see Mollard, 2001; Berry *et al.*, 2006). However, after some time –usually over successive generations –these people will experience

place more positively as they build social networks (see Alba, 1999; Olwig, 2003; Waters and Jimenez, 2005).

South Africa surprisingly enters the literature on place at this point of the rather divisive uses of ‘social space’. The place literature on South Africa deals mostly with the mixing of formerly segregated groups into singular lived environments (see Christopher, 1988a, 1988b; Horn, 2005). Starting from the repeal of such laws as the infamous Group Areas Act of 1950, the literature, through case studies, often looks to document the instance of co-residence among the formerly segregated races (see Wood, 2000; Donaldson and Kotze, 2006; Rex and Visser, 2009).

3.5. Place and Community

To imagine place just being one person and a geographical site is difficult. It is the case the places often refer to collections of individuals upon a surface of the earth. There is some literature on place experienced through community (see McMillan and Chavis, 1986; Johnstone, 1990; Skelly *et al.*, 2002; Manzo and Perkins, 2006). It is also the case, however, that most of the literature on place through community focuses on issues of contestation in regard to places collectively ‘inhabited’ (see for example Cresswell, 1996; Burte, 2003; Waldinger *et al.*, 2008; Di Masso *et al.*, 2011). The concept of territoriality has been discussed extensively as part of the causes for contestation (see Bell *et al.*, 1996; Arhem, 1998; Kataria, 2013).

It is often the case that individuals assume ownership of certain social space through some degree of personal decoration of said ‘space’ (Di Masso *et al.*, 2011). However, the literature points to the dangers of decorating a space, as it inevitably leads to a reaction from those who may consider themselves as excluded (see for example Devine-Wright and Lyons, 1997; Hubbard, 2006; Dixon and Durrheim, 2004; Devine-Wright, 2009; Di Masso *et al.*, 2015). Ultimately, the decoration of place may lead to conflict within the community.

3.6. Place and other applications

Although the literature on place largely focuses on the applications listed above, there are few realms in which authors have not attempted to plug in notions of 'place'. Whether it is geopolitics, the theatre, or literature, you will find notions of place being utilised to great effect (see Lutwack, 1984; Allen and Pryke, 1994; McCann, 1999; Mattingly, 2001; Robison, 2004; Watkins, 2005). This may be testimony of the everyday usage and applicability of the term.

One rather underutilised area wherein place figures is its relation to ethics (see Berhold-Bond, 2000; Smith, 2001; Brennan, 2008). There is a healthy collection of literature on place and youth. The literature argues that the youth do not own much of their decorated environment, save at the leisure of their adults (see Pivik, 2010; Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 2001; Khademi-Vidra, 2015; Spilkova and Radova, 2011). The literature further argues that the youth mostly occupy the places of other individuals (see Bennett, 2000; Nayak, 2003; Skelton and Valentine, 2005). In many instances, the youth do not utilise the social spaces in the ways that they were thought up by the designers and architects (see Hall *et al.*, 2009; Cuervo *et al.*, 2012; Cuervo and Wyn, 2014). This provides us with interesting insights into the possible uses of socialised spaces.

Another rapidly growing realm of place literature utility is in health (see Dyck and Dossa, 2007; Boyd, 2008; Lewis, 2009; Dennis *et al.*, 2009; Rushton, 2014). The literature argues that health or sickness play a fundamental role in determining how people experience their environment (see Sooman and Macintyre, 1995; Williams, 1998; Wilson, 2003). The literature argues further that some environments can either encourage healthy living (see Gesler, 1996, 1998; Palka, 1999; Conradson, 2005) or can do the direct opposite and discourage healthy living (see Cutchin, 1997; Tapsell and Tunstall, 2008; Carpiano, 2009). Both realities lead to the individual being of a certain health disposition because of their interaction with the environment and what it channels to them and what they channel into the environment (see Kearns and Collins, 2000; Williams, 2002; English *et al.*, 2008).

Ultimately, place has many possible uses as a concept. Place interacts with the mind, body, the emotions and a collection of other phenomena.

3.7. Place Research: Location and Method

a. Location

For the most part ‘place’ is a concept utilised by Western nations for insight into the human psyche. Throughout the preceding sections of this review what should have become evident from the citations was the Western tinge to the engagement of place as a notion worthy of much analysis. Theorists such as Plato, Tuan and Relph were all geographically located in the Northern Hemisphere, viz. the Western world. Evidently they thought of place within their own environment. For the most part, this environment has been the urban environment and little has been written about the rural environment (see Ponzetti, 2003; Barcus and Brunn, 2010; Lokocz *et al.*, 2011) and the nascent area of youth (see Jamieson, 2001; Cuervo *et al.*, 2012; Farrugia, 2014) in place attachment literature.

The global South’s debate on place is still in its formative phase (see Raffles, 1999; Brown, 2002; Moore, 2012). Countries within the global South are looking to increase output on place literature through the establishment of journals for this exact purpose. It is the case that for most of the global South, however, the work on place often looks to connect the colonial past to notions of place (see Chakravorty, 2000; Christopher, 2001; Firman, 2004). From the literature it appears that some countries in the African continent have fallen en masse into the realm of comparing the colonial place to the post-colonial –Kenya and Zimbabwe especially appear to have embraced this disposition (see Larsen, 2011, 2012; Moore, 2005, 2012, Chabata, 2012).

As a realm of engagement, the literature on post-segregation place within the South African context has been of much engagement (see Horn and Ngcobo, 2003; Christopher, 2005; Ndletyana, 2012; Koopman, 2012; Musitha, 2016). Within the literature there is the admission that most South African places are the way they are fundamentally because of the past (see Christopher, 2001; Horn, 2005). Most of the literature is case-based and looks at particular locations (see Kotze and Donaldson, 1998; Oldfield, 2004; Lemanski, 2006). Ultimately, there is an emphasis on great wide open spaces and not much research is done on areas such as private properties – exactly where the university as a place falls within.

b. Method

There has been no shortage of method surrounding the research on place. Researchers have utilised most of the tools at their disposal for phenomenological work: case studies (see Bennett, 2000; Patterson and Williams 2005; Dale *et al.*, 2008), interviews with many (perhaps too many) people (see Ruback *et al.*, 2008; Farnum *et al.*, 2005) and semi-structured qualitative interviews (see Stewart, 2008; Spartz and Shaw, 2011). This almost exhausts all the methods available for all research. However, there has been a striking lack of unstructured interviewing as a research method.

I hope to add to methodology through the utilisation of unstructured mobile interviewing (see Anderson, 2004; Brown and Durrheim, 2009). I will hope that the participants will be ready to tell me about their experiences of emplacement within the Rhodes University built and decorated environment so intensely that they end up needing the least amount of prompting and our walking will lead to an outpour of recollection through emotion, thought and vision.

3.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have had a look at the literature on place. The literature is utilised in many fields of documentable experience. I do notice, however, that the experience of tertiary institutions as place is told in part. Surprisingly very little has been written in terms of universities as places. It appears that most of the literature on place views place as either 'the Great Open' or the customised private living space; there is not much in terms of enclosed and specialised places. In Canada, Germany and the United Kingdom there has been some engagement with the university as a meaning infused place (see Lehmann, 2007; Belina *et al.*, 2013; Chow and Healey, 2008). However, this engagement does not look at the university as a meaning-infused and meaningful place but rather sees it as either a structure there for studying in its structured-ness or as part of the life cycle, i.e. as a point wherein the individual moves out of home for some time and occupies a new environment. Utilising the much debated field of attachment, the Chinese do have a relatively recent study on the effects on the student of the distance between home and the university (see Xu *et al.*, 2015).

Ultimately, the few studies on the tertiary institution as a place do not engage with the university in the manner in which I hope to engage with it, i.e. through looking at the tertiary institution's entire existence as both a built and decorated physical environment and an environment of social activity and how these two existences are experienced by the individual. This documenting of quality of experience, I believe, is a pressing undertaking for there is an evident lack in literature dealing with this realm of experience.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

4.1. Introduction

Specialised writings on place have been produced consistently for over half a century (see Hartshorne, 1959; Sauer and Leighly, 1963; Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; de Certeau, 1984; Pred, 1984; Lefebvre, 1991; Sack, 1997; Malpas, 2004). Prior to the rather lively literary space Plato wrote *Timaeus*, which contained some scattered thoughts on place (Cresswell, 2014). As a somewhat unavoidable experience, place historically acquired a prominence many thought was long overdue. This development then led to the long and lively history of considered discussion.

Tim Cresswell's (2014) book *Place: A short introduction* provides in its second chapter a genealogy of place wherein it traces most of the important contributions to discussions of place. Through locating the discussion on place within certain Schools of Place Thought, Cresswell maps the progression of discussion through the many decades. The discussion on place has either been descriptive (see Hartshorne, 1939, Herbertson, 1905; Fleure, 1919), social constructionist (see Wagner and Mikesell, 1962; Duncan and Agnew, 1989; Anderson and Gale, 1992; Duncan and Ley, 1993; Cresswell, 1996) or humanistic (see Seamon, 1979; Buttimer and Seamon, 1980; Entrikin, 1994; Lefebvre, 1991; Sack, 1997). Although there appears to be a historical agreement on the factors that are important to include within the place literature, the schools focus on different profiles of the spatial experience and existence (Cresswell, 2014).

The world can be viewed as a collection of places with particular characteristics (see Hartshorne, 1939, Herbertson, 1905; Fleure, 1919; Losch, 1954). The descriptive place literature is concerned with studying the differences between places as surfaces of the earth. It focuses on regions and the features – human and non-human – consistent with those plains of reality (Paasi, 2002; MacLeod and Jones, 2001). Ultimately, people inhabit places and are often influenced by these 'environments'.

There is not much agreement between the arguments made by Semple and Huntington (see Wagner and Mikesell, 1962). This divergence of opinions leads to another school of place, though: the Cultural Geographers. Carl O. Sauer and Leighly (1963) were the first to argue that culture often determines place and not the other way around. The argument by cultural geographers states that because places are sites of meaning they are often representative of whatever cultures are most powerful (see Anderson, 1991; Forest, 1995; Tilly, 1993; Cresswell, 1996; Harvey and Braun, 1996). In other words, culture moulds place in its image.

The last school of place thought is steeped in humanistic geography (Cresswell, 2014). Also containing a long history of academic publication, this school provides place with the human as a living event (see Husserl, 1927; Heidegger, 1988; Carman, 1999). In other words, discussions of place cannot separate place from lived experience and conception. With the focus being on phenomenology, places are non-concepts without there being human beings on site. Place is integral to human existence just as this human existence is integral to place – the relationship is mutually institutive.

The section above in essence has been a minor literature review. I am to now place my discussion of Rhodes University as place within a conceptual framework of place I consider most likely to lead to highly informative –the framework that sees place beyond mere ideology and that includes discussions of lived experience.

4.2. Phenomenology, Place, and Lefebvre

To exist is to be “in-place” (see Husserl, 1927; Heidegger, 1988; Malpas, 2004). This has been the argument of Phenomenology through its numerous proponents for many years. The argument then insinuates that since humans are certain beings they then are conscious of things outside themselves (Husserl, 1927). The interaction with these things outside the self leads to certain dispositions for the individual, called perceptual dispositions. As place is inextricably linked to the human existence, the human is affected by place in a particular manner (see Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Foucault and Miskowiec, 1986; de Certeau, 1985; Massey, 1994; Nast and Pile, 1998, 2005). Ultimately, place is subjective. The individuals often located within place are affected accordingly through experience.

It is therefore important to have an explanation as to what makes a setting a place that is able to channel a particular experience. For this task I will be utilising Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of (social) space – his so-called Spatial Triad. It is expedient to note that although his seminal book of reference here is entitled '*The Production of Space*', Lefebvre (1991) actually conceives, as shall soon become clear, of space as place – unlike many theorists within the field (Tuan, 1974; Harvey, 1973; Malpas, 2004; Cresswell, 2004). Places to Lefebvre are made up of spaces and vice versa (Lefebvre, 1991). For instance, the local pub as a place has a space within it that contains a highly-meaningful jukebox.

Henri Lefebvre theorising on space is inspired by his discontent with how space has been discussed prior to his interest upon the field (Lefebvre, 1991: 45). In this way, Lefebvre's theory shares much with the developing discussion of place, i.e. the move from being purely descriptive to humanistic to radical humanist. Space also has been historically thought of as an empty expanse (Lefebvre, 1991: 49). Lefebvre argues further that, because of such historical thinking, space was thought of as mathematical in essence. Space was basically a great 'out there' to be analysed.

Space developed as a concept to be thought of as a 'mental thing' or 'mental place' mostly through discussions by philosophers (Lefebvre, 1991: 50). Lefebvre argues further that this development in the space literature led to numerous, often broad, usages of the term space, as it encompassed many areas of reflective existence. In other words, depending on the expertise of an individual, that individual could write of space as somehow related to their field of interest. This led to talk of such things as "literary space, ideological spaces, the space of the dream, psychoanalytic topologies" (Lefebvre, 1991:11).

What has remained without critique, however, is space as a product of some manoeuvring (Lefebvre, 1991:15). From the discussion of space under its numerous guises, it should have become obvious that space was an area of much activity (conscious and otherwise), as the human being is inextricably linked to all considerations of space. Lefebvre argues, therefore, that there is a need for a science of space (Lefebvre, 1991:98). This science of space should

advance a useful theory of the production of space by focussing on the numerous realms of this production.

Steeped in critical Marxism and Phenomenology, Lefebvre frames his production of social space in the form of a so-called trialectic. The production of social space occurs through the mutually-reinforcing reality of perceived, conceived and lived space (see Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996; Goonewardena et al., 2008). The individual, utilising the phenomenology argument, exists within such an interaction of events. I am to now discuss each part of the argument in turn.

The first pillar of Lefebvre's trinity is that of *representations of space* (see Lefebvre, 1991; McCann, 1999; Goonewardena et al., 2008). McCann argues that, this space "is only encountered through the understandings and abstractions contained in plans, codes, and designs that shape how we conceptualise ordered space" (1999:169). This is the realm of architects and planners who work to mould a particular site to some plans they wish to realise physically (Lefebvre, 1991).

The above-mentioned *representations of space* are abstract. The blueprint is simply a plan of where a certain feature will be installed and what distance away this feature will be from some other feature. However, since these abstract plans must ultimately be superimposed to a site, they must then affect the social production which occurs within that site (Lefebvre, 1991). For instance, installing a public swimming pool on every third street in the city has implications for how social the people of the site become, especially during the summer.

To continue with the physicality that I have introduced above, another dimension to Lefebvre's triad is that of *spatial practice* (Lefebvre, 1991; Goonewardena et al., 2008; Merrifield, 2006). This pillar is that of the everyday practice within social space (de Certeau, 1988; Lefebvre, 1991). Through the realised blueprint, people engage in social activity over real installations on the surface of the earth. People walk the streets, have picnics by the park, go swimming in

public peoples, etc. the people dwell within space and utilise its hopefully many features (McCann, 1999; Nast and Pile, 1998; Tuan, 1976).

There is a final dimension to the spatial triad, viz. *representational space* (Lefebvre, 1991). This dimension may be thought of as that of perception – it informs perception (Goonewardena *et al.*, 2008:34, 67; McCann, 1999: 170). This dimension is experienced through all the senses. “It is space experienced through the complex symbols and images of its ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’” (Lefebvre quoted in Goonewardena *et al.*, 2008; 36-37). This is the dimension of decoration that is experienced through mostly social practice such as being out ‘in the world’.

Representational space is the realm through which meaning is often determined (Goonewardena *et al.*, 2008:70; McCann, 1999: 167). After there has been realised a blueprint, beyond the buildings and people engaged in some activity or the other, there are decorations that are afforded these buildings and open areas of activity. There may be statues, there may be pictures, there may be monuments and, perhaps most importantly, there may be sounds and discerning eyes. These ‘decorations’ project to the inhabitants and users of place certain meanings apparently integral to the perceptual experience of the place. It is the case that the individual is susceptible to all sorts of messages allegedly being projected his/her way through *representational space*.

The above-mentioned led to the production of space. Lefebvre does make mention of the congruency of the process and argues:

that the lived, conceived and perceived realms should be interconnected, so that the ‘subject,’ the individual member of a given social group, may move from one to the other without confusion –so much is a logical necessity (Lefebvre, 1991:48).

The numerous reflections upon space cannot be divorced from the individual. However, it is not all smooth sailing. The experience may not be one of coherence (Lefebvre, 1991: 46). For instance, it would be confusing if a neighbourhood were to be one that encourages interaction between neighbours yet at the same time consist of high walls and houses in the formation of a triangle in terms of distance from one door to the next.

It is possible, however, for one realm to be dominant in the production of space. Lefebvre does make mention of a period in the 19th century when “the representation of space tended to dominate and subordinate a representational space, of religious origin, which was now reduced to symbolic figures, to images of Heaven and Hell, of the Devil and the angels, and so on” (Lefebvre, 1991:49). This was a historic time when populations were uniform in their inclinations. This allowed for communally-determined spaces.

The social production of social space is complete when there is a convergence of spatial practice, representations of space and representational space. The argument is that no facet takes precedence in the production of space, no matter the number of theorists who wish it so (Lefebvre, 1991: 48). It is the case that all the dimensions contribute equally to the lived reality that is place. Henri Lefebvre argues further that, “all subjects are situated in a space in which they must either recognise themselves or lose themselves, a space which they may both enjoy and modify” (Lefebvre, 1991:43). This leads to categories of space that become either inclusive or exclusive – all through (deliberate) design.

With Lefebvre’s formulation of a triad there is the inclination to think of the production as sequential and likely to allow for a decoding of any space. Lefebvre encourages the reader to not be taken by this intellectual project, for it leads to a framing of space as something exclusively outside the body – a thing out there to be read. Lefebvre is interested in the social production of space – a production looking at space as a fluid process (Lefebvre, 1991:54). From this production process it is often difficult to isolate any of the three ‘events’ (i.e. social practice, representations of space or representational space) which go into production. This is not to say that reading is impossible or misses the point, as reading still is pretty much part of the process.

Lefebvre does look to the field of Semiology as useful to the alleged production of space. Fully aware of the limitations of Semiology, Lefebvre argues:

When codes worked up from literary texts are applied to space –to urban spaces, say – we remain, as may easily be shown, on the purely descriptive level. Any attempt to use such codes as a means of deciphering social space must surely reduce that space itself

to the status of a message and the inhabiting of it to the status of a reading. This is to evade both history and practice(1991:15).

The argument is that this framing of space as readable, although helpful and a reality of any space, focuses on just one aspect of space's existence, i.e. the visual that is reflected upon.

4.3. The history of place(s)

Embodied emplacement is central to the concept of place as inspired by Phenomenology. Places exist as places through the reality of people upon a particular site of the earth's surface (Entrikin, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991; Sack, 1997; Husserl, 1927; Heidegger, 1927; Malpas, 2004). Place and people as meaning creators are inseparable. After all, it is people who participate throughout the process of the production of place. However, through this connection between people and place there has stemmed an argument of place always being configured in such a manner as to display the wishes of certain individuals or collectives – radical cultural geography has often argued this.

Space as a production must have a history –it is processual after all (Lefebvre, 1991:49). To avoid compromising the theory in terms of the simultaneity of process it insinuates, the theory by Lefebvre argues for the same hypothetical as that which rescued Jean-Jacque Rousseau from having a specific date for signing the Social Contract (Charvet *et al.*, 1998: 54). The production of space, although a process with a history, cannot be conclusive on its date of initialisation (Lefebvre, 1991:49). What is expedient to note, however, is that there is a period of absolute/natural space and then there is one of social/abstract space. The argument is that the natural space is before social space and that the two are sequentially related, i.e. there can be no abstract space without a natural space to add on to.

Lefebvre's argument, through emphasising the individual as a being-in-the-world –a being conscious of phenomena and being moulded by and moulding these phenomena –encourages a view of place as a fluidity (see Soja, 1989, 1996; Merrifield, 2006; Pred, 1984). Place is seen as open to any production as individuals live within the interaction of *spatial practice, representational space and representations of space*. The argument is that, depending on how these realms of the social production of place act upon an individual and he/she acts upon them in return, place assumes a particular profile. Allan Pred has historically framed *place as process*

– there is no fixed and unchanging place; all places are under the influence of their production factors whether human and non-human. Pred's argument works from the premise that since place is ultimately social space, and it is known that the social is often determined through process, then the production of place itself is a continuous process.

Utilising structuration theory, Pred (1984) looks at place as process. The structures that decorate the human existence produce the social dimensions of it – place itself is social. At the same time that these structures act upon people, people act upon the structures. For instance, there may be a swimming pool on every third street, but if there are no users for a particular swimming pool, it may soon be closed and removed. On the grander scheme of things, places and their institutions are mutually constitutive in relation to individuals experiencing the environment (Pred, 1984: 284). A closed pool will lead to changed walks from the dedicated frequenters; in the extreme case, a closed pool may lead to protest action. The argument is that once a particular aspect of the structure is compromised, it gives its affect upon the next aspect of the structure that is just as affective. No factor is ever inconsequential.

Place as theorised by Henri Lefebvre puts the individual in a profound relationship with place. The individual is social and place is a social production (Lefebvre, 1991; Tuan, 1974; Pred, 1984; Soja, 1996). The mutually-constitutive relationship between the individual and place logically has an effect on both individual and place. It is expedient here to layout the theory of affect that I will be utilising throughout the research process.

4.4. The Illusions of place

Henri Lefebvre does argue that there is a double illusion to social space. He writes that there is the illusion of transparency and the illusion of reality (Lefebvre, 1991:35). These illusions arise from how individuals perceive social space. Perception is key for it determines how a person sees a space. Lefebvre argues further that the illusions may either work to reinforce each other or work in isolation. Whatever the case is, the illusions lead to a skewed experience of social space.

The illusion of transparency encourages the view of space as something innocently pointing out to its user what is out there to be taken account of (Lefebvre, 1991:35). For instance, there are buildings, trees, swimming pools, roofs, cars and so on. The argument is that the individual is given a sense of knowing about all that is consequential about a space. Lefebvre argues that the “illusion of transparency goes hand in hand with a view of space as innocent, as free of traps and secret places” (Lefebvre, 1991:36). In simpler, and rather literal words, the individual will not think that upon the ground where he is about to walk that has leaves raked in a pile, these leaves may just be hiding a hole for trapping unsuspecting walkers. Another less sinister example of an illusion is that of a door on the floor. Unless the person knows of the door’s existence, the floor is innocent of all manipulation. The individual is assumed, through their thinking, doing and speaking, able to illuminate everything about a space (Lefebvre, 1991: 40).

The illusion of reality, also referred to as the illusion of substantiality, objectifies space as having more of an existence than the individual (Lefebvre, 1991: 37). This is a view of space having an existence beyond what is perceived by the individual. Here Lefebvre, to expand upon his thinking, again utilises semiotics in reference to readings of space. Lefebvre argues that “in the course of any reading, the imaginary and symbolic dimensions, the landscape and the horizon which line the reader’s path, are all taken as ‘real,’ because the true characteristics of the text – its signifying form as much as its symbolic content – are a blank page for the naif in his consciousness” (Lefebvre, 1991:37). In other words, space is concrete and made from the somewhat manipulated natural products of a locality. This profile of space simply presents to the individual a concrete reality free of any perceptual bias by the inhabitant.

4.5. Henri Lefebvre and Place Literature

There has been a healthy and consistent usage of Henri Lefebvre in space literature ever since the translation from French to English of his ‘*The Production of Space*’ (1991). Prior to that translation, he was engaged in isolation by specialists who were proficient in French and found his theorising rather enlightened and enlightening (see Harvey, 1973; Soja, 1989, 1996). Since the translation, however, there has been an awakening of his theory, now with a diverse utility for what is itself a diverse field of specialisation.

Lefebvre's theory is essentially one of a continuous production of space (Merrifield, 2006; Soja, 1989). This means that space is a fluid phenomenon. As people exist in spaces that they consider to be products of process, there have been many space accounts utilising Lefebvre's spatial triad. His account has been used extensively in discussions as varied as organizational space (see Dobers and Strannegard, 2004; Hernes, 2004; Spicer and Taylor, 2004; Dale, 2005; Watkins, 2005); urbanism (see Soja, 1989; Shields, 1999; McCann, 1999; Merrifield, 1993; Simonsen, 2005; Carp, 1999, 2008), 'colonisation' (see Goswami, 2004; Whitehead, 2010; Mendieta, 2008; Kipfer and Goonewardena, 2007) and the State (see Brenner and Elden, 2009; Rafestin, 1980; Kipfer *et al.*, 2013). All of these applications showcase the usefulness of the theory as conceptualised by Henri Lefebvre. I, too, am to utilise this theory to frame my research of Rhodes University as a place.

Lefebvre's Spatial Triad has been utilised in a healthy batch of studies. Some of these studies are fictional works and some are based on real life places (see Allen and Pryke, 1994; Dobers and Strannegard, 2004; Carp, 2004). In all these applications the Triad has been deemed highly informative. The Spatial Triad remains a deconstruction of place(s). It traces out the process of production/construction of a social space. Only once this is done can people appreciate a social production/construction of place that they themselves partake in, either voluntarily or involuntarily, within that particular space in time.

One of the more innovative uses of the Spatial Triad – a usage I hope to replicate for this research undertaking – is that advanced by Jana Carp (2008) in a work entitled “*Ground-Truthing*” *Representations of Social Space: Using Lefebvre's Conceptual Triad*. In this work, Carp highlights something about the Spatial Triad that could be overlooked to great compromise of its enlightened usage. Inspired maybe by a reading of semiotic readings of space, Carp sees the Spatial Triad as separable into two layers of mutual reinforcement. To Carp, each pillar of the Triad exists both physically and sensually.

Jana Carp sees the Spatial Triad from “two mutually informing standpoints: (a) the space that is produced and experienced (existing materiality) and (b) the producing of space through experience (human being)” (2008:131). What is consistent in both facets is experience. The

first reality of space refers to its materiality – it is physically present. For instance, I visit a city and actually see its numerous buildings and decorations – I experience their presence. The second reality of place follows from the first experience and refers to how the individual sensually experiences and then attributes judgements upon the space. For instance, once I have had a look at my chosen city I may find that there are many amusement parks and areas of recreation within the city perimeters. I then think of that city as geared towards providing entertainment. I do this solely from how the physical environment and its decorations make me think of that place. What is important to note is that this characterisation of the Spatial Triad by Carv highlights the Triad's melding of cultural and humanistic geography. The Triad basically includes all possibilities of place thought. All places can be broken down in such a manner.

Gary Bridge (2013) explores this emersion of the human in place further in his work '*A Transactional Perspective on Space*'. Framing space within transaction literature by John Dewey, Bridge sees all emplacement as a 'getting together' that must lead to some transaction between the human and the situation/place. As is the case with much pragmatism there is no fixation on ascribing subject and object roles for the interaction/transaction. The human and the environment are co-constitutive (Bridge, 2013:307). In other words, the two affect each other indeterminately – in many cases causing lasting effects. For example, museum builders and workers appropriate a certain space and make out of it a museum. This space is transformed into something it was not before the museum was built. Furthermore, since the site is now a museum, it has a particular audience of attendees who come because the museum is in the space. Ultimately, from the modification of a space come the people.

The work by Bridge does provide yet another innovative thought on place. As place is under the influence of transaction, the individual has to be 'there' – either physically or mentally – for the transaction to occur. It must be noted that in order to be at any place there are other places which must be negotiated (Bridge, 2013: 305). For instance, in order to go to town I must follow certain roads and paths that eventually lead to where I want to be in town. It is logical to assume that my actual body goes through these places and becomes one with them at its moment of emplacement. Once in these places I have certain experiences of them; experiences I may or may not compare to those of my final destination. This final destination,

too, I transact with on its own merits as a place I am (em)placed in (Bridge, 2013: 308). Bridge's argument is that this is how all places are experienced, i.e. as transaction fuelling experience. Furthermore, the experience of place is informed by my movement through that physical space; I can only hypothesise as to the transactional impact of those places I have never been in (Bridge, 2013: 306).

Crucial to any thought on place is the actual viewing of that place by bodies within the place. The above paragraph on Bridge's work firmly places the individual and the environment in a mutually constituting relationship. This characterisation blends without much resistance into work by theorist John Wylie (2006) entitled '*Depths and Folds; on landscape and the gazing subject*' that focuses specifically on "viewing". The individual is literally 'there' in the environment, seeing it and being within it and its properties. This viewpoint is inspired by Ingold's (2000) argument that "the landscape, in short, is not a totality that you or anyone else can look at, it is rather the world in which we stand in taking up a point of view on our surroundings" (2000:173).

The above characterisation of gazing is firmly based on embodiment (Wylie, 2006: 523). In other words, the individual is in the world partaking in a viewing that is informed by their spatial position in that unfolding event. For example, how an individual sees a collection of trees is determined by the position in which both the individual and the trees come to 'view' each other or are in each other's view. The way in which Bridge argues for transaction is the same way in which Wylie argues for the interaction between the individual and their environment: the interaction is without subject or object but contains folds and depths which determine the experience of gazing through lived spatiality. Such theorisations feed ultimately into the theory of place as by Henri Lefebvre which sees place as produced by those beings who actually live within a place. This place is ultimately produced through their being there, living their life within the concrete and abstract existence of their emplacement.

Chapter 5: Methodology, procedures and techniques

5.1. Introduction

This study is a phenomenological representation of the reflections by the people involved. Phenomenology as a qualitative research paradigm is anchored by the conviction that it is through asking the people involved in experiencing a phenomenon that research may gain an essence of what it is like to experience that phenomenon (Patton, 1990:69; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:191). The people experiencing the phenomenon relay their experience to the researcher in whatever manner they are able (Patton, 1987:109). The researcher documents such reflection for analysis and to attempt to capture the actual essence of the experience. Through documenting this relay of experience and then rigorously analysing it, the researcher can then attempt to claim that they have some grasp of the essence of the captured experience (Miles and Huberman, 1994; de Chesnay, 2015:5). Phenomenology is, therefore, about gaining the essence of experience through asking those people involved in the experience to communicate said experience of a phenomenon in the manner that they understand their situation and the manner they can best explain their experience of the phenomenon (Patton, 1990: 68-71; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

For this research undertaking my main focus is on the Rhodian, i.e. all members of the Rhodes University population, and their experience of being at Rhodes University as a place. Although there is much literature on the experience of place (see Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Massey, 1994; Cresswell, 1996; Thrift, 1999), there has not been much documenting of the essence of the experience of the university as place (see Chow and Healey, 2008; Belina et al., 2013); i.e. a place not just of academic preoccupation (see Readings, 1996; Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck, 2013; Lange, 2014) or a place with a need for bureaucratic transformation (see Council on Higher Education, 2000; Mouton et al., 2013).

In this research undertaking, the university is seen as a meaning-made 'space' where people are found dwelling and inhabiting for periods of time (see Tuan, 1976; Hayden, 1995; Malpas, 2004; Cresswell, 2004). This 'being in place' occurs as the first point of departure before the previously mentioned complementary preoccupations with academic exertion and bureaucracy, for people first find themselves in a geographical site and situation. People are

always in a place of particular meaning and experience (see Tuan, 1974; Cresswell, 2014). For various reasons of context, people then grow to experience a place in particular ways (see Tuan, 1975; Cresswell, 1996; Lewicka, 2011).

Using the phenomenology research paradigm, this study tries to contribute to the documentation on how Rhodians experience being in the place that Rhodes University is. I am interested in understanding the experience of the participants, what informs these experiences, how these experiences affect the participants' overall view of Rhodes University, whether these participants feel at home or not within Rhodes University and, in light of everything previously mentioned, how the participants negotiate their being within Rhodes University as a place of some particular quality of experience.

The aim of this phenomenological take on experience is to gain an insight into an experience often overlooked –the experience of the tertiary institution as a built and decorated environment. It is especially pressing to look into such an experience here in South Africa because in the year 2015 the #RhodesMustFall Movement was formally introduced, exposing the conversation between the student and the built and decorated environment that he/she populates for prolonged periods of time as a crucial part of existence –be it of the student or of staff or of greater society.⁷ The study utilises the theory as by the French theorist Henri Lefebvre (1991) in order to document an experience of the production of place.

5.2. Participants

For this study, I interviewed Rhodians. Rhodians are people who are members of the Rhodes University population. This population is made up of current members of the student body and those people who keep Rhodes University functioning, viz. academic and non-academic staff. Using data retrieved from the Data Management Unit at the university, and studying the *Rhodes University Digest of Statistics* publications, the university should house around 9 300 Rhodians. I purposively picked the sample of participants so that there was variation of race,

⁷ This is not a study of #RhodesMustFall but of the ‘moment of #RhodesMustFall’ and what that moment unravelled through highlighting that peoples’ experiences of place as built and decorated environments still matter very much (see Tuan, 1975; Buttimer, 1976; Cresswell, 2004).

gender, ethnicity, background and year of study (if this applied) (see Patton, 1990: 172; Coyne, 1997; Sandelowski, 2000).

The table below illustrates the participants of the research and their preoccupations as Rhodians.⁸

Table 8: Participants Demographics

Pseudonym	Preoccupation	Race	Gender	Year of Study
Gatsby	Student	White	Female	1st
Okwakhe	Student	Black	Male	2nd
Yoli	Student	Black	Female	2nd
Quaz	Student	Black	Female	4th
Saul	Student	Black	Male	5th
Jamie	Student	White	Female	5th
Danielle	Student	Black	Female	4th
Nir	Academic Staff	White	Male	N/A
Samantha	Student	Black	Female	2nd
Ace	Student	Black	Female	3rd
Gift	Student	Black	Male	1st
Eden	Student	Black	Female	2nd

⁸ To get the participants, I walked on campus and told people about my research and how I would appreciate if they could find the time to help me. Although many found parts of the interview method interesting, there were many clashes with things such as preoccupation as Rhodians (especially with academic and non-academic staff – these people who were basically ‘at work’ within campus; some students were just ‘too busy’). I did the walking around while logging in to social networks to see those people who were part of the Facebook page “University Currently Known as Rhodes University (UCKAR) Student Body 2016” and also attending talks on campus which had to do with #RhodesMustFall and the built environment. Surprisingly, those people I thought would have the most to say –I must admit but this was strictly off preconceived notions about who was most likely to want to talk – were also among the first to deny my requests for interviews. I ended up with those people most willing to talk to me about their experience – just as qualitative research should be.

All the participants signed an Informed Consent Form (see Appendix A) that contained the rationale for the research, the research aims and the rights the participants had during the interview session. The rights of the participants were also relayed verbally when we were preparing for our walk through their usual route on campus just before the interview began. The participants were told that I would be using pseudonyms in order to hide their identities.⁹ I believed the pseudonym enough for confidentiality since after all the setup of the interview was to (in parts) reflect on the actual view of the built and decorated environment part of the participant's walk – a view shared by many others.

The interviews were mobile interviews. I walked the campus with the participant. We walked the participant's everyday route as a re-living of their visual experience.¹⁰ This was a variation of the transect walk, whereby reflections are done through actually walking 'the field' and being in contact with its features (see Brown and Durrheim, 2009:5; Wiederhold, 2015; 607). The interviews were videotaped as both symbolism for the participant's daily views and as a good convergence between what the participant was talking about and actually seeing it.¹¹

The interviews were open-ended, letting the participants take the questions whichever way they felt applicable (see Patton, 1987: 110; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Murchison, 2010). I did, however, start off the interview by letting the participants know that there were four questions of particular interest that I needed them to have reflected on by the end of the interview. These

⁹ Some participants even went as far as to tell me the pseudonyms they preferred for themselves.

¹⁰ One participant actually diverged from the usual route since they felt their route 'uneventful'. They took me on a route they last travelled the very first week they became a Rhodian. We almost got lost along the way; luckily it was a route a previous participant had taken and I directed us out of there.

¹¹ In many instance the participants would end up pointing to a feature on the route and taking pictures. Come to think of it, the thought of using the video camera was profound for it ultimately encouraged the participant to reflect not just about the built and decorated environment but also about the people. When we passed by populated areas the participants – after a bit of distance from the concerned spot – often then brought in the reflections on people. Some participants often came across 'mates' as we walked the campus. I was pleasantly surprised that just one person (Ace) wanted to be interviewed specifically at a time when there was to be expected the least number of people around campus; the rest did not seem to mind walking around videotaping everything. Matter of fact, the participant Saul agreed to walk around with me the very moment I had just requested to interview him. Luckily I had the camera with me. Normally I would first ask people and then e-mail them. With Saul I got to interview him the moment I saw him.

questions were an overview of the experience of place I needed to touch on by the end of the documentation (Patton, 1990).¹² The interviews provided an insight into the participant's own understandings of their lived experiences (Patton, 1990:283; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:656). As Patton (1990:70) argues, phenomenology is based on the self by the self. That is to say that for the most expansive documentation of lived experience it is advisable and wise to get information from the horse's mouth, for that person is the one always grappling with its situation in the best way it knows how. As the interviews were in video format, YouTube was utilised as a transcription tool.

5.3. The interview engaged

The collection of data, transcription and analysis of interviews occurred concurrently as is often the case with qualitative research (Murchison, 2010: 74; de Chesnay, 2015:161). YouTube took at most a day to transcribe, and I would take three hours maximum correcting where the YouTube transcription was not correct due to accent and talk in languages other than English. Such a setup of always having to simultaneously transcribe, get new data, re-read and analyse ensured that I was always close to the data and what it could show me (Patton, 1987: 150; Miles and Huberman, 1994). I kept notes of similar and divergent reflections from the participants. These notes were to be used once I had all the concerned data transcribed and ready to be aggregated under concerned reflection.¹³ I then printed out all the transcripts which were ready, read them at least three times and then commenced with the process of coding the physical copies (Charmaz, 2006:48; Saldana, 2009:22).

I analysed the interviews for reflections which either dealt with parts of my theoretical framework or the literature on place or both (Saldana, 2009:47). As mentioned above in the introduction section, the theoretical framework I used was that advanced by Henri Lefebvre (1991) on his seminal work '*Production of Space*'. The theory outlines the production of place

¹² Some participants did let me know when they felt that they had digressed. I did reassure them that sometimes digressions can actually be non-digressions but important information disguised.

¹³ One thing I wish I had done from the beginning was to ensure that all notes were in the same book. Sometimes it took a while to recall who exactly said something similar/dissimilar about a particular point. In many instances, however, I remembered soon enough as I had some rather colourful characters.

through three pillars, viz. representations of place, representational space and spatial practice. Since the research is aimed at Rhodians and their very particular explications of the experience that is Rhodes University as a place, the first cycle coding method I utilised was In Vivo coding, which captures phrases unedited and often not summarised from the participants themselves (Saldana, 2009: 74). For the purposes of management and memory, I also did put next to each code in the code book a letter – which grew to be a collection of letters – illustrating which individual(s) said which code (see Appendix B).¹⁴ For curiosity's sake, I put the initial codes in a table alongside the amount of times a code referred to part of the theory as by Lefebvre (see Appendix C).

From the initial coding of five transcripts I came up with 230 codes. As displayed in the Appendix C mentioned above, most of the codes fell within the representational space pillar of the theory. I had been deliberate in deciding which interview was coded first. The interview with Gatsby appeared – even as I was doing it – to cover a lot of ground, as she went into great detail about her experience. I felt it was justified to start there and then proceed to the others.¹⁵ With every successive coded transcript the additions to the codebook were decreasing, as codes became relatively similar, and I continued in my activity of not only coming up with new codes but also highlighting which codes were similar/dissimilar reflections (Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2009: 89).

After being convinced of the decreasing rate of new In Vivo codes, I initiated second cycle coding so as to aggregate the codes under themes and categories (Charmaz, 2006: 59; Saldana, 2009:12). I utilised the focused coding method to achieve this aggregation of codes so as to illustrate either similarities or divergences of reflections (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003:39; Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2009: 155). The initial categories included: the visual and its character, campus and home, being within Rhodes University, getting used to how Rhodes

¹⁴ I did this to also keep track of who was either agreeing or disagreeing.

¹⁵ For note 5 above I did make mention of one participant wishing to be interviewed when there was the least number of people around. The interview itself was the hardest to conduct from the bunch. I often had to struggle for information. There were also some digressions which need not have been there. This interview was not too rich in information, save for the fact that it did connect home and campus rather profoundly.

University looks, the visual and what I like and the consequentiality of features.¹⁶ It soon became apparent that subcategories were needed, since people allegedly speaking about the same category were discussing it in rather different manners. For instance, under the category ‘visual and its character’ there were initially the subcategories “personification” (which soon became “Aesthetic reception”) and “culture and identity” – and the “culture and identity” subcategory was also under the category “being within Rhodes University” (Refer to Appendix D for explanations of this development).¹⁷

To my pleasant surprise, as I went back to the coded transcripts attempting to locate the themes of most consequence alongside the collection of In Vivo codes (see appendix E), I found that the themes came in combinations. I isolated the coded material from all transcripts to just its themes and codes (see Appendix F). I then isolated those categories which appeared most in the combinations. The initial themes were ‘*design*’ (including walking a lot, walking and seeing, the visual and what I like), ‘*being within Rhodes University*’ (including people and socialising, campus and home), and ‘*visual culture and identity*’. I then engaged these initial themes to properly represent how the participants were reflecting. The table below shows the final themes that were used as chapter subheadings.

Table 9: Themes and categories

Being within the design (campus)	The people who walk between the buildings	Subjectivity and Experience
Expectation	The people	Subjectivity
Looking	Rhodes University culture	Emotional Response
Contestation	Community	
	Home	

¹⁶ See Appendix D for definitions of the themes/categories.

¹⁷ It became apparent to me that the way I had initially defined the codes was not strict enough. I therefore made the definitions stricter and made the themes less porous and more pointed.

I planned to discuss these above-mentioned themes in the chapters of this study.¹⁸ Ultimately, I arranged the participants' quotes for each chapter so that they proceed from those I consider most simple/direct in terms of combination mixture to those most complex and expansive.¹⁹

5.4. Saturation

The notion of saturation has been the cause of prolonged debate within qualitative research (see Bauer and Gaskell, 2000; Green and Thorogood, 2004; Guest et al., 2006; Starks and Trinidad, 2007; Francis et al., 2010). Through these debates, the complexity of claiming saturation and the need for better transparency as to how saturation was reached has been realised/highlighted (see Bowen, 2008: 137; O'Reily and Parker, 2003:13). For this research undertaking, I utilised the process of coding to trace out how the information collected was progressing. As already mentioned above, the code/category book kept having fewer and fewer additions to it as more interviews were added.²⁰ It was helpful that for each code I attributed a corresponding letter as a representation of which participant gave me the code; to these letters was added those people who said something similar or dissimilar. This told me that the experience was not only being viewed from different perspectives but also that the perspectives were qualitatively different in terms of internal description (Bowen, 2003: 137).²¹

¹⁸ As should soon become apparent, the theme “visual culture and identity” basically merged with “design”; the chapter on subjective experience/agency came after the realisation that the participants were actively involved in a struggle over the determining of their quality of experience. I can only thank Nir for helping me connect all the pieces to the puzzle. Interviewing Nir made me see a connection through all the interviews.

¹⁹ See Appendix G for the skeletons of the chapters. These are just the quotes without interpretation. The opening quote I chose because it is the one that provides almost a summary of what was to come, i.e. a summary from most direct to most “eventful” reflection.

²⁰ The interviewed Rhodians tended to express their experiences of Rhodes University as a place in relatively similar ways. Such phrases as “it’s beautiful” and “it’s very green” were consistently coming up.

²¹ I believe that it also helped that during the interview in my questioning I would sometimes strategically refer back to what other participants had said in their reflections upon a specific part of their experience. This helped to not only delve deeper into that particular experience but also to have a possible immediate and identifiable contrary thought, if one existed, on the concerned experience.

5.5. Strategies to ensure data integrity

The notion of the validity and reliability found within qualitative research has been one of the areas of much contest (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 309; de Chesnay, 2015). For this research undertaking, I used a conception of rigour in research as summarised by Mary de Chesnay (2015) as I felt it most extensive in terms of the much debated “prescriptions” for rigorous and reliable qualitative work. In addition to arguing for a Phenomenological Nod via people identifying with the phenomenological representation, De Chesnay argues further for the following to check for rigour in work:

Resonance indicates that the written interpretation of meanings resonates with individuals. Reasonableness relates to the degree to which the interpretation seems reasonable. Representativeness is the adequacy of the interpretation to represent the various dimensions of the experience. Recognizability is when persons who have not necessarily had the experience read it and recognize aspects of an experience and become more acutely aware of it. Raised consciousness is when individuals focus on and gain understanding of an experience they had not considered previously. Readability is when the study reads like a conversation and is easily understood. Relevance is the extent to which studies absorb persons, making them more aware of their humanness and that of others. Revelations highlight something previously concealed. Responsibility reflects being true and faithful to participants, along with ethical considerations and sensitivity to conversations. Richness is shown when a study reveals a full, embodied, multifaceted, multilayered, thoughtful, sensitive, impassioned description of a human experience. Responsiveness is the degree to which both participants and colleagues respond to the study as important, moving, and capable of releasing them from previously held preconceptions (2015: 17).

It is my sincere hope that this project meets a great many of the “prescriptions”. Furthermore, I utilised two conceptions of reflexivity during my data collection and analysis phases. Firstly, I was well aware that by virtue of this being a research undertaking belonging to me as someone doing academic work and a participant simply relaying their experiences there may have been certain assumed roles during data collection (England, 1994; 81-83). Owing to this reality I often requested the participants to think of the interview as a conversation between two friends. Wherein I could feel a participant holding back -something often displayed through incomplete sentences -I did probe and reassure the participant that all of their thoughts were appreciated (Smith, 1988; England, 1994:82). Secondly, I was rather challenged by the decision over whose reflections were to be included in the data analysis chapters of the thesis (see Reinharz, 1992:267; Mauthner and Doucet, 2003:418). As illustrated by *'Appendix F: Themed Quotes'* there were many quotes under the themes making up the chapters. I wanted to ensure that all of my participants ended up with an equal share of the quotes' space. At the same time,

however, I also wanted to share those quotes which were to the direct point I was arguing. Evidently some people were quoted more than others in line with my argument. This was not troubling to me because the included quotes were the more encompassing quotes in terms of sentiments. In other words, they shared reflections which were widespread yet not articulated as well as in those final quotes. The main reason for undertaking the project, after all, is to offer a sincere and legitimate documentation of the experience of Rhodes University as a place. Therefore, the more encompassing, and thus more likely to be identifiable with, quotes made up the analysis chapters -even as they came from the same people numerous times.

Chapter 6: Being within the design (campus)

6.1. Introduction

For me it's the buildings. I mean, buildings sort of give you that...if you enter a house obviously you're like, or if you were to enter a village, the houses would tell you something about that place, right? So, when you come from this side (pointing in Joza direction) it sort of a message of 'Oh, Rhodes...' it's not... it sort of lowers your expectations if you were sort of expecting 'Wow, Rhodes'. It's sort of like 'Oh, okay, this is Rhodes'. But when you come through that side (pointing 'up the hill' direction) it give you like a beautiful picture, it is like 'wow, this place is amazing'. You sort of get the excitement, unlike when you come through this side (Joza), so you're like 'oh, okay, is this what this place has?'. But generally yeah, this place is very small. Other than Rhodes University, the other side (pointing at High Street) is uhm...it's beautiful. Like I said, I like the, I like the architecture. You get these cathedrals, and when you're standing, when you're standing there by Hill Street looking that side, it is sort of like this (arm gesture) sloping, it's like...it's so beautiful. You see the cathedral from that side and, and...it's different, man. I don't know if it's because I am used to the big city and all that stuff but it is so different and it's pretty, it's chilled. So, yah. (Danielle)

Within the phenomenology realm of qualitative research there is an emphasis on being 'within' an experience (see Patton, 1990; Miles and Huberman, 1994). For the experience of a place, Humanistic Geography has put emphasis upon the notion of 'being-in-the-world' (see Tuan, 1975; Relph, 1976). Humanist Geographers see any quality of experience of place as being inextricably linked to what is experienced due to actually inhabiting or dwelling upon a place. The theory as advanced by Henri Lefebvre is inspired by a phenomenological background which requires an emphasis upon the individual actually being within an allegedly produced (social) place. The three pillars (spatial practice, representations of space and representational space) come together, working in their different areas of applicability, within the production of place that is to ultimately be for the experience of the individual (Lefebvre, 1991: 38-39). Lefebvre argues further that:

Relations between the three moments of the perceived [representational space], the conceived [representations of space] and the lived [spatial practice] are never either simple or stable, nor are they 'positive' in the sense in which this term might be opposed to 'negative', to the indecipherable, the unsaid, the prohibited, or the unconscious. Are these moments and their interconnections in fact conscious? Yes-but at the same time they are disregarded or misconstrued. Can they be described as 'unconscious'? Yes again, because they are generally unknown, and because analysis is able - though not always without error - to rescue them from obscurity. The fact is, however, that these relationships have always had to be given utterance, which is not the same thing as being known - even 'unconsciously' (1991: 46).

The above-mentioned theory of how the pillars interact is how the production of place occurs simultaneously to its experience by the individual in terms of their capacity to influence experience. The spatial practice feeds into the representational space experience and into the representations of space experience as well. This relation of feeding into different realms by others is mutually informing as the experience brought by any realm of the spatial triad ultimately feeds into the experience of some other realm(s). This reality makes it complicated to claim extensive knowledge of the qualities of the processes which go into the production and why those qualities are specifically used. The argument is that whatever the quality of processes that occur, places end up as representations of that mixture of qualities and how they may have or have not contributed to that particular production of a place.

The literature from the human geography field is vast (see Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1976; Cresswell, 2004). In its majority, the literature is based on the individual having a sensual experience of place. The literature then splits into differing areas of emphasis such as place attachment (see Stockols and Shumaker, 1981; Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Lewicka, 2011), sense of place (see Jackson, 1994; Cheng and Daniels, 2003; Zia et al., 2014) and numerous other subgenres of less voluminous work (see Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001; Brennan, 2006; Khademi-Vidra, 2015). Place is almost seen as a highly participatory performance for the individual – a performance that has some affect, since ultimately the individual has a particular quality of experience for the concerned place.

The interview process utilised walking to places that the participants often found themselves being ‘within’. Walking may be used as the time for numerous supplementary activities beyond the (often) simple and repetitive left then right foot movement (Ingold and Vengurst, 2008: 14-15). The opening quote by Danielle is almost all of the preoccupation of this chapter. Danielle’s experience of emplacement is ultimately informed by the built and decorated environment – especially how she receives the environment. As an emplaced individual, she sees the architecture which is in her immediate view – the view which she walks almost every day (Wylie, 2006; Bridge, 2013). As someone not familiar with Rhodes University prior to becoming a Rhodian, she looks to the architecture for disposition, since to her it is through being within and looking at the architecture of the geographical situation that a person may gain some insight into the sort of place the person finds themselves within. Her viewing of the

built and decorated environment is done with the “big city” as one of the reference points for the current environment and its aesthetics (Purcell and Nasar, 1992: 200). Rhodes University as a production is experienced by Danielle in line with the factors of place experience that she considers most crucial for determining her overall quality of experience (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 1993: 236). To Danielle, the numerous cathedrals she sees are worth a mention as features which lead to a geographical site characterised as “different”. The other participants talk of their experience in similar terms to those advanced by Danielle. I am to now discuss each theme in turn.

6.2. Expectation: “It doesn’t look like what I expected” (Samantha)

From its base, the phenomenology of place assumes an individual emplaced (Wylie, 2006; Bridge, 2013: 304). This individual has an experience of place through all the five human senses (Tuan, 1975). In their being in place, individuals are then subjected to a quality of place experience in line with their overall relation and reaction to the place as an entity within which they are located. The quality of experience of place for the individual is as a result of their emplacement and what sensual experience it allows them to have. The sightings, the smells, the noises and so forth all feed into the experience of place. Ingold (2000:207) argues that:

The landscape, in short, is not a totality that you or anyone else can look at, it is rather the world in which we stand in taking up a point of view on our surroundings. And it is within the context of this attentive involvement in the landscape that the human imagination gets to work in fashioning ideas about it.

This is to say that the individual must contextualise, and be contextualised by, their view of the site within which they are emplaced. In other words, there will be hilly landscapes, there will be noisy landscapes and there are also chances that there will be landscapes that obscure viewing and so on and so forth. These ‘characters’ of landscape make the individual’s current (and historic) experience of place. The individual keeps stock of these experiences of place. This contextualising brings to a site an individual with character and a history that basically makes them human and reflective. For instance, an individual from a place wherein there are many church buildings may find themselves in alien territory when confronted by places with close to zero church buildings (see Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 1993). This leads to the fashioning of ideas about the geographical situation and what is expected from emplacement. As a socially produced place according to Lefebvre’s theory, Rhodes University is viewed

almost immediately against what form/type of place it was expected to be by the Rhodian before they officially became a Rhodian.

People experience places often in line with previous experiences of other place. Purcell and Nasar (1992: 200) argue that:

Our experience of the environment consists of repeated encounters with examples of different types of environment. We experience, for example, different types of interior spaces, buildings and outdoor places. Although each specific example has its unique set of physical attributes and relationships between attributes, there are regularities across examples. Through repeated encounters over time with different examples, a predominantly non-conscious learning process takes place. [...] On the basis of this process, the individual constructs a mental representation of these regularities together with the ranges of values typically associated with the attributes and relationships.

These past experiences are used to compare and contrast current place experience when there are changes in the geographical situation. For instance, an individual will go through many school buildings in their life. This individual develops an idea of what a school building is and should be. School buildings which diverge too much from the individual's idea of what a school building is are viewed with an (often neutral) scepticism. This is to say that people often collect memories of emplacement and all its contributing and consequential experiences. From the most striking to the most fleeting peculiarity, the individual, sometimes unconsciously, hoards the experience. This process informs the quality of place experience as expectations are either surpassed or not met (Purcell and Nasar, 1992: 201).

Some of the participants did speak on their expectations for Rhodes University as a place:

But Rhodes is pretty cool like...some of the buildings and features I have never seen anywhere else but here like 'oh, okay, this is pretty cool'. But it's different from what I expected when I first came. I was like expecting a normal university setup like maybe Wits or something like that. Coz, like, I'm from Rustenburg which is close to Joburg so like I'm always around Joburg, so I thought it was like that environment where you're like going to different campuses and you don't get to see people. But then once you get here you realise that a lot is in your face, even if you guys are doing a different degree, ALL like in your face. You see each other all the time. So, yah. (Okwakhe).

Hmm. Rhodes...uhm, it looks...(chuckle)...it doesn't look like a university, it doesn't look like what I...it doesn't look like what I expected a university to look like. I think the image I had in my head was modelled after maybe HMM what I

saw hmm my high school look like and what Wits look like – because I had to go there for debating every weekend –and I thought like that that's how it looks like here, you have these big buildings and, you know...THIS IS AESTHETICALLY PLEASING! (chuckle) (Samantha).

As indicated by both Samantha and Okwakhe, comparing and contrasting the current site to previous sites is one of the first things that people do. Purcell and Nasar (1992: 201) argue that these comparisons and contrasts often lead to particular dispositions towards the built and decorated environment being made into examples for sorts of places. This activity is often done with particular expectations for the environment the individual is then emplaced within – these expectations are ultimately the judgement of the current environment's aesthetics. Samantha ultimately finds Rhodes University as a built and decorated environment “aesthetically pleasing”, although its built and decorated environment remains not what she had expected.. To Okwakhe, the buildings and features are ‘pretty cool’. Both Samantha and Okwakhe are comparing built and decorated Rhodes University to universities they have physically been present within at some point in their lives. It is a happy coincidence that both Samantha and Okwakhe compare Rhodes University to Wits University – one of the bigger campuses in South Africa.

Comparing the university's built and decorated environment with other environments the participants have experienced proved to be crucial and extensive (Purcell and Nasar, 1992: 200). Purcell and Nasar (1992: 201) argue that:

Where an example coincides with existing generic knowledge, it would be experienced as a typical or good example of the relevant type. It would also be associated with the experience of familiarity, where familiarity refers to the experience resulting from encountering an example with characteristics that have been frequently experienced before in the context of the particular type (Barsalou, 1985). Where an example is very discrepant from existing knowledge structures, the converse would apply--such an example would be experienced as atypical and unfamiliar. Varying types and extents of difference would correspondingly result in gradations of experience of typicality (goodness of example) and familiarity.

This is to say that the experience of the built and decorated environment is met by warranted reaction through either familiarity or peculiarity. The individual's ‘stock’ of past place experience is utilised to ‘judge’ the current place retrospectively. As an environment which the individual is to spend a considerable amount of time within, the individual looks to other such places of considerable occupation as equivalent examples for comparison (see Purcell and

Nasar, 1992: 203; Levine and Thompson, 2004). The feeling of being within a previous place is put up against the newly occupied place.

Two participants spoke nostalgically for past place experiences:

But to be honest though, in most of the buildings here at Rhodes, you feel like, you feel like – especially with me, if you're coming from another town, a city, whatever – you come in here to Rhodes it feels like you're in some small European....home...European area or whatever. Like I don't know if you've googled 'Munich' – yah, it's in Germany, it sort of looks like...okay, I don't know if it's just the internet making it look more nicer, but for me it's like Rhodes University; a bit of Rhodes University there, you know, I can...the buildings and all that. So, like I said, there's a lot of history and then, and somehow I would like to find out, you know, WHY? (Danielle)

I mean this is a good kind of point like I was born in England and I grew up there till I was sort of 12 or so and I lived in a town actually called, well right next to a town called Truro, so Truro was where, where we used to go for like outings for the day, you know, and uh...one of the things I always liked about Grahamstown was that it kind of reminded me of England a bit, you know. Yeah, I mean because, you know, the, you know, it's pretty green; it's often very wintery here so, you know, I mean a day like this you might as well be walking through some little English town, you know, which is sort of nice and nostalgic for me because it kind of reminds me of, you know, being a kid again. But then at the same time it's like this is not England it's South Africa. And I think Rhodes – and probably Grahamstown itself – tries very hard to be this sort of little piece of Europe, you know, they used to call it 'Oxford in the bush,' you know which is, which is uh....I don't know, problematic. It is not very genuine I suppose...uhm...but I suppose that's the other thing, and we think...the one thing about this place is that as soon as you start thinking about it you...it makes you feel uncomfortable, so you know uh..... Yeah. (Jamie)

The experience of Rhodes University as place is biographical. In other words, the individual, informed by both the immediate architectural presentation of campus and their history of experience of place experience, takes in the place that Rhodes University is. It is the case that both Danielle and Jamie experience the physical space of Rhodes University as a relatively European site of emplacement. Danielle is as most Rhodians –she is not a native of Grahamstown. As a result of this, she comes with a feeling for the place that is to unfold right in front of her as a new inhabitant (Zia et al., 2014:283). To her, Rhodes University feels 'European'. Because of this feeling she would like to understand the reasons behind the allegedly European build of the university campus. For Jamie, the university campus and greater Grahamtown, through factors of building and weather, remind her of England. There is an artificiality of place to Jamie – at least in terms of buildings – as for her the site within which

the university is situated, at least geographically, is a long distance from England, yet the feel of England is still in the aura of the university.

In their reflections, the participants did communicate that they were surprised about the amount of walking they have to do whilst on campus. People typically walk from one point to another and there is often a destination to each walk (Ingold and Vergunst, 2008). The participants showed surprise as to the amount of time it took to move from one point of campus to the next. Ingold and Vergunst (2008:1) argue that the walk is often more than just left foot then right foot. To Lefebvre, walking is a spatial practice and thus is an act that is operational in the production of place. Sheller and Urry (2006:214) argue for walking as a 'dwelling-in-motion'. People allegedly 'dwell' – over and above their mere physical emplacement – in a place through their motion on preferred routes and the happenings within these routes. The features seen, the people greeted, the places of rest and all other events of the walk that are experienced consequentially go towards informing the experience of place (Ingold and Vergunst, 2008; Edensor, 2010: 70). This experience produces places on multiple levels, i.e. as a rhythm map (de Certeau, 1984: 117; Edensor, 2010:69) and as panorama (see Wylie, 2006; Bridge, 2013) as people walk and rest the place into being.

This is to say that the walk is accompanied by an experiencing through motion and rest. In other words, as the individual moves through the site they often see in panorama their traversed place. This experience is their part of the place within which they are situated. For instance, an individual's experience of Rhodes University as place is informed consequentially by their transit routes through campus and what these routes allow the individual to experience both in motion and rest. The person can also experience new areas through the simple changing of route (Edensor, 2010:70). The participants did speak of walking campus in the following terms:

You walk so much around here, especially if you live up the hill. And I didn't have a car when I first came here so I also walked so much like to go get water and to get my groceries at Pick n Pay and like it's so hot and a lot of people all the time. I think I lost weight – just from walking. (chuckle). And I even live on the third floor so I have to climb like three floors of stairs every time I go to my room. Yeah. It's quite nice, though, that you can walk everywhere. Like if you're in Wits or something like it makes you feel so safe because like it's uh...all the residences and stuff make it a student town, you know. So like if I wanna go to my friend's house, if we want to go out we just walk – which is so cool. Whereas like... because I'm from Joburg if you're at Wits or whatever uhm, you're not just gonna like bump

into your friends at the shops and start...because like people come from all over the area, you know what I mean? And people who like come to Rhodes only come from Grahamstown. So I feel like you're almost more likely to make friends because of it's like so small. (Gatsby)

It is a lot of walking. My mum actually had (chuckle) something to say about that when we got here. She was just like, "I don't understand how anyone can gain weight in this place," because, you know, you hear things like, "first-year spread", and all of that. So she was like; "I don't understand how anyone can gain weight when you have to walk so far to reach everything". (Samantha)

The walk can sometimes get tiring; in many cases walking may lead to interactions (de Certeau, 1984; Edensor, 2010: 71). Both Gatsby and Samantha mention body weight when talking about the amount of walking they have had to do on campus. In reference to the smallness of Rhodes University, Gatsby appreciates that the interactions an individual is likely to have with people could spark friendships. Gatsby's walking is informed by her route to various points on and off campus. This walking is immediately compared by Gatsby to her previous experience of the same act as a student at Wits University. Although much walking is done, , she still appreciates it as walks encompass way more than just the movement of feet. As for everyone else, Gatsby's walks also include interaction through intersection. Samantha's reflection on walking is inspired by what her mother uttered to her – in fatigue perhaps –when they were walking about the Rhodes University campus. An anecdote that Samantha had shared with me was that of getting lost on the university campus with her mother. This getting lost showed her how vast the university can get in terms of footwork. Walking shows Rhodes University in both the suspension and animation of both environment and individual. Ultimately, walking as both mobility and rest informs the experience of Rhodes University as place (see de Certeau, 1984; Edensor, 2000: 81). Snippets of Rhodes University's placeness are gathered through the activity of walking.

6.3. Looking: "When you start looking at Rhodes" (Quaz)

Having a visual experience of place is crucial for determining the quality of place experience. Places are often visual sites and situations. Looking at the place within which one is located is often the first thing people do. Lefebvre (1981: 83-84) argues this point by stating that:

They [places] are made with the visible in mind: the visibility of people and things, of spaces and of whatever is contained by them. The predominance of visualization (more important than 'spectacularization', which is in any case subsumed by it) serves to conceal repetitiveness. People look, and take sight, take seeing, for life itself. We build on the basis of papers and plans. We buy on the basis of images.

Sight and seeing, which in the Western tradition once epitomized intelligibility, have turned into a trap: the means whereby, in social space, diversity may be simulated and a travesty of enlightenment and intelligibility ensconced under the sign of transparency.

This is to say that in both the production and the lived experience of place the visual representation of place is paramount. Just as the architects look at visual designs on paper, so too do the inhabitants and dwellers look at actual physical buildings upon the ground which they traverse. Place as the visual, in both its grand and reserved presentation, is taken in by the individual's wandering eyes. As already established, looking at the Rhodes University environment within which the individual is placed is one of the very first things most individuals do (Wylie, 2006: 522). This reality of looking is the reality of humanistic geography. The experience of place as a sensual experience often must ultimately include the sense of sight among the other senses (Tuan, 1975:19). I took walks around campus with the participants so as to reflect on place with as immediate a sensual reflection as I could gain. It became clear that campus – at least the build and decorated environment part – is aesthetic²² and is received²³ as such.

Being within place is a given (see Tuan, 1977; de Certeau, 1984). Subjecting a place to a viewing is more complex (see Wylie, 2006; Bridge, 2013). There has been a debate over how the visual experience occurs: the question is whether the individual views their immediate environment as an abstract existence or whether the individual is too embedded to ever be an outsider looking in. Whatever the result of the historic debate, phenomenology sees two entities involved in an act: there is an individual and a place. This individual does look at place from whatever angle (Wylie, 2006; Bridge, 2013) and then sets in motion most of their thoughts on place as an experience (see Tuan, 1975; Relph, 1976). The author Berleant (2005:14) argues that:

Perception starts with the body, and the presence of the body as here is the primary reference point from which all spatial coordinates must be derived. Thus the perceived object is grasped in relation to the space of the perceiver. It is not a discrete material object. 'Perception does not give me truths like geometry but presences'. There is, so to say, an 'intentional arc' that supports consciousness,

²² People look at the build and decoration of campus and judge it according to some aesthetic standard. For instance, Samantha refers to campus as "aesthetically pleasing".

²³ "Receiving" an aesthetic within place literature and phenomenology is a problematic term. The work as by Wylie (2006) and Bridge (2013) are crucial to understanding the source of this 'controversy'.

through which we are situated temporally, physically, socially, and in the realms of meaning. The subject who perceives 'is my body as the field of perception and action'. Indeed, 'the perceived thing ... exists only in so far as someone can perceive it'. The human body occurs through a blending of sensing and sensible, a blending in which vision is not just of but in things. Further, space is not, as it was for Descartes, a 'network of relations between objects' that can be seen from the outside by an impartial observer. 'It is, rather, a space reckoned starting from me as the zero point or degree zero of spatiality. I do not see it according to its exterior envelope; I live in it from the inside; I am immersed in it. After all, the world is all around me, not in front of me'.

This is to say that for looking at the site and situation being physically present is crucial. The human exists as a body within site and situation. This body in rest and motion is often informed by emplacement. In other words, looking is a point of view. For instance, how and what an individual sees whilst moving along a street is as a result of their movements, attention (to detail) and the features which either highlight or obscure parts of the visual. As a point of view, looking is therefore an exercise in origin and destination (see Kaplan, 1979: 242; Wylie, 2006:523). This is to say that there is a contextualised perceiver and contextualised perceived. The feature seen is seen as a feature amongst other features which may or may not play into the process of being seen.

From the above theorisation by Berleant it is apparent that the individual viewing what allows for itself to be viewed does so as a not-viewed entity. In other words, in a group of entities the viewer looks at some other entity within the collective and in such a way makes that entity a view from a point within whatever the event it is that allows for the viewing to occur. As displayed by the pointing done by Danielle in the opening quote of the chapter, there is an immersion to place experience. This immersion informs – especially through sight – what is experienced and how it is experienced (Wylie, 2006; Bridge, 2013).

The participants did highlight their rootedness and what it allowed them to experience. The participants mentioned the following reflections:

You know, when you start looking at Rhodes infrastructure, there are somethings that you notice that are quite INTRIGUING. I know that by the Nelson Mandela Dining Hall, we have something like a waterfall. But because the water is not always, you know, flowing, you don't notice it until the day the water flows and you actually notice it and 'oh, this is a waterfall'. You know, its uh....it really has nice features but if you perhaps.... take time to observe and not just walk past

everything then you get to see that..... though Rhodes is not really decorated, it has some intriguing stuff. (Quaz)

Yah, it's a bit bland. Iyabhora [It is boring], shame. I mean the, the, the architecture of the buildings. Now that I've like paid attention to it, hhayi, iyabhora [No! It is boring]. Like look at that. What's interesting about that shit? Ai! Iyabhora [No! It is boring]. (Gift)

So, I guess the.....visually its very calming and relaxed, it's not.....the buildings aren't – what it's called? – uhmmm they aren't uhmmm overpowering, so they kinda.....they're noticeable but yet they, they....they are kind of silent visually because they don't really jump out and grab your attention and most of the buildings are painted in cream to kinda just blend into the environment so as to bring out the nature. They have really made a point of having.....(hand clap)....line out the university and uh...make it...far much more appealing. (Eden)

It's so sad coz it's so beautiful. Like we just spend the whole life looking at our feet or at our phones and if you actually just like....my friend and I, we wait for it to like be raining and then we'll go and walk around just to see like coz it even looks older and like all the kind of creepy, you know, and look at the old architecture but I hadn't for so long and it's actually so nice, to like not all the little things, like I didn't appreciate it, so I am glad that you asked me to do the interview, so I would know that 'ah, I live in such a beautiful place' coz I forgot...coz uh, you arrive and you're like 'Oh, this is so nice' and then you just forget. Like, it's already fourth term so I'm used to it. I actually arrived to Grahamstown and was like 'ah, Grahamstown is not looking so great' coz it's like – I don't know, but it's actually looking very nice. (Gatsby)

Through walking the participants get the chance – if they are deliberate – to look at the features and decorations within their route (Wylie, 2006; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008:6-7). Gatsby and Quaz speak of the merits of actually taking the time to look at the Rhodes University built and decorated environment. This looking for them will help in properly judging – and thus legitimately appreciating – the aesthetic experience of campus (Purcell and Nasar, 1992: 200). Furthermore, Gatsby and Quaz touch on the often challenging line between walking and viewing, i.e. productively utilising the rest and mobile parts of the walk (see de Certeau, 1984; Solnit, 2001; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008). Sometimes through walking people get too focused and taken by the movement of feet that they do not take the time to actually look at their traversed environment. This forgetfulness sometimes leads to being lost – both in situation and (deep) thought. It is when people take the time to actually look at their situation in both mobility and rest that they may reflect on its experience as part of place (Ingold and Vergunst, 2008: 39). Quaz and Gatsby argue that there is a forgetting to look at the situation and how this forgetting has consequences when the individual eventually decides (or finds the chance) to actually look. Gift and Eden, after having done the actual viewing, feel enabled to characterise the aesthetic quality of Rhodes University. According to these two, this judgement

of aesthetic quality is because, as the individual looks at Rhodes University through their situation, they then start noticing the more ‘silent’ qualities of features. Noticing these feature qualities then leads to a more extensive experience of that corner of Rhodes University. For Gift and Eden, the Rhodes University campus is aesthetically reserved in terms of features upon the site. There is not too much intrigue and complexity. These views are informed ultimately by what was made of the Rhodes University site by those factors which contributed most consequentially to the site’s placeness.

Places for Lefebvre (1991: 84) can be made of particular representations. As productions, places are subject to factors which inform their overall profiles as places. Lefebvre believed these factors should be taken account of and thus he argued:

A social space cannot be adequately accounted for either by nature (climate, site) or by its previous history. Nor does the growth of the forces of production give rise in any direct causal fashion to a particular space or a particular time. Mediations, and mediators, have to be taken into consideration: the action of groups, factors within knowledge, within ideology, or within the domain of representations. Social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such 'objects' are thus not only things but also relations. As objects, they possess discernible peculiarities, contour and form. Social labour transforms them, rearranging their positions within spatio-temporal configurations without necessarily affecting their materiality, their natural state (as in the case, for instance, of an island, gulf, river or mountain) (1991: 85).

Behind the place there are what can arguably be termed ‘processes’ which inform the profile of the place. Depending on the relative strength of these factors (for example: actions of groups, time, ideology, etc.), anything from the plethora of potential informants can contribute most to the profile of place (Lefebvre, 1991: 86). As degrees of qualities that determine place disposition, these factors are engaged in an interaction to decide the most consequential determinant of place disposition. At some point in the production of place, time could be the consequentially informing factor (Lefebvre, 1991: 120); at some other point the actions of groups could be the crucial factor (Di Masso et al., 2011).

Looking at the campus brought a reflection from some of the participants that can only be seen as an attempt to place the university in time – architectural time, if such a term exists. As illustrated in the Gatsby quote, the participants sometimes saw the campus as a mixture of old

and new architectural styles and conventions. This can be a result of what is sometimes argued to be environments channelling certain dispositions to their occupants (Lefebvre, 1991: 42). Berleant (2005:16) argues that:

Environment is not wholly dependent on the perceiving subject. It also imposes itself in significant ways on the human person, engaging one in a relationship of mutual influence. Not only is it misleading to objectify the environment; it cannot be taken as a mere reflection of the perceiver, either. [...] The consciousness of self, of the lived body, and of lived space must be complemented by recognizing the influences that environment exerts on the body, how it contributes to shaping the body's spatial sense and mobility, and ultimately to the definition of its lived space. This leads us to a different conception of experiencing environment aesthetically. In this view, the environment is understood as a field of forces continuous with the organism, a field in which there is a reciprocal action of organism on environment and environment on organism, and in which there is no sharp demarcation between them.

The environment as occupied site may sometimes, channel, as a meaning-infused situation, particular dispositions to the inhabitants through its aesthetic presentation. Although other inhabitants may be behind a particular quality of channelling (be they architects or mere individuals decorating their homes), often all the inhabitants end up having a particular sense of place – a feel for the place owed to the resultant and thus presented product of place (Tuan, 1975; Hayden, 1995; Zia et al. 2014). In other words, modifications upon the build and decoration of an environment have repercussions in terms of how the place is received by its inhabitants. For instance, places with many mall and amusement park buildings are received rather differently than those without such buildings. At least in terms of social preoccupation, these places are rather differing sites of emplacement activity.

Some participants argued that the Rhodes University aesthetic had a particular disposition in time. The concerned participants highlighted the following:

Well, well...it's a, it's a, it's a...it's an OLD campus and the buildings that tell you that uh 'they are old,' memories were created here. I mean, look at this temple – it says a lot, and uh, I mean, also, the environment itself – when you're having a river, a river stream passing right across the campus uh, so...it's quite beautiful, you know. (Saul)

I suppose it's like medieval in a way....this school is like what? A hundred years old....I guess in Victorian times it was popular, and when the school was built they just genuinely used the same type of architecture that was uhm...popular at the time, but uhm...this brick pathway... this is more of a modern type of landscaping that it brought into the mix, with the times are changing, but I think the architecture is.....it's quite interesting. It's not really in your face but yeah. (Eden)

Yeah, well, I like the old buildings better. I don't know why but I just feel like they just like have so much more character than a block, you know. (chuckle). (Gatsby)

To the above participants, the older parts of campus had a root in the times in which they were built. These times had differing effects to the aesthetic (Lefebvre, 1991: 35). Saul sees the oldness of campus in connection to the previous, distant occupants of the site. These occupants, Saul argues, must have created memories during their time within the site. Memories are important to any production of place as they are often emotionally charged (see Low and Altman, 1992; Manzo, 2003). As such, seeing the old look of Rhodes University tells Saul of a past that may still be preserved and persevering for particular individuals who find attachment in memory (Lewicka, 2011: 209). To Eden, the material makeup of Rhodes University has remnants of what Lefebvre refers to as “mediators”, i.e. those designers of place who physically modify a site (Lefebvre, 1991:85). These mediators were of their time and this informed their additions to the physical design. Gatsby finds “character” within the older material makeup of Rhodes University. She prefers greater character within the structural makeup of campus (Purcell and Nasar, 1992: 205). Ultimately, the architecture on campus, at least to some Rhodians, cannot be separated from its timing (Lefebvre, 1991: 41). These Rhodians see time as inextricable from the build and decoration of the Rhodes University campus.

6.4. Contestation: “They have their own; we have our own” (Gift)

There is an extensive literature on the contested nature of places (see Hubbard, 1996; Devine-Wright and Lyons, 1997; Cresswell, 2004; Manzo, 2005). It appears that people sometimes will not accept the same meanings behind places (Hayden, 1995: 16; Di Masso et al., 2011). As places are often meaning-infused, the meaning within place is often not received the same by everyone. There are qualities and degrees to the reading of the alleged meaning behind place. All types of places often symbolise different things to different people (see Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 1993; 235; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008). For various reasons – be they aesthetics or be they occupation – people will not agree on a popular meaning for places, especially when the place is ‘read’ by some individuals within the site. This often leads to contestation because people do not wish to have some experiences of places because these may be negative experiences of place. These places often find themselves as sites of contested meaning (see Hayden, 1995: 56; Cresswell, 1996; Di Masso et al., 2011).

The participants did go some length in highlighting the covert contestation they argue is to be found on campus:

I feel like in some faculties and subjects there's just like this longing to claim like a European (chuckle) history and tradition that's...like, like the canon and...the English canon and all of that and thinking that Shakespeare and Charles Dickens and all of that like NOTHING WILL BE GREATER and that they're the best – which might not be necessarily true (chuckle). So, I don't know but I CAN'T RELATE. As much as art is abstract and you make your own interpretation, as a young South African I just can't relate and I'm quite over the sense that old European things are the best of everything (chuckle). So, yah. (Samantha).

But (heavy breath).....if we're gonna say Rhodes is white when referring to the environment, then what kind of not-white would we then incorporate to make the environment eh...not so white...not be white? Do we then change some of our buildings or infrastructure, and start building rondavels? (chuckle). Do we.....what do we do? How do we...change the environment? (Quaz)

Yah, go the extra mile to make everyone feel comfortable. Well, I'm not saying like hone in or zoom in on the fact that ukuthi sise-Africa, [we are in Africa], Africa and kufuneka [it is needed that] everything ibe-Africa [be Africa], African....no. no. I mean in the sense of uhm obviously white people have their own style of building houses; we also have our own African style of like building houses like I said with the hut and the paintings like the Ndebele paintings are like why people also have their own style like was building houses their own -what's the word – own identity, their own thing that fumaniseke [you will find that] they find comfortable. Yeah! I would say like lento efumaniseka bona ibenza [that thing that you will find makes them] happy, makes them appreciate there's s...their surroundings and feel safe and comfortable and feel love and feel that ukuthi [that] you know, you know what...this university like went the extra mile for me ukuthi ngibe [to be] comfortable. Yeah, well even though I may not notice, notice that every day but yah like it went the extra mile. That's what I'm like it should be like ubone...kufuneka ibe [it must be] like accommodating for everyone. (Comes across friend – a minor exchange). (Gift)

Some of the participants look at campus as having a particular disposition to its representational space (Lefebvre, 1991: 39). To Samantha, some parts of campus yearn for “British” histories and to these she “can’t relate”. Samantha’s failure to ‘relate’ is informed by a reflection which struggles to see the need for a monopoly over that which is considered aesthetically pressing and pleasing. Samantha sees some parts of campus as rather exclusionary in terms of aesthetics – an exclusion she sees as owed to nostalgia for an ultimately alienating aesthetic. To Gift, the whiteness that is Europe has its “own style of building houses” – a style he alleges is still found within the majority of Rhodes University (Purcell and Nasar, 1992: 200; Lefebvre, 1991: 41). Although this style is ultimately not problematic for him, he realises that it needs to be offset by other styles of building (Lefebvre, 1991: 85). The campus to Gift appears up for partitioning in terms of style of buildings. To Gift, campus represents in large part a European style of

construction. What is needed are more vernacular building styles to complement the currently embraced style (Hayden, 1995: 43). Quaz grapples with the idea of covert contestation and if it is advisable or not to experience campus with the background thought that there is a covert contest over representational space. She is asking both herself and all other concerned Rhodians what they suggest be done if the built and decorated environment is as skewed to one side over the other as they are suggesting and feeling. Quaz is connecting the thought of contestation to actions on site and situation and what this might mean for all people and situations involved. Whatever the reality is, for those who look and reflect upon the university aesthetic there is some reflection upon the possibility of a meta-contest.

The #RhodesMustFall movement did come up during the interviews. #RhodesMustFall was a moment started at the University of Cape Town during 2015 (Chauduri, 2016: no page number; Bosch, 2016:222). This moment overtly questioned the cultural representation of certain sites within South Africa, a country with a history of colonialism and oppression. The tertiary institution's built and decorated environment was contested as a place of lived meaning and memory (see Mbembe, 2016). As a moment of reflection between the individual and their immediate and meaning-imbued environment (see Tuan, 1976; Relph, 1976; Hayden, 1995), the #RhodesMustFall moment encouraged some of the participants to rethink their being 'in place' within the built and decorated environments of South Africa's tertiary institutions (see Mbembe, 2016; Chauduri, 2016). The participants had the following to say about the moment:

And about Rhodes' history and about you know the kind of coloniality of the space very theoretical before last year, you know. Yeah, I knew it was a pretty, yeah I knew that it was a, you know, a barracks or whatever, you know. And you knew that it has this kind of history but it was in a very kind of academic theoretical way. I think because for me I was experiencing in a kind of academic and theoretical way, for me the history was very much the history, you know. But I think when the protest [#RhodesMustFall] happened when people started saying that like you know those things for a lot of people here aren't just academic issues or theoretical issues they're actually lived you know they, they still live that space in a very different way, you know, then it changes the way that you kind of inhabit the spaces but because you know I think just by kind of osmosis....and yeah and-and-and obviously, you know, in terms of the kind of discomfort I think that the kind of the events of last year were discomforting for everyone and including white people and I think white people in it, in a, in a slightly different way you know and I'm not saying that in any kind of, you know, 'but the poor white people felt so uncomfortable'. I'm saying it in like that, 'yeah, you know, they should have because that's what this whole project is about,' it's about kind of making people kind of uncomfortable with the way things are right now because some people live

that discomfort every day and some people don't because they don't have to, you know. So, I think it's important that people like me experience that discomfort and take stock of it and think about it and, you know, I'm not, I'm not saying that you, like you need to kind of walk around apologising or you walk around kind of feeling like an outsider. (Jamie)

Uhm... the only time I've ever felt out of place was during the protest [#RhodesMustFall] coz uhm (deep exhale/exasperation) fuck... (mumble)where do you guys want me... yeah but otherwise I've never like – on the actual architecture – oh no. (Gatsby)

The actions that occur within the space affect experience (Genereux et al., 1983:18). In the above cases, the actions of some Rhodians make some individuals feel uncomfortable and 'out of place' within campus (Cresswell, 1996:69). The #RhodesMustFall moment for some participants made the university an uncomfortable place. The actions of people within the place during #RhodesMustFall affected Jamie and Gatsby profoundly because the contestation over representational space allegedly made them antagonists by association through their race (see Sundstrom, 2003; Di Masso et al., 2011). Gatsby felt unwelcome. For Jamie, this instance was a learning experience for it allegedly transformed a covert contestation over place to an overt one. The transformation for Jamie also elevated her thoughts on place from theoretical to pragmatic. Such an interaction did highlight what she had taken for granted, i.e. theoretical Rhodes University over practical Rhodes University, through emphasising how the Rhodes University space is lived differently by its different inhabitants.

The other participants took the baton from Jamie and spoke of the practice of the #RhodesMustFall movement:

I think it [#RhodesMustFall] definitely had a lot of good points and it raised issues that definitely needed to be talked about and challenged within the space. You know, despite the fact that – I assume a majority of the students are black middle class students –it's still a white space in a very white environment and it's just... that's, that's evident in the structures of the place and the way things are run just the names of buildings, the fact that we're in an institution that's called Rhodes or the fact that there's still a Jan Smuts Hall, a Jan Smuts res. These things; those are very white spaces. (Yoli)

I think just being here...uh...and I've had this conversation with a lot of people but it hasn't sort of put so many different things together, so, you know, but there is sort of the desire to keep Rhodes like quaint and elite and like they don't want to make it like a masses university; they want to make it like a "select-fews" university and even that comes through in the aesthetic, you know. And there's sort this idea that (chuckle) if it doesn't look like this it's gonna be an eyesore and yeah even with like when we do have protests and there's graffiti or it's a bit different when you

talk about damage to property because then...yeah there is that element of violence and is it necessary to burn down the 'artworks' in order to make a move towards merging the very real reality of South Africa and South African culture with what we have going on here, right. So I feel like yeah it's...unfortunately, in order to make your point you do have to do something violent sometimes because yeah we just we're in a system where we have old people who have learned from a particular system and a way of doing things and you're trying to make the point that things should change. (Samantha)

Yoli and Samantha also touch on the often muddled conversation of contestation over place (Hayden, 1995: 19; Di Masso et al., 2011). Contestation over place is always complex because it is often a taken for granted theme, and in many instance is dismissed as either the result of illusion or as being too divisive a topic to be engaged in a productive manner. For Yoli and Samantha, the #RhodesMustFall moment was warranted because it was an aggressive culmination of historic discomfort with some of the tertiary institutions' built and decorated environments. Rhodes University as a built and decorated environment to these Rhodians has the makings of contestation. The aesthetic as an important part of the university's placeness remains skewed in terms of representational space – especially within a post-colonial environment. To Yoli and Samantha, the confrontational actions of the students were second to the need to actually spark a rather honest conversation over place. Such moments are appreciated; to many within the tertiary education landscape #RhodesMustFall was a needed reflection upon emplacement.

6.5. Conclusion

Every production of place must be experienced (see Lefebvre, 1991; Goonewardena et al., 2008). There have been numerous theories on how this production is experienced (Tuan, 1975; Wylie, 2006; Bridge, 2013). What is consistent, however, is the unavoidable emplacement of the individual upon site. This individual must experience place in all its manifestations to have some quality of experience of that particular place. The Rhodian's experience of Rhodes University as a built and decorated environment is informed by their expectations before they arrive at Rhodes University, their looking at the campus whilst keeping in mind past experiences of other places and sometimes the assumption that, as a built and decorated environment, Rhodes University is subject, in its production as place, to factors which make it contestable as a place for it has – at least visually – a particular disposition to its production. For some Rhodians, the Rhodes University campus is an entirely new experience; for others the campus contains remnants of previous experienced environments. Through walking the

campus and looking at both its grand and miniscule features, Rhodians grow to have a particular feel for the aesthetic disposition of campus. In many cases the built and decorated environment of Rhodes University makes the campus appear a European design aesthetically. With this European appearance, the possibilities for contestation over place – covert and overt contestation – are set in motion. Once this contestation arises, as was the case in the year 2015, some Rhodians do feel such moments to be of honest reflection upon the built and decorated environments that all people inhabit.

Chapter 7: The people who walk between the buildings

7.1. Introduction

Yeah, I mean I think it's quite difficult to dislocate the visual from the social in a way if I'm trying to think of what is...yah... I mean I think this...yeah I don't know, I don't know how I could answer that. I think that my initial response would be like the social is more informative to me kind of thing. But I mean there is something actually about walking around with a camera and kind of looking at the visual stuff which makes you think that maybe, maybe it actually affects me more than I realize in way because there are all these social... I mean not social but visual kind of cues that you're picking up all the time, all the time subconsciously too so I think that looking, I think that the two are definitely enmeshed in a way I'm going to be...no, I'm going to be pretty much more conscious of what I'm seeing after this... yeah I think, you know, it's like the social is all the stuff that happens maybe the meatier stuff but it all happened against the backdrop, you know. So it is interesting how that backdrop influences yeah..... (Jamie)

The experience of place extends beyond the visual. It is argued that a feel for a place develops from experiencing it through all five senses (see Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Massey, 1994; Nast and Pile, 1996). As spaces of meaning, whatever occurs within a place affects its experience so long as that event is informative upon the determinants of experience. In the preceding chapter it was established that the visual experience is possible, for there is an individual engaged in seeing the built and decorated environment. There is no need to assume that the place is experienced by just one individual and that is the place; for all places there are numerous individuals. It is logical to assume that such individuals do see both the physical build and the people who populate the build, among a variety of other things seen,. The physical build and the people amount to place, as place is often both building and people (see de Certeau, 1984; Merleau-Ponty and Smith, 1996; Merleau-Ponty and Baldwin, 2004; Malpas, 1999).

People within a place do engage in social relations. Place literature argues that these relations often inform the individual and collective experience of the concerned place (see Agnew, 1987; McDowell, 1999; Thrift, 2004; Lewicka, 2011; Zia et al., 2014). This is done through the two factors, viz. environment and population, which are inseparable in terms of place experience. Ultimately, the experience of place is not just the visual engaged or non-engaged. Experience is also how individuals (re)act in relation to other individuals. This is a variation of Henri Lefebvre's spatial practice count which makes mention that for all places there are inextricable-to-place practices that individuals engage in (1991: 41-43). The participants of the research did reflect rather extensively about the social practices upon the Rhodes University campus. With

the progression of the chapter the mutually-informing relationship between the built and decorated Rhodes University environment and the human relations that transpire within this environment and are taken account of in deciding upon the resultant experience of Rhodes University as a place will become clearer. The accounts range from the social disposition of Rhodes University to its relation to conceptions of home to, rather unexpectedly,²⁴ the people being part of the visual – as somewhat ‘features’ of Rhodes University.

The opening reflection from Jamie is useful in setting the tone for the rest of the chapter. Jamie is attempting to decide on what has greater importance for her experience of Rhodes University: is it the built and decorated environment or are social relations more important? The answer is not forthcoming, save that the two options are allegedly connected. The individual is ultimately affected by both the physical place and the social place (Lefebvre, 1991: 48). The rest of this chapter is to focus on social activity within place and what it makes of the overall experience of Rhodes University as a place.

The theory as by Lefebvre has surprisingly little to say about social relations and their relation to place. Of social relations Lefebvre (1991: 138) simply states:

The study of space offers an answer according to which the social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into a space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing that space itself. Failing this, these relations would remain in the realm of 'pure' abstraction - that is to say, in the realm of representations and hence of ideology: the realm of verbalism, verbiage and empty words.

The argument is that all social relations are emplaced. Individuals can only engage in social activity through their emplacement upon physical site. It is impossible to think of social relations without a site and situation in which they are acted out. The “social relations of production” and their relation to the production of place that Lefebvre relates to can be interpreted in two ways. As a Marxist theorist, Lefebvre can simply be referring to the actual physical production of place by allocated individuals such as architects and construction workers. This is to say that people as allocated roles within society are commanded by superiors to produce a particular disposition for a place. As an advancement of one of his theory’s pillars (spatial practice), “social relations of production” could mean that how people relate to one

²⁴ This reflection came from just one participant.

another socially is how place is sometimes produced consequentially. In other words, as the relations that occur upon a physical site and at the mercy of power and other moderating dynamics the prevailing social interactions within site find room to project themselves in on the particular disposition of a place as a site of emplacement. For instance, how people relate to one another in social terms informs how emplacement is ultimately experienced. On both interpretations, the production of place is still well within the confines of the spatial triad as it transforms abstraction into reality (see Carp, 2008:13). This is to say that for the abstract walk that spatial practice refers to there is an actual walk the individual engages in. This ‘real’ walk places the individual in actual physical site and likely interacting with ‘real’ people. Ultimately, there is the need to acknowledge social relations because they exist and are underpinned by what the reality of place is (and is allowed to be) at the time (Lefebvre, 1991: 401). For example, places just after natural disasters can be argued experienced different – for reasons of attachment and memory of destroyed sites – than places of no such disaster. The same can be the case with places with friendly neighbours than those with no such luck.

7.2. The people: “It’s got to do with the people” (Nir)

The quality of experience of place is affected by the people within the place. There is a sizable collection of literature focusing on this very reality (see Low and Altman, 1992; Feld and Basso, 1996). The literature focuses largely on the theme of place attachment (see Stockols and Schumaker, 1981; Stedman, 2003; Lewicka, 2011) and how the social sphere affects the relationship between the individual and the place (see Carter and Donald, 1993; Putnam, 1995; Wilton, 1998; Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). In the same manner that people are argued to sometimes experience architecture as reflection upon a schema of previous experience (Purcell and Nasar, 1992: 200), the experience of social activity can also be setup for comparison with previous environments (Cuba and Hummon, 1993: 112-113). It is the case that people keep in mind the quality of social relations that they experience within specific, if not all, places. A particularly bad experience may be kept just the same as a particularly good experience is kept. Relph (1985:23) argued that, for all places experienced, people’s qualities of experience are kept as immediate reference points against which successive experiences are judged in terms of quality. For example, a particularly good experience within some corner of Cape Town is most likely compared with an experience of some corner of Grahamstown. Ultimately, how good or bad of an experience being in a particular place was carries great significance for the individual because at the end of the day that experience will be compared to other experiences

before and after it. This referencing of place experience makes both positive and negative experiences carry the same weight for the individual (see Ahrentzen, 1992; Kuribayashi and Tharp, 1998). What matters is both the total experience and its quality. This is to say that it matters that the experience actually occurred and how it was actually received.

The participants did go some distance in highlighting the important contribution that people bring to the experience of any place:

Yeah and again it's got to do with the people. Uh... for all Rhodes' problems, and there are some (head motion)... for all of its colonial and you know historically prejudicial background It is also one of THE most liberated spaces in terms of the way that people treat one another. It it's.....it's a space where if you compare it to places like Cape Town or Johannesburg or Durban all of the...Port Elizabeth to some extent, all of which are places that I've spent a fair bit of time in, Rhodes is by far the most accepting of difference – particularly with regards to gender, with regards to sexuality, with regards to race. It hasn't always been as accepting, certainly in the late 90s, early 2000s – it was a place that was still learning how to transform. Uhm, but at the moment – and again it's about how you experience your world in the way that people sit with one another and the way that people talk to one another and the way that they walk. People walk with each other, so I've never, it's never felt like it did in the late nineties where people walked apart; we had different racial groups in clumps. So everybody was on campus but everybody walked in their own groups and, you know. And by their own groups I just mean kind of racially segregated. I just don't, don't see that happening as much and I'm not saying that there isn't, there isn't an underlying tension – not at all, but I'm saying that if I look at the way that people just casually engage it's far more integrated than uh... than it was. (Nir)

But uh one would think ukuthi [that]...uh the fact that the university is so colonial, colonial the buildings, the statues, people would like...bazoba [they will be] with that mind-set yok'ba [that], you know what? “We're like superior; you people like came into our...the University, you know. what's the name of university? its Rhodes, it's not what-what its Rhodes. It's an English...ubone, [see], people would think that mind set but you know what some people are racist and what-not. But no not at all. (Gift)

Taking into account all of Nir's interview, his main argument was that it were the people who contributed most to his experience of place. As argued by Cuba and Hummon (1993:115), Nir's experience of social Rhodes University is a quality of place experience immediately comparable to other social experiences of place elsewhere. These other places Nir experienced after he had been a student of the university. His current experience of Rhodes University is also compared to that which was his reality in the past – a past with the reality of segregation and restricted social interaction. The comparisons lead him to see a more racially integrated university than what was both in the distant past of his experience of Rhodes University and the recent past of experiences elsewhere (Sundstrom, 2003:84). Racial relations within place

have often proven important for the experience of place (see McCann, 1999; Horn, 2005; Musitha, 2016). Owing to pasts of oppression and colonialization, contemporary relations have been tense and untrusting. Gift characterises his experience of social relations in terms of race as almost an unexpected surprise when looking at the profile (physical and demographic) of the environment within which he finds himself. Just like Nir, he acknowledges a connection to colonialism in terms of the university's built and decorated environment. However, the connection between past and present is moderated by a more tolerant disposition in terms of social interaction. Whereas the past passed on an allegedly colonial built and decorated environment, to Gift the present within which he finds himself may be characterised with social choice, wherein most of the people he has come across are not racially discriminating.

7.3. Rhodes University Culture: “They [people] throw you in a culture” (Okwakhe)

Many participants did speak on an insinuated culture that is found in the manner in which people relate to one another (see Genereux et al., 1983: 43). It is often the case that within places there are often unstated rules for ‘proper’ habitation. When these rules are transgressed – unstated though the rules may be – there is often a judgemental voice (Cresswell, 1996: 57). Owing to such a reality, there are often “moulds” of people insinuated within places who are legitimate and competent occupants. These legitimate and competent occupiers are complacent in whatever the rules of interaction are. In other words, they are the people who are competent in and who act out particular desired and desirable traits of cultured character. Reflections upon this insinuated culture found at Rhodes University remained largely negative, as people felt the culture to be an imposition that they were unfamiliar with. Most of the interviewed Rhodians felt either alien to or disadvantaged by the ‘culture’ they find within the Rhodes University campus. Pierre Bourdieu wrote of cultural capital and related capitals and what these capitals often mean for social relations. Of social relations between agents Bourdieu (1989:19) once argued:

...the representations of agents vary with their position (and with the interest associated with it) and with their habitus, as a system of schemes of perception and appreciation of practices, cognitive and evaluative structures which are acquired through the lasting experience of a social position. Habitus is both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices. And, in both of these dimensions, its operation expresses the social position in which it was elaborated. Consequently, habitus produces practices and representations which are available for classification, which are objectively differentiated; however, they are immediately perceived as such only by those

agents who possess the code, the classificatory schemes necessary to understand their social meaning. Habitus thus implies a "sense of one's place" but also a "sense of the place of others".

Once within the site of social relations, the individual and their place within the mosaic of social relations is a product of a cultured learning. In other words, how the individual behaves (acts, the things they love or hate, their competence, etc.) is expressive of those unconscious "lessons" they were given by their experience of an internal and external world in which the internal world and its teachings are thought of as to the consequential informing of what is illustrated to the external world. The argument is that the particular background of the individual informs the sort of individual they are in the world. How an individual was 'taught' such things as respect and what things (mostly recreational) to appreciate in life is acted out to the world. This reality is closely related to that of 'signalling' (see Lin et al., 2001; Lin, 2002; Bird and Smith, 2005). The person signals to every other person what sort of cultured person they are. For instance, through showcasing a love for gold rather than for soccer – and sometimes even berating soccer for its "mindlessness" – the individual is illustrating those preoccupations which matter to them and thus inform their tastes and character. These signals are there to be seen and acknowledged by those who see their acting out (Hlatshwayo, 2015:52-53). The cultural landscape within a place is shown, through the signals, to be of convergences and divergences as individuals aggregate and separate themselves from all the culture qualities their behaviours fall within.

As a social space, the cultural capital that Rhodes University demands from (some of) its students was seen as ultimately alienating; a culture thrust upon them not only by the physical space of Rhodes University but also some of its individuals as cherished Rhodians.

Also like the culture of Rhodes, it's like when you come here, it's like the university or like the general people they throw you in a culture where you feel like you're supposed to know certain things. And then like...if you do not know them you sort of feel out of place. (Okwakhe)

You get lecturers giving examples of uh...experiences you need to be rich in order to experience you need to be well off in order to experience. I remember in one of our, in one of, in one of the lectures we had a lecturer asking how many people have gone shark-diving. And some of us, we've only seen it on TV; a number of white students actually said they'd seen, had done shark-diving. So, it is one of those things. (Saul)

YEAH. A lot of the time. It's something I, I feel all the time, very like out of place with uh what's going on, you know, anywhere. It'll just be I guess in the dining hall

and conversations people are having sometimes you feel very out of place because you just like I, I.. you can't relate to that or, or just in lectures or just the general, the general environment, you know. (Yoli)

The participants argue for a culture that can sometimes be alienating. This is as a result of what Bourdieu calls the ultimate result of habitus. Through the unconscious learning of habitus, the individual both separates (from one group) and aggregates (to one group) themselves through what they have grown socially accustomed and dedicated to. For instance, where people talk about soccer and as an individual you know close to nothing about soccer, you are immediately closed off from that conversation as it is something you are close to incompetent in discussing. The individual in this case becomes an outsider looking in while being actually in. For those who experience this picking of sides the reactions vary from inevitable to feeling out of place as they do not have the prerequisites to join a “collective” that they get to see almost all the time (Lehmann, 2007:96). Ultimately, not “know[ing] certain things” is crucial because you end up being excluded from the “conversations people are having”. Okwakhe and Saul are met with a choice not of their making. It is the prevailing culture to be found in their Rhodes University which challenges them by presenting them with “experiences” they can either be familiar with or totally alien to (Hlatshwayo, 2015:55). Yoli is excluded through the conversation sometimes as it is sometimes uncharted territory for her. Yoli’s exclusion then is split into two as the conversation on top of the physical environment make both the talk and her emplacement alien to her. This reality of (involuntary) exclusion and inclusion through communicated culture leads to an unconscious partitioning of Rhodes University as place. Ultimately, the placeness of Rhodes University is regulated by this immediate viewing (and demanding to be viewed) of difference (see Hlatshwayo, 2015:52; Munyuki, 2015).

Once confronted by a culture perhaps not experienced before, the participants often have to adapt. Adapting is done in order to better cope with the environment within which one finds themselves (Lehmann, 2007: 83). Adapting is done so that a past of no prerequisites is all but gleaned over and the individual acquires as quickly as possible those traits of the new environment and situation which are needed for a better fit (see Idahosa, 2014:62; Munyuki, 2015). The individuals, through their emplacement, teach themselves to be competent. Ultimately, the place demands competence for the desired quality of experience. This demand affects how the individual feels towards their site of emplacement and what feature of

emplacement demands what disposition from the individual (Lehmann, 2007:91-92). The quality of overall place experience is thus affected.

The participants did reflect on the quality of their and others' adaptation in the following manner:

Well, when I first came here, I changed a lot. I think I assimilated a lot because it was like coming here and I was trying to have a good time. So, I would not have a good time being the same person, so I tried assimilating and all. But then I realised that assimilating is also not quite a good idea, so I just decided to just be me. But when I first came here it was all church, church, church. And all like 'study, study, study'. And then when I came here the people were like having fun and like 'party hard and study harder'. So, yah...I got into the party lifestyle...kind of. But then it was like after I had joined the radio. (Okwakhe)

Rhodes within itself is uh...a separate planet, you know. It's as though it is not in Grahamstown or in South Africa per se. So, with that being said...the moment students come into Rhodes...you know, they start behaving like they also NOT part of South Africa or...they adapt, you know, when you go to Mars you do what people in Mars do. And what the people in Mars do is determined by the kind of planet that Mars is. So, I think that's just that...I think that Rhodes is very secluded, it's just a world on its own and the moment students come in here they become just that: people living in a separate world. so in terms of culture – of the Rhodes culture, it goes both ways. Uh, Rhodes ALLOWS for that kind of... or uh...it initiates that kind of behaviour, and students just adapt to it. And go on with it. (Quaz)

Okwakhe and Quaz concur that emplacement often requires adapting to the environment one is now emplaced in (see Lehmann, 2007; Levett-Jones et al., 2009). People sometimes may find it difficult adapting, for the environment may be highly different to what they are used to. For those people who are able to adapt it becomes an emplacement of smooth sailing; those people unable to adapt soon enough find themselves feeling out of place and not enjoying their emplacement as they had hoped they would when they initially came (Hlatshwayo, 2015: 69-70). Okwakhe sees his actions upon contact with Rhodes University culture as attempt at assimilation. He basically became what he saw and experienced upon arrival at Rhodes University. After some time, however, he found assimilation 'not quite a good idea' for it often does lead to the loss of self. Quaz sees the whole of Rhodes University (students, buildings, and staff) as both place and idea encouraging a way of life that alienates and makes peculiar Rhodians from all walks of life. For Quaz, the prevailing culture is one which people may either adopt or reject. Whatever choice the individual picks they have to live with. Ultimately, both Okwakhe and Quaz are convinced of the demerits of attempting to adapt to a Rhodes

University which is highly alienating and may lead to a loss of self. As a social environment, Rhodes University demands a lot socially from the Rhodians.

7.4. Community: “Campus is a community” (Samantha)

Beyond the allegedly apparent cultural capital qualities, however, there is the acknowledgement by some Rhodians of a sense of community within Rhodes University. Some participants grow to see and experience collectives of people that may be classified as communities. McMillan and Chavis (1986:9) argue that the sense of community is observable for individuals who take the time to analyse the dynamics of social relations within the place. Community is made up of individuals deliberately aggregating together as a collective. The students naturally aggregate themselves within particular collectives. McMillan and Chavis (1986) argue that individuals form collectives which matter to them because these collectives often insinuate shared histories and destinies. Students often collect along lines of shared interests and experiences (Hlatshwayo, 2015:57). For instance, the ‘societies’ system within the university allows for the most immediate aggregation of shared interests; the same can be said for other extracurricular activities, such as community engagement, as they too aggregate shared interests and values.

Within the above-mentioned collectives some needs of the individuals are satisfied (McMillan and Chavis, 1986: 9). Sticking to the societies example, there are culturally-themed societies at Rhodes University, such as the Lesotho Society, which cater to Basotho (people of Sotho descent) and any person interested in the Mosotho culture. Having similar tastes and experiences means familiarity and relation. All of these are valuable for both the insiders and outsiders. For the insiders they reinforce belonging; for the outsiders they remain the experience of what they are not a part of.

As the participants are all Rhodians and live within the same geographic site (Bourdieu, 1989: 16), there is a pressing eye for community. Of their perceived experiences of being within a Rhodes University ‘community’ the participants had the following to say:

Rhodes is quite...depending on the circles you move in, it’s quite a political place. So I think you can choose to not be aware of these things or you can in terms of where you’re moving and the people you interact with you, you can be very interested – not really ‘interested’ – you be very aware of these things. So I think, you know, as, as uh... as someone who is a feminist I, I look up to so many people

within the Rhodes space; be it lecturers such as Lindsay Kenneth or even just other students, other years, you know, I think it all... it all comes together. There's, there's a certain... uhm... a COMMUNITY maybe(?) or communities or, or a certain people or sectors where the student or the uhm...I can't even find the words to describe it; like certain people or things that you can go to that uhm.....uh..... help you. (Yoli)

The essence of the people here at Rhodes is... we teach each other uhm about social inequality; we teach each other about privilege; we teach each other about uhm all the other uhm problems we face and we help each other around out when we face difficulty, coz I remember uhm walking into the library toilet one day there was a little...there was a bag with pads in it, and it said okay 'take one for whoever needs it'. And there has been talks of 'condoms are freely available yet pads are not freely available'. It's kinda like a disparity in the gender uhm inequality, argument so I think that's something that needs to be addressed, and I gather that someone actually took the initiative to do a small thing that helps a large number of people, also...(cough)...uhm...yeah...yeah that's basically it...I think I have spoken. (Eden)

Uhm, Grahamstown is...ooh...I mean, I don't say that I come from a...in KZN I come from...half my family lives in town; Empangeni is quite big compared to Grahamstown. But I do come from a community where everyone is quite close and everybody knows each other. And it is quite tight-knit and you don't really leave, you know...and uhm, I guess in a way, Grahamstown is like that because you get to know a lot of people – if you make the effort – you get to know people other than just your students friends, you get to know some of the staff members – and not just your lecturers and tutors but yeah people who have been here for a long time and do different things and it is a community. Even if you were to exclude places in Grahamstown outside of campus – campus is a community, depending on how you define a community. But, yeah, it is a community; it's a group of people making the system...work! Uhm, so I do feel like I'm a part of the Rhodes community. (Samantha)

As argued by McMillan and Chavis (1986), the participants' experiences of community were inspired by a collection of experienced factors. Yoli and Eden are very aware of the circles within which they are moving and what these circles project to them. It is within these circles that Yoli and Eden come across networks of care which they appreciate (see Hlatshwayo, 2015; Munyuki, 2015). Appreciation of such networks of care – at least for Yoli – make one aware that there are other networks within the place which may or may not be representative of those values that one finds soothing (Bourdieu, 1989: 19). To Samantha, her sense of community is based on proximity and familiarity (see Hunter, 1974). This proximity and familiarity is reminiscent of a past environment which had the same factors which ultimately contribute to “making the system...work!” To Samantha, her hometown (Empangeni) is her benchmark for what community is to her. Such experiences by the participants inform their overall attachment to the place that is Rhodes University.

7.5. Home: “This place is enough” (Samantha)

One of the crucial moments within the interview was asking the participants whether they did or did not feel at home within the Rhodes University campus. The concept of home has been historically debated and contested. Some theorists have argued home as a place of safety, freedom of expression, and so on (see Hayward, 1977; Buttimer, 1980; Moore, 2000); other theorists have argued for more restrictive qualities to be introduced to the concept of home (see Saegert, 1985; Sixsmith, 1986; Sixsmith & Sixsmith, 1991). One of the more neutral definitions of the concept of home is that advanced by Benjamin et al. (1995:158), who state that:

The home is that spatially localised, temporally defined, significant and autonomous physical frame and conceptual system for the ordering, transformation and interpretation of the physical and abstract aspects of domestic daily life at several simultaneous spatio-temporal scales, normally activated by the connection to a person or community such as a nuclear family.

This definition sees a home that is both physical and mental. The definition does firmly place home within a physical site. Once it is on a physical site, experiences occur within that chosen (and soon-to-be-emotionally-significant) site that are inextricable to its experience as an emplaced experience. In other words, people do things and get things done to them within the home that affect their thoughts on what home is as place. People have differing and peculiar-to-them qualities of experience within the home (see Sixsmith, 1986; Moore, 2000). Ultimately, home is a physical and psychological experience with the two experiences informing each other. For example, a physical house that leaks from the roof when it rains is the same home where one was left behind all alone at three-years-old during the day one's younger sister was to be collected from the hospital as a new-born baby.

Depending on the interaction between the physical and psychical components of home, people then define home as they think it. Thus Sixsmith (1986: 286) argues that home sometimes means different entities to different people, is sometimes physical and sometimes emotional and could be fluid at times. Ultimately, home is how the individual decides to describe it to both themselves and others. Whatever the description, however, there is always a quality of experience informing the relationship between the individual and their allocated and acknowledged 'home'.

The participants had the following to say about how ‘at home’ they feel within the Rhodes University campus:

I think I've never felt more at home – anywhere on the planet that I've visited – than I do at Rhodes. Yeah, That's right. This is my home, and when I teach; it's the thing that I'm the most passionate about really, it's teaching, and uh when I give a good lecture and I feel like I've done a good job, I walk out of Zoo Major and, you know, walk down the road, I feel like I'm at home. I feel like I'm doing the right thing and I'm in the right place to do the right thing; I'm doing all of those things and that's a really rewarding feeling. (Nir)

Yeah. Yeah, because when I go back home, I actually miss being at Rhodes, uhmmm...I think it's it's a very integr....integrated and accommodating space. Uhm, I haven't been a...victim of any sort of VIOLENCE – domestic violence, sexual abuse, uhm xenophobic attacks or racism... so to me it's been quite a...uhm....a good experience, in that perspective, yeah, so....it's, it's... it's kinda like a home away from home – though I hate that statement. Hmmm. (Eden)

Well, well that, that, that question would differ from individual to individual –let's just go to the stairs – it differs from individual to individual because uhm one question that you must answer is uh....what makes me to feel at home? When do I feel at home? What is the definition of a home, you know? Some say that home is where the heart is. So, in my case home is where I find happiness, home is where I'm at a time where I'm just at peace with myself at the time. So I am at peace with myself right now here at Rhodes, so, I CAN SAY I DO FEEL AT HOME. – I'm not sure if you mind if I just sit here – Yeah I'm saying that home is where you feel at...it's where your heart is, where you are at peace with yourself. So the environment is quite conducive for study, it's sociable, it's not necessarily exclu....exclusionary – I am not sure if there's such a term – uh, I'm not sure you can see me there 'cause the sun is actually behind me. (Saul)

The participants above have rather positive experiences of Rhodes University as a probable home. The positivity allows the participants to experience glimpses of what places and emplacement experiences they could (and do) consider as home (Cristoforetti et al., 2011:226). In other words, as a site of action, Rhodes University allows these individuals to experience those qualities of being ‘at home’ that they find positive. Ultimately for the above individuals (Saul, Eden, and Nir), home is a feeling – often a positive feeling within a physical environment (see Hayward, 1977; Moore, 2000). The feeling of home is that which allows them to live their lives without much impediment; instead of impediment they find allowance (see Munyuki, 2015; Hlatshwayo, 2015). Rhodes University is home because Nir finds himself “in the right place to do the right thing” and Eden finds safety within the site. This is what home is for the two of them. Saul acknowledges the complexity of deciding whether as an individual you are ‘at home’ or not in a particular site. His being ‘at peace’ with himself is enough for him to feel ‘at home’.

The other participants expanded on the reflection upon home:

I think again it's, it's very up and down – depending on your day, hey, and why I say that it's important when I'm around my friends because then that's when I get that sense of comfort and ease and being at home because you know it's very hard to feel at home in a place where uhm...this, the statistics on rape is so high and we see nothing being, nothing uhm happening, no change being made it's very hard to be at home when you know right down the road a couple of months ago a friend of mine was arrested during protests, you know, it's... it's how do you feel at home in such a discouraging environment, you know, because it's **VERY HARD BEING HERE** at Rhodes. (Yoli)

I'm very, very close to my warden and my peers and I feel like we have a relationship that just goes beyond 'ok, we're studying together; we're living in the same house'. So that in a way makes me feel at home. And also like it's about what your idea of home is. I feel like people think that home is this perfect place where you're just completely accepted and everything is as you will it...but that's not, that's not home for a lot of people. It's not a comfortable space where you just get to be yourself. Uhm, so I think that this place is enough. For a lot of people it may not be enough because they come from families where they get to be themselves and they're accepted or their financial situation is favourable and then they come here and they feel like 'oh, this small town, like where is the entertainment', you know; where are the big brands, where is the mall and all of that. It really depends on what you mean. (Samantha)

Yoli and Samantha touch on the fluidity of what people consider home to be. The two ladies reiterate that as an experience, home is judged according to its prevailing quality of experience (see Sixsmith, 1986; Moore, 2000). This is to say that depending on the happenings within the site considered as 'home' the individual may react either with an "I'm actually at home" (during times of positive experience) or with an "I'm not feeling at home right now" (during times of negative experience). For instance, being in Grahamstown could be the same as being in Empangeni. What may cause a change in the feeling of being 'at home' is when in Grahamstown an individual experiences impediment upon an important factor in determining their feeling of being 'at home' that they do not experience when in Empangeni.

As argued by Sixsmith (1986: 286), feeling at home for Yoli is rather fluid as it depends on the day. It is how the day is going for Yoli which decides how 'at home' she is feeling within campus. For Samantha, being 'at home' is the acknowledgement of the degrees of allowance and familiarity to be found within her situation. With this characterisation, however, Samantha acknowledges other individuals who experience restrictions upon their allowance and thus

experience a restricted quality of being 'at home'. The physical site does not need to change; it may be the experience which changes. Ultimately, feeling at home is highly dependent on what 'feeling at home' means for the concerned individual.

7.6. Jamie and all of the visual: "The people that we see" (Jamie)

As already evident from the preceding (and proceeding) chapters, the experience of place (Rhodes University included) is informed by a great many factors. It is then the interplay of these factors that informs the overall quality of experience of place. One of the surprising reflections during the interview process was one communicated by Jamie. According to Jamie, the people are actually part of the visual as features of, or rather within, the visual. She speaks of this reflection rather extensively. She says:

Hmmm. Uhhmm. I mean I don't know. I think I've said...I can't think of anything really. I think, I think maybe there's something which we have, which we haven't really, which I wasn't really thinking about yet is also the visual, the visual in terms of the people that we see as well, I haven't, I actually don't know exactly what I would say for that, but I think that probably uhhh... Yeah, I haven't, haven't really thought about it and I think I don't know and I wouldn't want to be... I don't want to change it into some kind of sort of a race thing, that's not exactly what I mean, what I mean is there is people, people look or people visually demonstrate things too, you know, which maybe we don't always realise and I mean this is more uncomfortable to talk about, even as I'm talking about I'm trying to think, you know, and I don't want to say anything that sounds, you know, because I am not, because you know, you can see from people different things, different visual cues all the time. Maybe, maybe that's something to kind of think about as well. I'm not sure how I really think about that... No, I mean, I'm just this is all just like nothing but I mean that there is essentially these people, you see people around campus you can most of the time almost immediately identify who they are, you know. You can see students here, you can see lecturers, you can see all of, you know, ground staff – obviously they will be in uniform. But a lot of the time it is not even the uniform. And then they'll be, you know, sometimes more ambiguous kinds of people where, you know, you see someone, I mean, I saw an old sort of white lady jogging through the other day, you know. I'm like 'I don't know where she is from'. You sort of can't place her within the kind of, you know, the roles of the...so she is probably a Grahamstown native jogging through campus I'm sure. But uh...you notice. It's a visual thing because, you know, you... it is actually visual in a way.

What Jamie is talking about here is a plethora of issues clumped together. She is obviously immersing herself within the physical site (Wylie, 2006), she is also seeing that physical and social site that is along the paths she takes (Edensor, 2000; de Certeau, 1984) and she may be seeing the partitioning of social relations within the place (Bourdieu, 1989). All of this complexity is important to her experience of Rhodes University as a place because it is what

she ultimately has to grapple with as she walks the campus as an emplaced individual. This complexity for her is her production of Rhodes University as place (see Sheller and Urry, 2006). The people as entities seen and communicated with are part of the experience beyond social interaction, as features upon the built and decorated environment. It would be highly interesting to see what academic work may come out of such reflections upon emplacement.

7.7. Conclusion

Upon concluding, places are not exclusively visual entities. Places expand to other existences. For this research undertaking, the participants spent consequential amounts of time talking about the human relations within place. The reflections upon Rhodes University as a social place proceeded from personal accounts which informed place attachment and sense of place reflections. All the participants experienced some form of consequential affect to their experience of Rhodes University from the social reality that the university is. In many instances, the visual aesthetic and human relations worked in shifts to inform the Rhodes University place experience. The participants speak of the importance of the interactions with people. These interactions sometimes lead to insinuated cultures being operational within the Rhodes University campus. Owing to these insinuated cultures there is a sense for the existence of communities. This existence of communities separates those who belong from those who do not belong within particular collectives. In light of all the social activity within the Rhodes University campus, people then fashion ideas about how 'at home' they feel within the university. What is consistent is that the experience of Rhodes University as place is deeply personal and it falls up to the individual to decide what to make of it as a consequential experience.

Chapter 8: Subjectivity and Rhodes University

8.1. Introduction

Some people find Rhodes really oppressive, uncomfortable, upsetting space. And then it makes me wonder whether I, I just find it a nice space because I'm white because I'm, you know. Is this only a space that white men can, can be, you know, relaxed and comfortable or is it, is it the place that I'm saying, claiming that it is because it would be deeply ironic for me to say, you know, it's egalitarian, it is open, blah blah blah when actually only white male can.....I mean that would be... that would be exactly the opposite of what I'm claiming. And so the...when I feel uncomfortable is when, is when I feel that maybe other people just aren't having that experience because it makes me question with how...I obviously accept that there are always going to – in any space – again Rhodes isn't a utopia – it's not Nirvana, it's not heaven; it's none of these things, right –and so, so obviously I accept that there will be people who have really shitty experiences at Rhodes. (Nir)

The preceding two chapters have considered the experience of Rhodes University both in terms of its visual (physical) existence and its existence in terms of social activity within the place – especially people-to-people experience. It is the case that most places are, in fact, experience in the manners mentioned previously, i.e. as physical and social places (see Tuan, 1977; Soja, 1989; Lefebvre, 1991; Cresswell, 2004). For both the counts of place experience, viz. the built and decorated environment and social activity of place, it can be said that the participants have actively sought to inform and moderate their personal experience of place within Rhodes University. This is to say that for both reflections on the visual (from design to contested representational space) and the social (from the importance of people to conceptions of home) experience the individuals have looked to react accordingly in line with their embeddedness within the place that Rhodes University is – an emplacement that is extensively informed. These individuals have looked to have some control over their immediate place experience. The Rhodians have used many experiences to moderate their current experience of Rhodes University as place. Among the many experience of lifeworlds, past experiences of both architecture and social activity have been utilised to negotiate current emplacement. Ultimately, it has been a reflection upon place that is highly dependent upon and determined by subjectivity.²⁵

²⁵ In the chapter on the visual experience it was mentioned that knowing exactly how either mentally or emotionally the place is experienced is impractical. However, the participants did make some remarks on how they thought the personalised experience came about.

There is an impressive collection of literature on the idea of the individual and subjectivity (see Gregory, 1981; Hollway, 1989; Gill, 2008). However, for purposes of this research undertaking, the subjectivity literature looked at is the one most linked to theorisations upon the experience of place. Within the place literature there is quite an extensive collection of literature – especially within the humanistic geography subgenre (see Buttimer, 1976; Seamon, 1982; Pile, 1993). Within this collection of literature the argument, as with most phenomenology-based work, is over what count best explains experience: is it the individual experiencing their emplacement as just a genetic/social entity, or is the individual experiencing as a genetic/cultured entity? In the first instance, the individual experiences in the way their individual biological profile allows them to; in the second instance, experience is an acquired social learning. The argument is that the individual can only experience place through either one of the alleged determinants of place experience, i.e. as either an individual peculiarity or a cultural peculiarity.

Phenomenological work is ultimately concerned with gaining the essence of experience (see Patton, 1990; Miles and Huberman, 1994), as phenomenology practitioners gaining the essence of the experience from those directly involved in the experience is crucial and the ultimate goal for any considered interpretation. The individual studied must be given all the space they need to attempt communicating as clearly as they can the ghosts in the machine that is their lifeworld. For this phenomenological study, it was crucial that the reflections upon emplacement were gained directly from Rhodians as they are the primary occupants of Rhodes University as a place. It is through interviewing the Rhodians that any attempt at gaining the essence of place experience would have had some degree of merit.

With the interplay between humanistic geography and phenomenology there has come a realisation that is far-reaching for all research into human experience of place and emplacement. Buttimer (1976:280) argues that:

Traditional phenomenologists have recognized that man, the cognizing being, is anchored in a physical and social world, and that this "world" situation influences the meanings and intentionality of his consciousness. Existential phenomenologists have tried to use the phenomenological method to penetrate this lived world context within which experience is construed. They have recognized, too, that lived experience involves more than cognitive understanding, and have explored the vast

variety of preconscious, organic, and sensory foundations which precede intellectual knowledge per se.

This is to say that the individual's experience of a phenomenon is not just created from their understanding and making meaning of it through exclusively individualised cognition. There is much more acting upon the individual than just their abstract self with neither context nor character. The argument is to state that beyond individual cognition there is an extensive assortment of factors consequently deciding upon the outcome of the cognitions so integral for deciding the quality of experience resulting from the phenomenon. As has been argued in the previous two chapters, factors such as personal history and experience do also get into the calculations of resultant quality of experience. An example used previously is that of the experience of a place with close to zero church buildings as opposed to a previous environment of many such buildings. As was then argued, the individual, through extrapolation, grows to have ideas about their emplacement and what it encourages. These ideas moderate subjectivity. Such factors, which are often of consequential influence, make each individual a complex being within any phenomenon they may experience.

In the opening quote to the chapter, Nir is reflecting upon his personalised experience of Rhodes University campus and grappling to locate its most fundamental basis. Nir assumes that to the experience of Rhodes University comes a particular 'state' that engulfs –voluntarily or involuntarily – whatever individual is having the experience informing that individual to have a particular quality of the experience (Buttimer, 1976: 281). 'State' refers to a fundamental individualised or cultured disposition of the individual experiencing. In other words, the individual experiences a phenomenon in line with the sort of individual they are when they experience that phenomenon.²⁶ In this instance, Nir thinks of the possibility of connecting both his race and gender to the experience of Rhodes University (Massey, 1994: 188; Sundstrom, 2003). As someone evidently concerned about the quality of the experience for everyone, Nir, although wishing for widespread good experience, is cognisant of the very real possibility that race and gender may be consequentially informing the experiences of emplacement not just for him but for others as well. Whatever the case is, Nir is here grappling

²⁶ This is not conventional determinism, for it does not attempt to explain why that individual is precisely the individual that they are. It is just not possible –at least currently –to reach that point of specificity.

for some explanation for his quality of experience and what might be the reality to and for others who are at least demographically different to him.

8.2. Subjectivity: “No one can feel it for you” (Saul)

Being within place has the above-mentioned network of determinants for its ultimate quality of experience. This reality makes for much ‘customisation’ of personal experience in that all individuals are seen as unique creatures. Historically such characterisations of experience have lent armour to the “subjective/objective” argument (see Gregory, 1981; Pile, 1993). This is the argument between the personalised experience and universal experience camps. For instance, place experience may be thought of as either subject to the same determinants for every individual in the world (regardless of such factors as race, history, gender, and numerous other personal traits) or it may be thought of as somewhat custom-made to fit the individual and unique person of the individual. However, the experience of place as a special kind of experience lends itself to a development within phenomenology that takes into account more than the individual and cultural factors that are often cited as informing the experience of phenomena. Buttner (1976:282) argues:

Whereas the subjective mode concentrates on unique individual experience, and the objective mode seeks generalization and testable propositions concerning aggregate human experience, the "intersubjective" or phenomenological mode would endeavor to elicit a dialogue between individual persons and the "subjectivity" of their world. Generalizations (the "third person mode") should derive from a more basic relationship between the actors (first and second persons) within the drama of the life world.

The attempt is to capture as many of the factors that may be consequentially influencing the experience of emplacement as possible. A historically underutilised argument is that of the subjectivity of people affecting not just themselves but also those around them. As individuals interact with each other they soon realise those things which matter to them and others. The experience of place is now anchored by the built and decorated environment, the social activity within the site and the widespread subjectivity of emplacement as it attempts to consequentially determine its own and numerous other quality of place experience. In such a manner, the basis of experience is complicated further as more and more possible determinants of quality of place experience are brought in as the possibly consequential determinants of overall experience. This is a recall to the section on Rhodes University culture in the preceding chapter. In that section, the culture found at Rhodes University was a reality both aggregating and separating

individuals. This operation had an observable effect on some qualities of place experience as by Rhodians. The insinuated culture of Rhodes University was insinuated only for and to some people and not others. Those people that this culture was insinuated to (re)acted accordingly; those people for which there was no insinuation also acted accordingly in their daily existence. The opening quote to this chapter acted, therefore, as a fitting introduction to the intricacies of experience and (inter)subjectivity.²⁷

The momentous #RhodesMustFall protests of the year 2015 highlighted not just the conversation that people allegedly have with the environment but also the fact that the built and decorated environment is jewelled by personalised qualities of experience. In their personalisation, these qualities of experience are often unique to most individuals for reasons of unique personal histories and experiences which consequentially inform many realms of social life. These qualities of experience in their difference cannot be ignored.²⁸ All places fall within qualities of experience that inform their most consequential experience (see Tuan, 1977; Massey, 1994; Sundstrom, 2003; Lewicka, 2011). In other words, these personalised past experiences inform current experience. The reflections to follow by the participants illustrate the complexity in any attempt to locate the most consequential determinants of the quality of place experience:

I mean you...you cannot uh...okay, let me put it like this: I think it's wrong to, to try and define, contextualise people's experiences because experience is something that you feel yourself, you know. There is no one who can feel it for you, you know. So, when people feel out of place and people feel that this place is white, it is within their right. And I am also of that view, actually to say... to say, it's a bit white. There's white culture; there's Rhodes culture. (Saul)

Yeah. When they see...well, it's very hard for me to say that because I haven't lived their experience, you know. Uhm, so I mean, if somebody.... I don't know like, I can't say, I can't speak on behalf of someone else, you know. But I definitely have a different experience than other people that would make...for me to see a European building it makes me think of when I went for holiday last year to Europe which for me is a reality and it's something that's very positive memories. But for other people it's, you know, something completely different. So, I can't really say the same, you know. It's something that I – what's the word – I can IDENTIFY with, which is like quite weird, you know. My like colonial heritage -which is

²⁷ It must be admitted that it was actually Nir who connected all the dots for me as he made it most clear that subjectivity was a crucial question within the experience of Rhodes University as a place.

²⁸ At the heart of this research undertaking is the attempt to document some of this quality of experience in relation to place.

something that like my grandparents and stuff all very much have around them, and which I've never really EVEN noticed until I came to Rhodes -isn't that funny? And only now people are making...raising awareness about it. I think it's, very, very interesting to actually have your mind opened like that, you know. (.....) (Gatsby)

And you know like...when you're from the rural areas, it's quite apparent if you come to a space like this because you don't usually want to fit in, which is something I like from people from like deep rural areas. You don't necessarily want to fit in; you don't...you just wanna keep being you like...doing the things you used to do. And when you're from the township like me, you kinda have both like rural and urban fused together. So you get here...it's not hard for you to like adjust and assimilate, unlike someone from the rurals -they are like...if you're from the rurals it's hard for your accent to change, it hard for your behaviour to change and all. So for them..you get like white people or privileged kids calling them ratchet and like 'Oh, but that is so ratchet'. But you're like 'That's just how they are'. 'That's their lifestyle; that's how they live on the daily basis'. So, you can't be calling them ratchet because maybe, maybe because they don't have money, they are not quite advanced as others are. (Okwakhe)

There is ownership to the quality of experience (see Buttimer, 1976; Pile, 1993). This ownership is best illustrated by Saul when he states that “no one can feel it for you”. Be it attachment (see Lewicka, 2011) or sense of place (see Zia et al., 2014), as an individual it is you alone who can feel a particular way towards place (see Tuan, 1975). It is therefore advisable to speak in terms of the affirmative “I”. The Rhodians interviewed are talking about their personal experience of Rhodes University. Even when they think about potential qualities of experience for other Rhodians they are still giving only their experience of what may be the truth for others. Okwakhe touches on themes of belonging and involuntary signalling. To Okwakhe, it is sometimes easily possible to see those people with particular backgrounds as they will act in particular ways within the Rhodes University campus (see Bourdieu, 1989; Hlatshwayo, 2015). This normally leads to these people being labelled by others who are in view of their acting out of their lifestyles (see Munyuki, 2015). Ultimately, all the subjectivities feed into overall quality of experience.

Beyond thinking of subjectivity in terms of that of the self and that of others, the individual's past experience proved important to some of the other participants as well in determining their “subjectivity”:

I mean there's also, you know, like a space and how a space looks and the culture it has and I think I was fortunate to go to Joburg and be exposed to like a new place like a new culture and whatever before coming here. But I mean I just imagine if I'd just gone from my township in KZN to here. In terms of the way it looks and

the fact that everybody speaks this highbrow English and all the bureaucracy of, of...you know, everyday life even and all of that, it does make the space intimidating and I think, I'm, I'm sure I would have appreciated to see something I can relate to, like a lot of people from KZN read the paper in Zulu, they read novels of Zulu, and, you know, to see stuff like that in the in the Journalism Department or the English department uhm...because those places have literature it would have been something that made me feel like it's more accepted into the space. So yeah there is that to think about. So yeah. (Samantha)

Yeah, uhm...I was thinking a little bit about what, you know, I was having a read through your Informed Consent Form and I was thinking about physical structures as a space of oppression or as a symbol of oppression. And it got me, me thinking quite a lot – it's not something I had thought about a great deal but I was thinking about how I once lived in this, in this one kind of flat in Joburg, and from the time that I first started renting that place to the time that I left, I was pretty much with the same person -I had started dating her pretty much as I was moved into that flat and we broke up about two weeks after, two weeks before I moved out of that flat. And it just made me realize, I mean at the time when I got back to my flat because I ended up living with her quite a long time, when I got back to my flat I found it an incredibly painful space to be in because it reminded me of her so much because all of my association with that space was, were with her and I, I guess maybe that's the closest I can get to in terms of thinking of a physical space as being emotionally significant, just in terms of my own ability to empathize with that kind of claim, right. But I don't, I don't really know....I guess, I guess it's a question; it boils down to a question: do we as people define our space or do the space define us as people? (Nir)

For Samantha, “being exposed” to Johannesburg and its “culture” prior to coming to Rhodes University makes her feel like she was “fortunate” since she could then better adjust to Rhodes University as her “new place”. Competence within a new environment is often informed by an often unconscious learning of (and from) experience of prior environments as lifeworlds (see Purcell and Nasar, 1992; Lehmann, 2007; Bourdieu, 1989). This learning extends from the built and decorated environment to the manner of acting within emplacement. The personal past is always with the human being in emplacement. Acknowledging the impact of past experience upon your current experience is important. This acknowledgement allows the individual to attempt identifying with those feelings that they may have had in the past that are now experienced by other individuals (see Hlatshwayo, 2015). Nir is grappling with an immediate inter-subjectivity. He remembers his own experience of “oppression” through lived memory that affected him greatly. He wonders whether or not others are perhaps experiencing that same feeling as he did a while back. This ends with him engaging the question of personal response to emplacement and if it is as personal as is often believed (see Buttimer, 1976; Purcell and Nasar, 1992; Pile, 1993). At this point, Nir turns his subjectivity from being something relative to others to being about possible channelling from the built up and decorated site (of

sometimes emotional history) within which he is emplaced. In the chapter on campus design it was argued that the built and decorated environment can sometimes channel particular dispositions to the individual (Berleant, 2005: 16). Nir is going into that argument and trying to locate subjectivity as an effect on everyone.

Ultimately, prudence is crucial when talking about alleged determinants of quality of experience. The above quotes are of participants grappling with the complex ownership of quality of experience (see Tuan, 1977; Eyles, 1989; Gregory, 1981). Although prudent and often unknowing or unwilling of explicating quality of experience determinants, the participants do attempt to juxtapose how they believe they are informed to have their particular quality of experience with how others also get to that position/reality. Saul, Okwakhe and Yoli speak of the complex nature of ownership of quality of experience in various ways that highlight either the perceived difference in what is true for them personally (Saul and Yoli) or what is believed to be the reality for others (Okwakhe). Samantha's reflection is both personal and framed from the point of view that assumes a difference in point of view. Nir's reflection is informative in terms of highlighting the interplay between environment and individual.

It must be reiterated that for this research undertaking – and for most phenomenology – there is the fundamental presumption of an actor and an acted upon (see Lefebvre, 1991; Berleant, 1997; Wylie, 2006; Bridge, 2013). At the most basic level there is an individual acting upon a lifeworld; at the most complicated level there are two entities (individual and lifeworld) from which it is (almost) impossible to separate an actor from an acted upon since such roles are in (assumed) constant flux between the two entities. For this research undertaking, this latter emplacement of people is the one being looked into. The aim of the research is to ultimately document the quality of experience of Rhodians from the Rhodians themselves. The actor and the acted upon are the Rhodian and Rhodes University and not necessarily respectively. The personalised ownership of quality of experience is what was gained most from the participants.

8.3. Emotional Response: “Things that space gives us” (Nir)

Emotional response to the built and decorated environment is a historical argument of the literature on place (see Tuan, 1974; Lewicka, 2011). As places are sites of meaning, individuals

become emotionally affected by the resultant built and decorated physical and psychical sites. The emotions towards place may be influenced by a plethora of factors, viz. the aesthetic (Purcell and Nasar, 1992), activity within place (Genereux et al., 1983:43), contestation (Di Masso et al., 2011), or any combination of the considered consequential factors to place experience (Urry, 2007: 77). This is because this complex selection of factors is consequential to the overall quality of place experience. This reality of what can be thought of as the complexity of the quality of experience often manifests itself in emotional affect. The individual ultimately invests their emotional reaction to a site of meaning. These emotions have to then make sense and be explainable by the individual having the reactions.

The participants had the following to say about their personal reactions to the physical and decorated social environment of Rhodes University:

Uhhh...you know what, I think when we see...when I see most of this stuff, to me even though there is a story behind each and every one of them...at the end of the day they are just features (chuckle)..you know. I don't really... of course I'll be amazed, you know, just like the hands thing by the Union, I was so amazed but I didn't actually take time to sit and investigate 'why would they...what's the story behind that...and I think that most of eh...I think it's like that for most of us, we see and it ends there we don't want to dig deep into...uh why the specific feature here, why this specific name here? So, yah...they are just features... until you actually notice them or someone actually tells you the history behind them. (Quaz)

Abone [you see] like it's... also people were referring to the fact that we don't have statues abo [of] -I ike Mandela, I think like he is the first statue of like a black person we don't have statues of aboShaka, aboMakana, [of Shaka, of Makana], we don't have statues of African heroes, wabona? [you see?] But we have statues of white boys, which is a bit unjust in a sense because like... we were colonised -like I-route yami le [this is my route], so I walk past this thing like every day...uh, it's just a fucking statue. It's just a statue I don't care...it doesn't affect my life. (Gift)

Names do mean a lot. What he was doing like, like it, it's not even like a question because I know just culturally as umuntu ongumXhosa [as a person who is Xhosa] when I get a name that name signifies something and in spite of the aspirations or the history or or...it's a reflection of the times and often now names often uhm...names carry power and meaning and, you know, just even the name Grahamstown it's a problematic name because it's named after someone who, who didn't do anything for the indigenous people here, who basically took advantage of them candidly. Like, a lot of the names in the Eastern Cape, there's two names, so here Grahamstown/eRhini, Port Elizabeth/eBhayi and I think we need to go back to the names of these places originally had because they were named those names for significance that they carry for the people because that's their history. I think uh....changing the names of places or reverting back to the original names is

something that's important and that needs to be done. I mean obviously just changing names is not gonna...magically improve everything. (Yoli)

Prior to any contestation over place, the concerned representations of space must matter to the contestants (see Lefevre, 1991: 85; Di Masso et al., 2011). Being of significance is what animates the contestors to seek both covert and overt contestation over place (see Cresswell, 1996; Hayden, 1995). For different people with different backgrounds it is often different things that matter. The same can be argued for place, as different places are often significant to different people (see Tuan, 1974; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 1993).

Whereas to Quaz and Gift the features on campus appear to not be too significant—characterised by phrases such as: “It’s just a fucken statue” (Gift) and “they are just features” (Quaz) – the features do carry a historical significance for Yoli as she highlights the importance of names and the problematic reality that for some places in the Eastern Cape “there’s two names”. These double-names indicate to Yoli the struggle over ownership by the natives of the places and those who came to occupy the places under often exploitative terms. This reality of differing degrees of significance is to be found upon particular sites on the Rhodes University campus and is crucial, for it is what is behind the often controversial and polarising talks of times of contestation over the built and decorated environment. It is the case that if something is of little significance to someone it is hard to imagine that individual being at all affected consequentially by that thing.

#RhodesMustFall was a culmination of contestation over place from covert to overt (see Hayden, 1995: 18; Cresswell, 1996; Di Masso et al., 2011). The participants had to find places within the debate to plug into during the relatively overt contestation over representational space. As emplacement inevitably has to take into account the visual – and thus the representational space realm of place – the Rhodians also touched on the #RhodesMustFall moment during the interview. The Rhodians had this to say:

That's right; that's right. They can, that's exactly...I think, I think that's a really, I think that's a really good point to make. So, during the protest your physical structures are exactly the same; they are the same physical structures that were there the day before; the campus is a totally different place and that really highlights the importance we give that space rather than the, the emotions or the things that space gives us. (Nir)

Uh...it's such a difficult debate, you know. Like it's something that's so.. it's hard, like no one, I don't know the right answer, you know. All I know is my experiences and like...I don't know the answer. I do think that it would just be a waste if you've already got buildings to take them down but I do, I do understand the reasoning as to why people would want to do that but at the same time you can't erase history. So by like monuments and things...especially like, let's say if you rename it like I think it's kind of beautiful to have a new name on a colonial building. I don't know it's like, you know, it's like integrative almost. But I suppose people don't want that, they want it... but you can't get rid of history so it's...I don't know, like people... you still got the flippen Auschwitz Concentration Museum, like people didn't pretend that it didn't happen, you know. (Nir)

Nir speaks on the increased relevance of the conversation that #RhodesMustFall sparked in him in regards to the environment. To Nir, the conversation sparked an internal reflection that is sometimes uncomfortable to have. This conversation he had after a reflection over whether or not the built and decorated environment is actually channelling contestation through the qualities of emotions that it encourages from the population through its features. Gatsby acknowledges the complexity of the situation. In her acknowledgment, however, she highlights that personally the history of (the production of) place is something that most probably should be left untouched for it is often significant on many levels beyond simply locating the place in time (see Lefebvre, 1991: 85; Hayden, 1995). She is aware that to some other people this preservation of history may be problematic. It is a delicate line to walk since the reactions to place as a preservation of history are rather varied. Whatever is done, Gatsby feels there will be both the appeased and the aggrieved.

8.4. Conclusion

All experiences of place are ultimately decided by the quality of experience. Gaining insight into the quality of experience of Rhodes University as a place has been the aim of this research undertaking. Although it is rather impractical to precisely detail the determinants of the quality of experience, it is popularly acknowledged that these determinants are there and inform accordingly. Quality of experience is highly personal and the participants acknowledge it as such. All places are subjected to the alleged variety of qualities of experience which, through having conversations with each other, go on to then determine the various experiences within the concerned place. In other words, the histories, the socialisation and other personal experiences of the Rhodians go on to consequentially inform their overall experience of Rhodes University as a place. This is because these realities of history and experience are the context

and character of the Rhodians. Whether some qualities of experience should or should not be considered qualitatively above others is a completely different undertaking than that of simply acknowledging the collection of qualities of experience. Phenomenological work is to take this reality and within it gain the essence of the consequential relations between factors in determining the quality of place experience. Rhodes University as a place is experienced by Rhodians to a consequential degree, for the experience dictates how it is to be a Rhodian during the time of emplacement within the place that Rhodes University is.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

The data-cum-information for analysis for this research undertaking came exclusively from the geographical site referred to as Rhodes University. The researcher's aim was to gain an insight into the experience of Rhodes University as a place by people informally referred to as Rhodians, viz. all persons making up the Rhodes University population. There is a vast collection of literature on place experience. This literature spans numerous areas of preoccupation that many proponents argue as consequential to the resulting quality of place experience by people. There is, however, an observable overlook-cum-lacking utility of documenting the experience of tertiary education institutions as places of meaning beyond their bureaucratic and knowledge production existences. Furthermore, most of the literature that does look to document the experiences of tertiary education institutions as place tends to provide what can be argued as fragmented studies of place experience. This is to say that the studies tend to look at the experience of 'placeness' by specific preoccupations or roles within the tertiary education institutions. For instance, research will look at the experiences of emplacement by the formerly disadvantaged and excluded populations of the tertiary institutions, or may also look exclusively as the experience of the handicapped, or various other specific studies.

This thesis was to enter the conversation over place experience in manifold ways. The thesis first sought to contribute to the view of the university 'space' as the same as any other place wherein people have qualities of experience. In other words, the university was looked at in the same light as would be looked at the house, mall, commercial building, etc. as places of some meaning as experience. Furthermore, the thesis looks to contribute to the underutilised documenting of place experience by a varied collection of people. As an undertaking focusing on the neutral term 'Rhodian', the research focused on people beyond their attributes such as race, gender, physical profile and so on and so forth. Through being of such conviction the thesis was contributing to an underutilised – if not completely overlooked – area of research,

viz. that in which experience is gained from a wide variety of people instead of a particular overly specified group. The thesis was also to shed some light over some of the recent conversations over the experience of place in some of South Africa's places.

The experience of Rhodes University by Rhodians proved to have most of the hallmarks of other documented experiences of place. The Rhodians spoke of attachment to Rhodes University, a sense of the place that Rhodes University is, their 'place' as individuals within the Rhodes University campus and various other factors prominent in most literature on the experience of emplacement. The experience of Rhodes University as a place was moderated by how the Rhodians felt each of the previously-mentioned factors consequentially affected their experience of place being the current Rhodians upon the Rhodes University campus.

Being within the Rhodes University campus physically was rather important to the Rhodians. It is in their presence as current Rhodians on campus that the Rhodians almost immediately started reviewing their expectations of what the campus built and decorated environment would be like. In those instances wherein the Rhodians touched on their expectations of the physical build of Rhodes University, the Rhodians' expectations were often not too close to the encountered reality. This was the case for in such cases the concerned Rhodian had extrapolated from past experiences of built and decorated environments what they thought the Rhodes University campus would be like.

The (often) deliberate looking at of the Rhodes University campus as an aesthetic proved important for many Rhodians. This is because looking at campus as aesthetic was one of the many ways in which Rhodes University could be comprehended. Once campus was (deliberately) looked at, the Rhodians felt empowered enough to speak on issues of (considered) probable contestation over the place that Rhodes University is as primarily an aesthetic within which people exist. A majority of the interviewed Rhodians found the built and decorated environment pleasing, although unexpected, to the eye.

The social relations to be found (and engaged) within the geographical site that is Rhodes University were of great importance to the Rhodians. How a place is experienced socially has grown to be of great significance for the resulting quality of place experience. Rhodians often see themselves in relation to others in their social preoccupation. In other words, the behaviour of others, especially in reaction to the concerned others, is viewed as somewhat indicative of what to expect socially within the Rhodes University environment. Under such conditions, most of which proved to be unexpected and somewhat a sobering experience, the interviewed Rhodians expressed how when one pays close attention to the Rhodes University environment one can actually see ‘cultures’ of social interaction. These ‘cultures’ either include or exclude the Rhodians from the concerned social activity. Such reflections led to thoughts of ‘communities’ existing within the Rhodes University campus. To some Rhodians who touched on the feeling of community within the Rhodes University campus, there was one big community wherein all Rhodians fell; to some other Rhodians there were numerous communities which had particular preoccupations and adherents. From reflections upon sense of community the Rhodians proceeded to speak on their ‘feeling at home’ within the Rhodes University campus. The reflections on ‘feeling at home’ were as varied as there are definitions of the place referred to as home.

As the participants’ reflections for the research were highly personal, there were also the attempts by the Rhodians themselves to gain, and expose, insight into the ultimate reasons for their qualities of place experience. The Rhodians did reflect on their subjectivity and what may be behind their experience. In many cases the individual Rhodian’s subjectivity looks at a past experience and reaction to that experience as somewhat insightful for the understanding of the concerned quality of experience. For instance, some Rhodians, like Samantha, who find the Rhodes University campus to be “aesthetically pleasing”, find it so upon the extrapolation from previous experienced places. The emotional responses to the Rhodes University campus as place were also linked to stocks of experience that are kept as alleged reference points for current place experience. The individual Rhodian’s experience of Rhodes University as a place proved to be informed by a plethora of factors that are in constant conversation with each other for the determination of the most consequential cause for the ultimate experience of Rhodes University as place.

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Appendix A: Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Agreement between Siyathokoza Mtolo (researcher) and _____ (participant).

This document records the understanding between myself as researcher and you as a participant in my research. If you have any questions about this consent form, please feel free to ask me.

My research is about Rhodes University –a physical place, and how different people who inhabit the campus experience it as a place. Current and former Vice-Chancellors, Dr Sizwe Mabizela and Dr Saleem Badat respectively, have made references to a Rhodes University that is ‘a home for all’. This basically means the university physical and psychological space being welcoming and accommodating to all who are part of Rhodes. However, it has been argued that the physical characteristics of Rhodes University owe much to the colonial and apartheid past of the country. It is therefore not an innocent physical place. Given this, I am interested in how people who inhabit the place that is Rhodes University experience it as a physical environment.

I do this research in fulfilment of my Master’s degree supervised by Professor Louise Vincent. I hope to publish some of my findings in academic journals on completion of my Master’s thesis.

All participants have the option of remaining anonymous in the way in which I report the findings of my research. Anonymity will be achieved through the use of pseudonyms and the removal of additional potentially identifying features of biography. I assure all participants of my respect for their rights and confidentiality during the process of transcription, analysis and storage of my data.

Participation in my research is voluntary. If at any stage during the research you wish to withdraw your consent for some reason, you are entitled to do so.

If at any stage after the interview you wish to contact me, my number is 062 690 2535 (cellular phone) or mtlsiy001@myuct.ac.za (electronic mail). You are also welcome to contact my supervisor, Professor Louise Vincent on L.vincent@ru.ac.za.

I _____ agree to be interviewed by Siyathokoza Mtolo concerning my experience of being in the place that is Rhodes University.

I understand that:

1. The research is being conducted as part of the requirements for a Master’s degree at Rhodes University.
2. In addition to a thesis, aspects of the study may be published in the form of an academic article.
3. My participation will involve being interviewed and videotaped at my convenience for a duration of about one hour per interview.
4. I may be asked questions of a personal nature, but I can choose not to answer any questions about aspects of my life that I am not willing to disclose.
5. I am invited to voice to the researcher any concerns I have about my participation in the study, or consequences I may experience as a result of my participation, and to have these addressed to my satisfaction.

6. I am free to withdraw from the study at any time should I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate.
7. The report on the project may contain information about my personal experiences, attitudes and behaviours, but that the report will be designed in such a way that it will not be possible for me to be identified by the general reader if I so wish to be unidentifiable.

Signed on (Date): _____

Participant: _____

Researcher: _____

Appendix B: Coding

Gatsby 1:

<p>Yeah.</p> <p>(.....)</p> <p>Can we go through here?</p> <p>What do I see every day? I see people, see cars obviously -going through here. Uhm, all different kinds of people, and...Yeah. What else specifically? (chuckle).</p> <p>Yeah. The residences are really close -like to one another or to? Yeah. It's quite cool..... like I don't feel like I'm crowded or anything. Which is quite nice. I used to like.....my room used to be right on the edge where like when I looked out what I saw was a wall and it was so dark but then I asked my warden if I could change rooms -to let me go to the top, so I'm on third floor now and I get to see like all the reses in front of me and it's actually really pretty. It looks like Venice or something...</p> <p>It looks like overseas.</p> <p>Especially when you can like see over them. So....</p> <p>Yeah. This isn't a res though. Yah. Like all those places are kind of the same. I like it. Like matches or something.</p> <p>My dad calls it vanilla. Yeah, I think that's quite cute. And then that is where I go for English tutorials -which I missed today (chuckle). And then like in between I chill here. I kind of wish there was more grass though. I think I told you that. Like I wish there were more plants and stuff because usually I like to go and lie like on the grass or under the trees or something because it's kind of nice to have a public place to chill because then you get like, like you can cross people that you know and stuff which is cool cause you can get kind of lonely like if you spend, you know, like if you come here you chill here then like you -I don't know, you can just like bump into people, like you came and spoke to me and stuff.</p> <p>..and then obviously here is the library. I feel quite at home at the library.</p> <p>Yeah, because it's so...it's like kinda private -the way it's designed, you know. (.....). And then I don't really go to the Kaif because there's always a line.</p> <p>A line. (chuckle).</p>	<p>“I don't feel crowded”</p> <p>“quite nice”</p> <p>“when I looked out; a wall”</p> <p>“Asked to change rooms”</p> <p>“I get to see all the reses”</p> <p>“looks like Venice”</p> <p>“looks like overseas”</p> <p>“see over them”</p> <p>“places kind of the same”</p> <p>“I like it”</p> <p>“like matches”</p> <p>“that's quite cute”</p> <p>“wish there was more grass”</p> <p>“wish there were more plants”</p> <p>“A public place to chill”</p> <p>“Can come across people”</p> <p>“can get lonely”</p> <p>“can bump into people”</p> <p>“it's private –the way its designed”</p> <p>“chill on grass”</p>
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Uhm..... Yeah, and I don't really chill here coz uh....like I said I like to chill on the grass and stuff. I kind of wish.....

Shame.

I'm sure it has a name on it.

Oh.

Uhm...what else can you ask me?

Oh yeah, I don't usually chill there coz uh....I don't like chilling on the concrete all the time.

It's kinda ugly.

I like the gardens and stuff, yeah. I kinda wish there was a garden that was more central so you could like come across people that you know while chilling there, you know.

(.....) Yeah, I kind of wish there was a garden.

Okay. So, uh...this is where I do English and Anthro -so I don't know if we must go there?

(Walking towards the lecture theatre)

Yeah. I think it's nice. And I like these buildings. I think they're actually pretty.

Yeah. It's kinda like blue grey -I never even looked at it properly. I didn't think at first they were as pretty as like my res because that one is actually an old building but I actually kind of like it.

Uhm, do you wanna go inside? Nah? (chuckle).

Yeah. Okay.

Yeah.

Yeah and anthropology.

Really?

It's even empty.

So, this is where I do Anthro and English. Uhm....I like it.

I guess I'm used to it so yeah uhm not that many people come all the time.

“don't like chilling on concrete”
“kinda ugly”
“I like gardens and stuff”
“wish for more central garden”
“come across people”

“It's nice”
“It's pretty”
“never looked at it properly”
“didn't think at first”

“I guess I'm used to it”
“It's nice”

<p>I've literally never seen that before. (chuckle).</p> <p>That's cool. (Walking towards the cabinet). (Reading) "medicines of the turn-of-the-century". Is this new? Because I've just never come down this way. It's actually very cool.</p> <p>Calculators.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>I was also quite surprised coz like I do English in a Pharmacy building. English in like the (inaudible) (chuckle). Then I go to..on philosophy at Zoo Major. Did you go to that one yet?</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Yeah. I never actually like.... what is even.....coz obviously I have the lecture hall, what is above here? (Im not sure). (chuckle) It's not as pretty as that building.</p> <p>I think that one is nicer. I think this is...look at the nice bricks and everything, the little garden, the little squares; I like them.</p> <p>Yeah this looks like an office -it looks ugly. Do you wanna go into that one?</p> <p>Not really. I don't know. You tell me. (chuckle).</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Well, that building is basically the same as this building but it is not as nice. The chairs are so squished.</p> <p>Yeah. (chuckle). It's like.....</p> <p>Yeah, but I kind of like that Rhodes...some of the buildings look a little bit old. I like, I feel like it gives a character. It makes it feel like -I don't know -don't know why I didn't like it. It looked too fancy. I don't know if that's a good or bad thing.</p> <p>But yah, Rhodes is definitely better maintained, though the rest of Grahamstown.</p> <p>Grahamstown. Like if you go out of campus like the buildings are all like broken down and stuff and there's so many like old buildings as well.</p> <p>And you know when you're back on campus because it's like so clean.</p>	<p>"a while to get used to"</p> <p>"never seen that before"</p> <p>"that's cool"</p> <p>"never come down this way"</p> <p>"very cool"</p> <p>"what's above here?"</p> <p>"not as pretty"</p> <p>"that one nicer"</p> <p>"I like them"</p> <p>"like an office"</p> <p>"looks ugly"</p> <p>"same as this building"</p> <p>"not as nice"</p> <p>"some buildings look old"</p> <p>"it gives a character"</p> <p>"Rhodes, better maintained"</p> <p>"if you go out of campus"</p> <p>"buildings broken down"</p>
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<p>..although the roads are still pretty shit. (chuckle). (.....) Okay. It's even a beautiful day.</p> <p>(.....) and then this is where I have my Anthropology tuts. I like this building –it’s my favourite one.</p> <p>Yeah. It is so cool. It looks like a castle. It's called the "something Castle".</p> <p>Swallem Castle or something. So, I have my tuts here. I feel pretty at home since I'm so used to it now and then I have my psychology lectures in Barratt. I’m sure everyone knows Barratt.</p> <p>You think so?</p> <p>I like it. Yeah, you're right. It does look so smooth -compared to that one.</p> <p>That one looks a little bit grumpy.</p> <p>You see, I like all the gardens here. I think it’s so pretty.</p> <p>My favourite places on campus though are like, like law uhm the law area like, you know where the chapel is? That's so pretty, pretty and the uh those reses there they like a red brick.</p> <p>They're so cool, they look like a little castle. And also the one by Bot Gardens, you know, Salisbury?</p> <p>The residences at botanical gardens you know the ones that are right there.</p> <p>No? They're so cool, they're all very, very like, it's quite cool like all the buildings are so different here. Oh, okay. So, what now?</p> <p>Yeah. With lectures and stuff, pretty much all stops here.</p> <p>Yeah. I like this one and like obviously the clock tower. Like, you know, obviously the Clock Tower. I feel like I'm at Harvard or something when I walk past it because it looks so fancy and then uhm they always put those flowers like in the front.</p> <p>Yeah, it's nice and then obviously like on the Law area with old chapel and stuff.</p> <p>Oh, yeah? Isn't it beautiful?</p>	<p>“old buildings as well” “campus, so clean”</p> <p>“roads are pretty shit” “I like this building”</p> <p>“so cool” “like a castle” “at home, since I’m used to it”</p> <p>“looks so smooth”</p> <p>“looks grumpy”</p> <p>“I like the gardens” “so pretty”</p> <p>“my favourite places” “so pretty” Reses like a red brick” “so cool” “like a little castle”</p> <p>“all the buildings, so different”</p> <p>“I like this one” “like I’m at Harvard” “looks so fancy”</p>
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<p>Beautiful. It's quite interesting coz you can tell like the different eras that everything was built in according to its architecture so like you can see the old ones and then you can see like the ones that were built in the seventies and stuff because they all look so different, you know.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Yeah, it is. (.....).</p> <p>Yeah. It is random. It is still used. It's so...I just think that with the garden and stuff around it it's like...and there's that little bridge that you go over to get there.</p> <p>Yes, yes. It's so beautiful. (.....)</p> <p>Yeah, well, I like the old buildings better. I don't know why but I just feel like they just like have so much more character than a block, you know. (chuckle) But I suppose like, they don't serve the same functions like you couldn't have a res as a lecture room or maybe-like lecture hall, because they're like so differently designed. (.....). Phew! It's hot.</p> <p>So, what else do you wanna know? (chuckle). I hope I have helped you.</p> <p>A what?</p> <p>Okay.</p> <p>Okay.</p> <p>Yeah. You walk so much around here especially if you live up the hill. And I didn't have a car when I first came here so I also walked so much like to go get water and to get my groceries at Pick and Pay and like it's so hot and a lot of people all the time.</p> <p>I think I lost weight -just from walking. (chuckle). And I even live on the third floor so I have to climb like three floors of stairs every time I go to my room.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>It's quite nice though that you can walk everywhere. Like if you're in Wits or something like it makes you feel so safe because like it's uh...all the residences and stuff make it a student town, you know. So like if I wanna go to my friend's house, if we want to go out we just walk -which is so cool. Whereas like... because I'm from Joburg if you're at Wits or whatever uhm, you're not just gonna like bump into your friends at the shops and start...because like people come from all over the area, you know what I mean? And people who like come to</p>	<p>“different eras everything was built” “you can see”</p> <p>“it is random”: “little bridge you go over”</p> <p>“I like the old buildings better” “more character than a block” “don't serve the same functions” “So differently designed”</p> <p>“walk so much around here”</p> <p>“lost weight -just from walking” “I have to climb three floors”</p> <p>“quite nice” “Can walk everywhere” “makes you feel safe” “make it a student town” “We just walk”</p>
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Rhodes only come from Grahamstown. So I feel like you're almost more likely to make friends because of it's like so small. (.....).

Okay, so where do we go now?

Let's go to the clock tower then.

Yeah.

(walking).

Yeah. Always chilling like between the library -especially during exams, everyone's coming out here to have a smoke. (chuckle). It's on 17, so should I stop it?

“more likely to make friends”
“so small”

The very first building I saw was the one with the writing Rhodes Business School.

It looked so formal as if 'to say that this is where everything happened'.

Then I saw the faculty of Humanities. It is so different. I mean, with the building itself; if you go to Pretoria and the universities there, you don't get something like this.

Looking at it from here, you wouldn't say this is university property.

And it would be interesting to know the history of this place; I know that there is a lot of history in this area but yeah.....

and then there was this Rhodes University Theatre. I don't know, somehow I feel like...okay there is two entrances, right?

(Pointing) There is the other one this side, and the other one (pointing) that side. So, I feel like if you're coming to

Grahamstown for the first time, (pointing) that other entrance would be the one to use. I feel like it gives you a whole...well, if you are going to be a student obviously, most people come here to be students. I don't think there is any other thing interesting here.

But if you're coming from that side it sort of like gives you....it's like 'Welcome to Grahamstown,' the whole, it gives you that Rhodes thing. Like from that side, the landscape, the architecture, the buildings, it is so beautiful, when you're coming, it's so beautiful, it's like, it's like, beautiful, beautiful, like nothing you've...I've never seen, it's beautiful.

When you're coming from that side though, it's more like, it's more like, I don't know, hey. It's like 'Okay, I am in some place...the usual what-we-are-used-to-places, nothing that would make you go 'wow'. But if you go, if you're coming from that side, I feel like 'wow' this is amazing.

And that side, it's chilled, I like it. For example, just look at this - the Politics department. (chuckle) It doesn't look like a department. And not that there is something wrong with it. But like I said, the buildings here are different. You're looking at it and you wouldn't think it is like university property, it's a department, it's so...(hand gestures) Victorian, if I can say that. It's like Victorian style. Yeah, there's a lot of history here in Grahamstown.

So, what else would you like to know?

(Well, basically how you move within campus?)

Hmm. the very first place I go to is that department; the Politics Department. I then go up there to the library. I just do that everyday unless I feel like doing something different. Yeah. Do you wanna walk there?

Yoh, it is cold. This is one of the things I can't get over; coldness.

"two entrances"

"use one entrance"

"most people, students"

"no other interesting things"

"gives a Rhodes thing"

"It's beautiful"

"coming from other side"

"what we are used to"

"nothing 'wow'"

"that side is chilled"

"doesn't look like a department"

"buildings are different"

So Victorian"

"a lot of history"

It's just too much.

(You're not used to it?)

No.

See how quiet it is? That was my first encounter with the place. I was like 'It is so quiet'. But then the school opened and everybody was here. It was so busy; it was like the official welcome to Rhodes. You see, this is what I'm talking about, look at that building. When you come through that entrance, it gives you a whole new....it gives you another perspective of, of, of Rhodes. You get this idea of Rhodes as being...Rhodes as being exciting. While you get...when you come from this side you get 'hey, Rhodes, okay, interesting'.

(What is the difference?)

The difference is the buildings. For me it's the buildings. I mean, buildings sort of give you that....if you enter a house obviously you're like, or if you were to enter a village, the houses would tell you something about that place, right? So, when you come from (pointing) this side it sort of a message of 'Oh, Rhodes...it's not' it sort of lowers your expectations if you were sort of expecting 'Wow, Rhodes'. It's sort of like 'Oh, okay, this is Rhodes'. But when you come through that side it give you like a beautiful picture, it is like 'wow, this place is amazing'. You sort of get the excitement unlike when you come through this side, so you're like 'oh, okay, is this what this place has?'. But generally yeah, this place is very small. Other than Rhodes University, the other side is uhm...it's beautiful. Like I said, I like the, I like the architecture. You get these cathedrals, and when you're standing, when you're standing there by Hill Street looking that side, it is sort of like this (arm gesture) sloping, it's like...it's so beautiful. You see the cathedral from that side and, and...it's different, man. I dont know if it's because I am used to the big city and all that stuff but it is so different and it's pretty, it's chilled. So, yah.

(looking at her phone)

Yeah. What else do you wanna know? I think that's about it.

(Can we like go to the library side because you said it was part of your route?)

Yeah, let's go.

(And your chill spot)

I dont have a chill spot. If I wanna chill...at campus, I dont.

“the difference is the building”
“houses tell you something”
“the two sides, different”
“one side, amazing”
“place is small”
“other side is beautiful”
“sloping is beautiful”

(But you do have places where you just find yourself sitting).

I dont have a spot, honestly. It's either I'm at the Commons or at the main library or if I'm done then I am out, I go home -no I cant say home, the house.

(How come?)

How come what?

(How come no chill spots?)

Isn't it like when you have chill spots it's where you eat your lunch?(chuckle).

(Yeah)

But I don't bring lunch. (Chuckle). So when I am hungry I go back to the house to eat and then come back. I dont have a chill spot. Coz maybe the places here are preoccupied. Everybody has their own chill spot and you dont want to be on somebody else's chill spot. (chuckle). But, I dont know...if I were to find a chill spot it would be somewhere isolated where no one would ever think of.

(takes phone call).

So yeah, it would be like a place people would hardly think of, you know. Where it is like quiet, where it is like me only.

(You like being alone?)

I like being around people but only for like a certain amount of time, then from there I like being alone. I like my own space.

(That's cool. Have you ever been to the Botanical Gardens?)

That side?

(Yeah).

I've passed. (chuckle). I've never been there. It's quite chilled, hey? I was like observing from when I was passing. It's chilled. Like I said; you wouldnt say..like what I've been saying with most of the buildings, it's university prooerty, it's like..chilled. You see, on the other hand, when you look at this, this is more usual. It is like 'okay, this is a university' unlike when we saw the Politics Department where you're thinking 'uh is this a faculty, part of the university, uh...what's going on?'But on the other hand, when you look at this, you see the whole university vibe thingy, with this as well, your normal, usual university thing, the trees here -this is so

typical university, like this sort of, this kind of buildings and with the, with these plants, trees, whatever close by. It's, this is actually something similar to the, in the, at the University of Pretoria, the Medical campus, it's like this. It's almost like, this whole thing. It is sort of like yah...I promise you, this is exactly like that building at the University of Pretoria. And you see that..it's pretty normal.

I wonder if this, this, this Commons, the Commons library like were they built the same time as this? Because if you look at it, this looks new and this is a bit older. If you look at this one as well, it looks new. You can see the contrast from this (pointing) to this (pointing) building. I mean, if you were standing from here there is like a contrast between the two -if you look at this (pointing) and you look at that (pointing). I dont even know what is going on here. Hmm. Geology; interesting. This is the Pharmacy building, right?

(I think so).

See what I mean?It sort of like gives you this certain uhm....sort of like they want you to get a certain impression or a certain idea. I mean, look at Pharmacy, the building reminds me of a hospital. It looks like a hospital. Like a said; the University of Pretoria has a medical campus, you see those similar, that similar thing. And looking at the Geology one -I have never been inside but it's different. You know, moving from that to that there is like a contrast in the two.

And when you look at the Common. Okay, the Commons when you look at them from this side, the couches, it's so chilled. You know, it's almost like being in a different world, hey? Like from here (pointing) to there (pointing). Now that I think about it now, if I were to move from the Pharmacy building to the Commons, it would be, it would feel like I'm in a different world; I am moving from different worlds. Look at the, the Commons -it is like relaxing, chilled; it doesn't even give you that study mood. Then you look at the 24-hour, there is no desks, it's chairs like 'STUDY' (chuckle). You're here to study.

If you're standing from here you're looking at this (pointing) building and...that (pointing) one, see?Again, the English Department, what's this called?

(It's called Zoology).

Yeah, Zoology. Look at the difference. Just see the difference. The English is sort of like formal; Geology it's uh...it's okay but in a way formal; and you look at the uh Pharmacy, it is more medical hence Science; the same goes for this one, it gives you the whole thingy of Science. Yah.

“most Rhodes feels European”
“looks like Munich”
“A lot of history”
“would like to find out”

(Have you, have you ever been to the benches?)

No. I dont like that area there.

(You dont like it?)

No. It's always crowded. It's always crowded so (shaking hand and blowing lips). I don't like it. It's get into the Commons, if I'm not in the Commons I get into the library, and then I'm out.

Or maybe you can uh record the department because I said that's my chilling spot?

(Yeah we could actually)

(chuckle)

(Have you ever been to the fountain?)

Yeah, I have been there but by passing nje, nothing too.....It's a fountain. (chuckle). There were fishes in there -cool, yeah. For me uh...it doesn't mean anything. But to be honest though, in most of the buildings here at Rhodes, you feel like, you feel like -especially with me, if you're coming from another town, a city, whatever, you come in here to Rhodes it feels like you're in some small European....home...European area or whatever. Like I don't know if you've googled 'Munich' -yah, it's in Germany, it sort of looks like -okay, I dont know if it's just the internet making it look more nicer, but for me it's like Rhodes University; a bit of Rhodes University there, you know, I can..the buildings and all that. So, like I said, there's a lot of history and then, and somehow i would like to find out, you know, WHY?

(The history of Rhodes?)

No. The history behind the buildings. Why this type of, of, of architecture or whatever, you know? Was it because of the era in which it was built or was..?And why...why is it still here? Why is it still being preserved? I mean, I dont find anything wrong with that but just would want to find out hwy -to ask around those questions. Yes.

(Have you ever, the lawns...do you ever sit down?)

No. Maybe if I have been here for a year, then maybe I would sit down.

Yoli:

(which should or could possibly uhm come first or do they actually need to change everything at the same time? which is more pressing?)

mmm. I think uh...at the end of the day uh.. the real effort should be intersectional. So, we can't say 'should we change.....(background noise; participant pauses talking). So, we can't say what's more important, you know, creating more access for disabled students or changing the name because I think people are intersection...intersectional, pursued in different ways, and you can't say one thing is more important than the other. I think that this is change that needs to come at once and obviously this is not going to happen within like the space of one year.

But it should just be that when, when you're thinking of change, these are the things you need to start thinking of. So, it's a fact that there was recently a res built uhm down campus and it's like 'okay is that res accessible now for students with disabilities, is there a wheelchair ramp to go into the res, are there showers even wheelchair accessible, what about the the actual rooms themselves, you know?

It's stuff like when you want to start improving on a place that you are you start being inclusive so that's why there was a big noise being made about the, the DSA division of student affairs or something like that with being moved to the Union, Stephen Biko, because it's like, you know, it cuts off certain people because then they won't be able to access that place it's really the fact that there's students who can't even go to the SRC offices just to speak to a counsellor about something because they have to go up those stairs and not everyone can go up stairs so we need to start thinking of something like that and then thinking of ways we can improve that.

(Uhm..... this one question uhm..maybe I should have started off with, uh.... do you, do you feel at home....- well, whatever feeling you might have of home, maybe you're with the feeling of comfort, a feeling of edginess, a, a feeling of belonging, a feeling of freedom?)

I think again it's, it's very up and down -depending on your day, hey, and why I say that it's important when I'm around my friends because then that's when I get that sense of comfort and ease and being at home because you know it's very hard to feel at home in a place where uhm...

this, the statistics on rape is so high and we see nothing being, nothing uhm happening, no change being made it's very hard to be at home when you know right down the road a couple of months ago a friend of

mine was arrested during protests, you know, it's it's how do you feel at home in such a discouraging environment, you know,

“effort should be intersectional”
“can't say what's more important”

“thinking of change”

“very up and down”

“very hard being here at Rhodes sometimes”

because it's VERY HARD BEING HERE at Rhodes sometimes just the culture and the people I think Rhodes is known for..... having this, I guess, drinking culture or whatever, and it's very known for, you know, stuff like uh during Great Field, people go out and wear overalls and they, they don't understand the significance of overalls like why people wear overalls and who are the people that wear overalls, what kind of jobs they doing when they wearing those overalls, what kind of uh social and economic classes they come from? To wear those overalls and, you know, people going out wearing overalls just so you can drink and not get your clothes dirty during the, the great field weekend or whatever. So, yeah.

(Uhm.....so uhm, have you ever actually -if it's an instant or eish - what am I trying to say – uhm...have you ever felt out of place within this campus?)

YEAH. A lot of the time. It's something I, I feel all the time, very like out of place with uh what's going on, you know, anywhere. It'll just be I guess in the dining hall and conversations people are having sometimes you feel very out of place because you just like I, I.. you can't relate to that or, or just in lectures or just the general, the general environment, you know. I think in some instances I do feel uh.....at ease being here. I know when I'm back at home then I always want to be back here because I think also uhm... I'm at a stage in my life where I've kind of outgrown being at home so I've outgrown my parents and being in that room that I grew up in and, and that uhm that way of life, you know. I think when you go home your parents still see you as this as, you know, little girl or whatever the thing is and I think I've outgrown it, so I miss the freedom that I would have when I'm here and I can do -not like as I please like go crazy -but just that thing of if I want to just sit in my room and be quiet and not talk, I can...I've got that freedom or if I just want to go outside and have a walk somewhere I've got that freedom, you know, uhm growing up in in the city there is very few spaces where I can go out with a friend at half past six at night; let's go to just sit outside and talk;
because friends have been like so many different places around the city and there's not enough like green spaces back home, so, you know, it's I think it, its, it's juxtaposed, I guess.

(Uhm....did you actually participate in the protests that were happening -when was it, last year?)

Uhm....the Fees Must Fall protests were last year; The rape protests were this year.

(Did you participate?)

Uh, Yes.

“out of place with what’s going on”
“you can’t relate to that”

“I’ve got that freedom”

(We saw that there was.....uh....-some elements were spraying graffiti on the walls -and I think some buildings actually still have that graffiti, and I believe that the statue in uh in Great Hall –that’s the one statue I know of, was actually spray painted...)

Yeah.

(Some people argue that these people were actually, had a grievances, so they were just acting out, maybe they were powerless, or they felt that way, and some argue that all these spray paintings actually had nothing to do with rape culture...)

Yeah.

(protests. Whatever the case was though, they did happen, and they were uh...many people argue indicative of the interaction that people sometimes have with their physical environment. Could you tell me your thoughts on those?)

Uhm...

With the spray painting uh I think again it was a way of people airing their grievances and it was a beautiful statement that people were making. I'm not saying it was necessarily part of the rape culture or fees must fall protests and I'm not saying it was not part of it. I think, you know, the people, the person who did it had their reasons for doing so and, you know, I'm, I'm not one for policing people's ways of protesting because I think that was a way of trying to draw attention to something that they felt needed to be addressed, I think...and yeah, that was that. So yeah I think it's, it's very, it's a very much tricky thing to, to talk about because then again on the other hand it's again your black workers who have to then go up and clean this, the graffiti on the walls so it.. that's what I'm saying it's a very it's a very tricky thing because on one hand it's a political statement that someone's making when, you know, they spray paint whatever it was that was spray painted, but then it's also like, you know, in another way you're kind of now adding on more work to underpaid black workers.

(Yeah, so now, in sort of like winding down with the interview...with your being at Rhodes, what, what would you argue maybe has more of an impact into how you experience Rhodes as a place as it is; would it be the visual, what you see visually or your movements, and your friends and the conversations that you have some sometimes which actually makes the place feel more comfortable?)

Uhm....I didn't understand the question.

“a lot of like learning and unlearning”

(In terms of being uh...we know that with places there is the physical and then there is the 'what happens' within the physical, and these two interact mostly, AND you as a, an individual, I think, YOU THINK OF BOTH OF THEM. It can't just be Rhodes as these trees and buildings and stuff. It's Rhodes, these trees, buildings, the teachings, the talks, the cultures within this space. So, to you which realm of Rhodes place-ness would you say matters more in terms of determining experience?)

Uh, again I think all those aspects are, are so important to me and I can't choose just one place because in the what –this is my second year –so the two years that I've spent here it's been, there's been a lot of like learning and unlearning kind of thing going on where, you know, outside and inside of the classroom I, I know just for instance with the rape culture protests uh one thing that they started doing was.....lecturers from certain departments started having their own talks on different things related to rape culture so then again that was learning but outside of classroom which I think is as important as learning inside, so I think what I learned in those impromptu lectures it was as important to me as what I'm learning when I go to Barrett and I have my politics two lectures, you know, and uh..and I think it also....Rhodes is quite...-depending on the circles you move in- it's quite a political place. So I think you can choose to not be aware of these things or you can in terms of where you're moving and the people you interact with you, you can be very interested -not really interesting - you be very aware of these things. so I think, you know, as, as uh... as someone who is a feminist I, I look up to so many people within the Rhodes space; be it lecturers such as Lindsay Kennenth or even just other students, other years, you know, I think it all, it all comes together. There's, there's a certain..... uhm..... a COMMUNITY maybe(?) or communities or, or a certain people or sectors where the student or the uhm...-I can't even find the words to describe it -like certain people or things that you can go to that uhm.....uh..... help you and uh..... -sorry, I'm just...I can't find the words...

(Uh, there will come)

Uhm... like MOULD you kind of thing. Be it...yoh! I can't even explain. it's just I think that we're also very lacking the fact that Rhodes is quite an open campus there's lots of greenery. Just here, there is places where you can sit and like just be so appreciative of nature. We have -be it at Drotsdy Lawns or the Bot Gardens or the Great Field lawns or all these green spaces and uh we even have uh yah.....-I'm just going to end there, I can't...

“quite a political space”
“you can choose to not be aware”

“not my ideal Rhodes”

(Okay, I think I follow you. So, Uhm, you would say that uhm what you have just described would be your ideal Rhodes?)

No, it's not ideal Rhodes. I think that's what Rhodes is.....It's not my ideal Rhodes. I think uh..... uh....

(I'm saying ideal in terms of you saying that there are specific people you could go to in order for you to get a certain feel of what Rhodes is. You have...I think...for the most part what you were describing to me was the POSITIVE part of Rhodes -a positive that you could actually go to).

Uhm.....some-thing like, that, something along those lines.

(So, it is not the whole picture? (chuckle))

No, not necessarily. I mean, it's something. It's something similar to that, Yah. yeah, sorry about....

(The following question would have been uh what would then be your ideal Rhodes. What manouevres would you take to make it an ideal place for not just you but for everyone that you think would like that?)

Definitely again, I think the most important thing is that it needs to be an inclusive space and I, I can't then speak for everyone because I'm not aware of the different challenges that different people are facing. So, I would just say that it needs to be inclusive, be that inclusive in terms of the different financial brackets that people come from, you know, should....there is some students who are on NSFAS, and there's students who are not on NSFAS, but then there's also that NSFAS shouldn't be used as a measurement of, of, you know, your economic standing because some students unfortunately don't get NSFAS even though they can't afford the fees or... you know, so inclusive in terms of that and finances, inclusive in terms of uhm...uh..... racially. I think this idea of creating a non-racial society is very problematic because it erases people's identities. I don't think uh... our environment, our society needs to be non-racial. I think it leads to uhm.....being racist, you know. It needs to stop being racist structurally and in, in terms of HOW...uh, the percentage of black lecturers within the institution, it needs to uh... in terms of changing, you know, the sexist aspects how uh.... female lecturers would earn less than their male counterparts even though they probably have the same, you know, uhm qualifications. I think -and there's obviously like a ton of other things that we need to start improving..... but I guess that's, that's countrywide and worldwide things are being, start changing and improving about how societies are going.

“needs to be an inclusive space”
“I can't then speak for everyone”

(I get you. Uhm, I believe that that's basically most of what I can attempt to extract from you in terms of your thoughts on Rhodes as a place. Might there be some, some places or topics that you thought would come up but did not come up?)

I still didn't get the whole, I guess, visual aspect of what you're talking about. I don't think this reflected on the architecture or the significance of architecture or the buildings or how you can tell what's uh..... how.....

Quaz 1:

(here we go...uhm....so now we are like....uh....maybe the penultimate segment of our interview.... uhm, this one-ke...we started off with the....it was more-or-less the social experience of Rhodes then we went into your experience of Rhodes focusing much on the Residence part of it, but now-ke, we are eh.. I think we should be bringing it all together...the bits and pieces. Now I'd like for us to focus on the visual....the vi....we've mentioned it a bit in the previous segment, you mentioned that uhm...Rhodes is quite old, the buildings and stuff, how is uhm.....the building styles the olde-ness, how do you take all of that in, what do you think of it?)

(long pause with finger on chin) (Hmm sound with mouth) I think it's quite INTRIGUING, given the fact that uhm.....the buildings at Rhodes do not follow a similar structure they are not the same, you know... you have places like the Journalism Department -which is completely different from all the other departments at Rhodes, you know...inside and outside. You have the IT and information systems department, it's also different, the Hamilton building, they are very different -they are very, BOURGIE! They, they....different and they do G you know they, they have quite a lot of things that certain departments don't have, you know.....and you look at the apartments like the.....uh.... the politics department, it's so different I haven't seen any other department that looks like that (chuckle)...then you have your Law Department, your education department, it's, it's really amazing how they managed to differentiate the ways in which uh... all these buildings are, you know..they are very different, including the reses; they are very..... different.

(Okay. So some people say that uhm the Departments are basically like houses....)

Uh huh.

(If you were to actually look at them how fitting is that to think of them as houses?)

I wouldn't say all departments look like houses, you know. You have the.....you have Chemistry department, you have the...Zoology department. I think that most of the departments that look like houses case to the, I think most of the would be your Philosophy departments, your Politics department, your eh.... your Botany department, your environmental sciences department, those ones look like houses, I think mostly because they are.....one of the oldest, some of the oldest departments at Rhodes uh..hence they look the way they look, you know. I think there's a Mathematics department somewhere by...the JacLabs.

“It’s quite intriguing”

“look like houses”

(Uh huh).

It also looks like a house (chuckle), even the gate it seems as though you are entering someone's (chuckle) house, you know. Uh, the Linguistics department as well. But not all of them, you know. Uh...those one...the ones that are oldest here, yes, tend to look like houses. But the other ones are.....they tried, they look like uh.....(chuckle)

(Pro-per?)

Proper yah....

(faculty).

Yah, proper faculty, proper buildings....and you can see even as you enter that this is perhaps....a department or a place where there are lecture rooms and certain offices. They don't look like the Politics department where when you enter through the door you expect to find small rooms and a kitchen, you know. They, they look different.

(Uhm I believe that you already mentioned the thing about you doing uhm... specializing in both economics and politics, just thinking about the management building where they Ecos department is and then looking at the politics on department they are very different. Wont you say?)

Yeah, they are very different.....Hence they are (chuckle) FAR away from each other. You can't...if you have a lecture at the politics department uh you can't necessarily leave uh five minutes before your tut at the Ecos department coz then chances are you will be late no matter how fast you walk, even if you driving....coz you might still have to park your car on the OTHER side then start walking towards your lecture. But they are very different the economics department is confusing.

(Confusing?)

Yeah. Because within the department itself, I think it's just a COMMERCE building, you know coz you.....you don't necessarily know (chuckle) where the Ecos department is in that building, you're...you're just told that 'room what-what is where.....room what-what is where.....you know. And sometimes you find yourself lost if...you walk further down the passage, you find yourself in the management building yourself in the management building, in the management department, you find yourself in the Accounting department (chuckle) then you ask yourself then where is the Economics department? yeah I think maybe, that's maybe because

that whole area is meant for all commerce subject so all they have are specific where you find your secretary and all that.

(The second part of uh visual culture is that the displays on the environment actually matter and the displays specifically onthe departments also matter so you areyou are more or less now more of a Politics student so uhm you have experienced both the pictures in the Ecos department and the pictures in the politics department uhhh what..... what are your thoughts on such displays in the departments?)

(chuckle)Uh, I think the Politics department has WAY too many pictures The Economics department eh...you, you'll spot a painting here and there, you know. There's not much to show besides our scripts and LOA slips, and such things (chuckle)..but uh it is really amazing how the POLITICS little big but it's really amazing how has a.....a lot of pictures of the most influential people, past influential people like Martin Luther King, uh...Mohatma Ghandi, you know, such people....uh...we even have a painting -is it a painting or a symbol? -of the UN in the.....

(I recall a symb....a painting.....)

(chuckle)

(It's uh, it's a picture or something)

of the emblem of the UN in one of our seminar rooms. So I think the Politics department is very particular about what it stands for and you'll, you'll SEE it on the walls. They, they, the pictures make a lot of statements. They speak for themselves in terms of what politics is and what now uhhh the department is about -if I may put it like that.

(Uhm....do you feel that uhm...that that is needed perhaps for other departments as well or should people just do as ..they deem doable?)

Uh.....I think uh....you know what? If it's working for us, let's do it; if it's not working, let's not do it, you get what I am saying?

(Yeah).

Like, for instance -like I said -the Politics department is a department on its own -it is very secluded, you get it? They can put whatever they want coz you know that the moment you walk in there there's...you'll find no other department but everything that has to do with Politics, you know...you find your offices, you find your seminars, everything in there is Politics whereas for the Ecos department, it's not just the Ecos department, you have, have other places -like we said....the management people are there, Statistics are

there, Accounting are there, you know...it would become a challenge now for them in terms of what do you put on the wall? Do you display things that have to do with Economics, do you display things that have to do with Accounting, you get it? Like I said, in that department, all they have are small rooms and offices just so that students can be able to...CONSULT, you know. So, it would, I think it would be very hard for them to now start DISPLAYING what their departments are about, hence they decided to put nice paintings that will show you nothing more but, NO ART.

(Thank you for that response. Now, let's move outside of the departments, just the general displays on, on campus as well I believe you have some features, works of art, we have those bicycles, we have those -I don't know what glass those things are -by lawns outside admin building we have a statue by Great Hall, I believe. We have a fountain, uh there are numerous works of art on, on campus. Have you, have you ever reflected on that sort of stuff?)

Uhhh...uhm...not really. I think Rhodes is not a really decorated.....institution, environment, you get what I am saying? It's just...yeah, It's just a certain feature there....-like you were saying, I remember this one time when uh....a former colleague of mine took a picture by the fountain and only in that picture did I notice that there's actually a writing down the, by the fountain. ALL THIS WHILE I walked past the fountain, I would chill by the fountain, but I had never noticed that there is actually something that speaks about why that fountain is there and who built it, you know. And it was quite amazing for me to actually get to see that. And funny enough I saw it on a picture, and after seeing it on the picture, I actually went, so that I could make sure that this guy was actually BY the Rhodes fountain. Otherwise, the bikes as well..uh...they're really an amazing gesture. I think since 2012 I've been waiting for them to FALL.

(Fall?)

Yeah, because to me they were not real. I kept asking myself; "how did they manage...to keep these bikes up? Come rain, come thunder, these bikes shake, they're always like this". And you would find people getting on the bikes and taking pictures, and you're like "woah". They're really an amazing feature. They make that place look....pleasant. Uh...I love the fact that Rhodes has....big areas where people can just chill...the lawns, you know open spaces. Uh, the place you're referring to, to in front of the Admin building, I still don't understand why we have those glasses there. Uh, but...you know, they're quite eye-catching, you know, when you see them for the first time. But after that they just become part of the grass, (chuckle), you know, you only get to see them when you get closer and actually....maybe when you wanna sit down then you'll "Oh, but

“Rhodes is not really decorated”

“when you start looking”
“intrigue”

there is glass here'. But the people..... I think early this year I saw people lying down there in solidarity of something. I didn't know what was happening; I didn't understand. But yah, I believe uh... it was significant and..it's awesome to have them there. Uh, in terms of the statues..... It's also a nice gesture. It's nice to look at, you know. Another thing that I've noticed is that by the, the, the Union building, right, there's actually a hand inscribed by the wall that shows you that "this is where you enter'. And in ALL my 12 argh! - in all my five years here, I have never noticed THAT HAND until recently and I was quite amazed, you know, because I used to ask myself 'How do people know that you can only go in through this way and not the other way, until I saw a hand pointing in that direction and below it's written 'IN' and then the other one 'OUT'. I said 'Ok, this is so amazing'.

You know, when you start looking at it and...you know, when you start looking at Rhodes infrastructure, there are somethings that you notice that are quite INTRIGUING. I know that by the Nelson Mandela Dining Hall, we have something like a waterfall. But because the water is not always, you know, flowing, you don't notice it until the day the water flows and you actually notice it and 'oh, this is a waterfall'.

You know, its uh...it really has nice features but if you perhaps.... take time to observe and not just walk past everything then you get to see that..... though Rhodes is not really decorated, it has some intriguing stuff.

(Uh...I like how you've just spoken about uhm...there being uhm....STORIES behind certain features, I believe that uhm there's a story behind Prince Alfred or whoever that might be, I am thinking of maybe Alfred Beit that will be the closest to, to a Prince Alfred reference and Beit being uhm one of the funders, I believe, alongside Cecil John Rhodes so what.....

“take time to observe”

Quaz 2:

(knowing that uhm Rhodes actually has this history that uhm..it somewhat preserves through different namings and, and different features on the environment proper, how does, how do you, how do you rationalize that 'of course it's just a feature but then it has this whole story behind it'. Do you say I need to know the story or do you just uh.."ai, its just a feature.. I will learn about it when I have been to..maybe notice it when I have taken a picture of a friend near a fountain' and go 'oh, there is actually a story' behind the fountain'?)

Uhhh.... you know what, I think when we see..when I see most of this stuff, to me even though there is a story behind each and every one of them..at the end of the day they are just features (chuckle)..you know. I don't really... -of course I'll be amazed, you know, just like the hands thing by the Union, I was so amazed but I didn't actually take time to sit and investigate 'why would they....what's the story behind that.. and I think that most of eh...I think it's like that for most of us, we see and it ends there we don't want to dig deep into....uh why the specific feature here, why this specific name here? So, yah....they are just features... until you actually notice them or someone actually tells you the history behind them.

(Uhm, Ok. I do get you proper..... uhm..last year I believe there was this whole Rhodes Must Fall Movement and I believe that I've, I've seen a documentary on the whiteness of Rhodes that's actually entitled Rhodes is so White,....I think that's the documentary's title. Do you feel that it is actually a white campus what we have here?)

(Chuckle) It would depend on what we mean by white, you know. Does it have a lot of white students more than black students, uh....because if it's in that case then Rhodes is not white. because there are many of us HERE than there are white students, you know. Then if it's in terms of the way in which things are done at Rhodes or the Rhodes culture itself then.....I don't think it should be called Rhodes is so white, coz even in terms of how people socialise and how people do things. Then there are some people who are not necessarily white who do things that may be associated with being....WHITE, you know (chuckle). And, yeah...if then it is in terms of what we are taught then hey, until we find African examples or..things that we can put into our own context, then I guess we can say that Rhodes is White.

(Okay, I got you...uhm, did you mention anything on the uh environment, the physical environment.....)

Not really. But (heavy breathe).....if we're gonna say Rhodes is white when referring to the environment, then what kind of not-white would we then incorporate to make the environment eh...not so white...not be white? Do we then change some of our buildings or infrastructure, and

“they are just features”
“we see it and it ends there”

“until you actually notice them”

“depends on what we mean”

start building rondavels? (chuckle). Do we.....what do we do? How do we...change the environment?

(I get you. Did you say 'rondavel?')

(chuckle)

Yes.

(Uh...I.....well, someone actually mentioned something similar to the rondavel, but then he was 'maybe we need to have some Ndebele decorations on buildings and stuff'. You know, those mathematical... decorations)

But then the question becomes that if we're going to say that Rhodes is so white mainly because uh there is no African decoration..... then, wouldn't having.....African decorations make Rhodes black?

(Hmm. That's a good question).

I don't get it like..in our building... do we then....are there certain buildings that are white and certain that are Africans? Or certain..paints..that uh....define a structure as not being white or...you know. I don't know -maybe it's because I don't get this whole concept of whiteness, you know..that is why I can't really answer this question but....I don't think that infrastructure should push us to the point of saying that a place is so white simply because there is no trace of Africanism on it. But that...that's just my.....

(Uh huh)....

my thought (chuckle)

(Of course, which is understandable. We all have our opinions which are ...may be informed by our experiences and life. Uhm, I believe that right now is the part when I...refer back to that question I ended our last segment on... do you still remember the question?)

No. Please refresh my memory.

(The question now, how I am framing it now is...looking at the visual which we've just spoken about... which is more than just the building types but the displays inside buildings and the displays out of outside buildings uhm do these make you feel at home?)

(a pause for thought) (do you feel at home...uhm...before I get that much deeper) (Chuckle).

Do I actually feel at home? No..... (heavy exhale)....look, Rhodes.....(lowered voice)I would,..I don't have such displays at

“infrastructure should not be criteria”

“no such displays at home”

home, you get it? So it wouldn'tno they don't they don't make me feel at home, but at the same time they don't make me feel excluded.

(Hmm).

Uh, mainly because uh.....at home where I come from...uh....we'd never decorate with a fountain I mean come on. (chuckle). We don't have, we do have paintings on the walls here and there. In my room, I would have maybe one newspaper article that is memorable -but that is as far as I would go. You don't want to be out there making your mother's wall dirty with all your... because when you remove them then the wall is somehow. But, at the same time, time I think those features are what uh.... make Rhodes, Rhodes. Although they are not something I am accustomed to or would associate with...they also don't make me feel excluded.

(Hmm.....uh...that's an interesting uhhh..... you're basically indifferent...would indifference be a good word?)

(Chuckle) I don't think indifference is a good word, but at this moment I also can't think of a better word, so.....

(yeah but I actually get what you're saying that the knight they do need it too. So, ...uh, which makes the next question that much clearer, I think or that much silly which...the next question which maybe I should have asked before asking if you have ever felt at home here is that are there places and spaces within campus wherein you feel out of place and could you uh, maybe relay to me an instance when you actually felt out of place within Rhodes?)

I think the infrastructure itself, right.. has no effect on how you would feel.....
about it as a person, but the moment people come in then that particular place, you know, can have an EFFECT on you as a person. Like for instance, I can be in a seminar room, alone, and I wouldn't feel out of place. But the moment people start coming in...then, tension..like, a bit of tension arises a bit of awkwardness, the moment people start speaking uh.....we think differently as people uh... then you can start feeling out of place, you know...and all those kinds of things. Otherwise I don't think the environment itself can illicit such feelings from, from a person uh until people start coming in. For instances, the library is so chilled, when you go in there and you sit alone...but...but the more people start coming in, the more people start PAGING, and you begin to feel out of place, you know...in tutorials, in seminars, you know...and it also depends on the kind of person that you are. If you are..if you're a person who is very talkative, who would engage with any conversation I doubt you would feel out of place. But if you are... reserved, and you don't like talking, the moment people start talking, you begin to feel tense and when they now turn the question to you, it now becomes even more

“the features make Rhodes, Rhodes”

awkward, you know. So, I'd say that uh...the environment per se: No.
But put people in that environment then yes.

(Hmm. It starts becoming uh.. a bit challenging. Ok).

Codebook:

Word use	Theory	Person used by
I don't feel crowded	Spatial Practice (SP)	G,S,Y
Quite nice	Representational Space (RS)	G
I looked out, a wall	Representations of Space (RoS)	G,E
I get to see all the reses	RoS	G
Looks like Venice	RS	G
Looks like overseas	RS	G
See over them	RoS	G
Places kind of the same	RoS	G
I like it	RS	G,S,J
Like matches	RoS	G
That's quite cute	RoS	G
Wish there was more grass	RoS	G
Wish there were more plants	RoS	G
A public place to chill	RoS	G
Can come across people	SP	G,J,E
Can get lonely	SP	G
Its private the way it's designed	RoS	G,E
Don't like chilling in concrete	SP	G
Kinda ugly	RS	G
I like gardens and stuff		G
Wish for more central garden	RoS	G
It's nice	RS	G
It's pretty	RS	G
Never looked at it properly	RS	G
Didn't think at first	RS	G
I'm used to it	RS	G,Q
A while to get used to	RS	G
Never seen that before	RoS	G,Q
Never come down this way	SP	G
Very cool	RS	G
Not as pretty	RS	G
What's above here?	RoS	G
Like an office	RoS	G,J
Some buildings look old	RS	G,S,E
It gives a character	RS	G,Q
Rhodes better maintained	SP	G,E
Buildings broken down	RS	G
Campus so clean	RS	G,E
Roads are pretty shit	RS	G
Like a castle	RS	G
Looks so smooth	RS	G

Looks grumpy	RS	G
I like the gardens	RS	G
Reses like a red brick	RoS	G,J
All the buildings, so different	RoS/ RS	G,J,Q,E
Like I'm at Harvard	RS	G
Looks so fancy	RS	G
Different eras everything	RS	G,J,E
You can see	RS	G
It is random	RoS	G
Little bridge you go over	RoS/RS	G
I like the old buildings	RS	G,J
More character than a block	RS	G,J,E
Don't serve the same function	RoS/SP	G,E
So differently designed	RoS	G,Q,J,E
Walk so much around here	SP	G,S,Q
Lost weight –just from walking	SP	G
Have to climb three floors	SP	G,Y
Can walk everywhere	SP	G,Y,E
Makes you feel safe	RS	G
Make it a student town	RS	G
We just walk	SP	G,Y
So small	RoS/RS	G,S,E
Have you noticed?	RS	G,Q, Gi, Y,E
It's lovely	RS	G,S
Everyone is chilling outside	SP	G,Y
So green	RoS/RS	G,S,J,Y,E
Pretty far away	SP/RoS	G,Q,E
My residence –close to everything	RoS	G
Didn't walk far	SP	G
Some buildings I don't know	RS/RoS/SP	G,E,J
A lot of reses	RoS	G
I like the new ones	RS	G
Modern and fancy	RS	G,E
Close to my res	RoS	G
It's beautiful	RS	G,E
I like looking at architecture	RS/SP	G,J
Haven't looked for a while	RS/SP	G,Gi,E
Like a little community	RS	G,E
Always see the same people	SP/RS	G,E
Chill in the grass	SP	G,S,J
It's open	RoS	G,Q,E,Y
Can't just walk around	SP	G
I feel safe	RS	G

I like to walk	SP	G,S
Feeling of community	RS	G,Gi,Q,E,Y
Walk in and out	SP	G
It's good to be in nature	RS/SP	G,Y
I miss feeling the ground	SP	G
Walk around just to see	SP	G,Q
I didn't appreciate it	RS	G,Q,Gi,E
You just forget	RS	G
Some weird art here	RoS	G,J
I don't understand	RS	G,Q
Modern against an old building	RoS	G,J
Seems so random	RoS	G
Steel in the middle of nowhere	RoS	G
Don't really like the modern	RS	G,J
Really appreciate art	RS	G
Modern is artificial and fake	RS	G
Not as much care and detail	RS/RoS	G
Everything has a meaning	RS	G,Q,Y
Not just a block	RS/RoS	G
Everything in alignment	RoS	G,E
To be surrounded by pretty things	RS/RoS	G
To be detailed and unique	RoS	G
I haven't lived their experience		G,S,J
Have a different experience		G,S,J,Y
Something I can identify with		G,J,Y
Colonial heritage	RS	G,S,Y
Never really noticed	RS/SP	G,Q,Gi,Y,E
Different meaning	RS	G,Y
All I know is my experience		G,J,S,Y
You can't erase history		G
New name on a colonial building	RS	G
It's integrative	RS	G,E
Reconstruct the past		G
Add to what we have	RoS	G,Y,Gi
Two different worlds	RS	Q,E
It's intriguing	RS	Q
confusing	RS	Q
Too many pictures	RS	Q
Pictures make a lot of statements	RS	Q
Not really decorated	RS	Q,Gi
It's just a certain picture there	RS	Q

Amazing to see that	RS	Q
Make place look pleasant	RS	Q
Take time to observe	SP	Q
Do not just walk past everything	SP	Q,Gi
Intriguing stuff	RS	Q
There is a story behind	RS	Q
They are just features	RS/RoS	Q,Gi
I'll be amazed	RS	Q
We see and it ends there	SP	Q,J,E
Until you actually notice them	SP/RS	Q,J,E
How people socialise and do things	SP	Q,J
What is a not white environment?	RS	Q,Gi
Are paints racial?	RS	Q,Gi,Y
Infrastructure not enough to claim space as racial	RS	Q
Don't have much displays at home	RS	Q
Don't make me feel at home	RS	Q,Gi,Y
Don't make me feel excluded	RS	Q,S,Gi
Features make Rhodes Rhodes	RS	Q
Infrastructure has not effect	RS	Q,J
People have an effect on you	SP	Q,J,E,Y
A certain culture around Rhodes	RS	Q,S,Y
Rhodes is a separate planet	RS	Q,Gi,E
Students behaviour	SP	Q,E,Gi,Y
Rhodes very secluded	RoS	Q
Rhodes allows for that behaviour	RS	Q
A good space to be in	RS	S,E,Y
Environment is conducive to study	RS	S,E
Make myself settled		S,E,Q
Comfort in own space	RS	S,Gi,Y
Out of my way	SP	S,Y
It's a bit white	RS	S,Gi,Y
There's white culture; there's Rhodes culture	RS	S,Y
Memories were created here	RS	S
African décor doesn't mean African	RS	Y
Our space there, that side	RS	S
A bit smaller	RoS	S

More comfort in more spacious	RS/RoS	S
See different people	SP	S,E,G
Appreciate paved bricks	RoS	S,G
Res people much closer	SP	Gi,E
Forced to socialise	SP	Gi,Y
Overthinking is also something	RS	Gi,J
Name towns, places to commemorate	RS	Gi,Y
Reflect society and change of time	RS	Gi,Y
Colonial buildings mismatch mindset	RS/SP	Gi
Name change –yikaka lento	RS	Gi,Y
It's just a fucken name	RS	Gi,Y
We just tolerate each other	SP	Gi
Paint something African	RS	Gi,Y
Make everyone feel comfort	RS	Gi,J,Y,E
Must accept view	RS	Gi
Build African things	RS/RoS	Gi,Y,E
Extra mile for comfort	RS	Gi,Y
Building style, an identity	RS	Gi
Mix it up	RS/RoS	Gi
No statues of black people	RS	Gi,Y
Statues of white boys, unjust	RS	Gi,Y
It's just a statue	RS	Gi,Y
I hate that artwork	RS	J
It's a little depressing	RS	J
Makes you feel uncomfortable	RS/SP	J,Y
Reminds me of England	RS	J,S
Nice and nostalgic	RS	J
Rhodes tries to be European	RS	J,G,S,Y,E
It is not genuine	RS	J
Coloniality of place, theoretical	RS	J
Living the space differently	RS	J,Y
Making people uncomfortable	RS	J
Difficult to dislocate visual from social	RS/RoS	J,Y,E
The visual in terms of people we see		J
Sometimes ambiguous kinds of people		J,E
Our own kind of wherever we are	RS	Y
Very white spaces	RS	Y,S

No disability access	RoS	Y
A particular narrative	RS	Y,G
No gender-neutral bathrooms	RoS/RS	Y
Décor is African-inspired	RS	Y

Appendix C: Aggregated Codes/Themes

Spatial Practice	
People and socialisation	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I don't feel crowded
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can come across people
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can get lonely
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Everyone is chilling outside
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chill in the grass
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People socialise and do things
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People have an effect on you
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> See different people
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Forced to socialise
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We just tolerate each other
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conversations make you out of place
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Out of place during protests
Walking –a lot of it	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Never come down this way
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Walk so much around here
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lost weight –just from walking
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have to climb three floors
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can walk everywhere
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We just walk
Walking and Seeing	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I like looking at architecture
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Always see the same people
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Just walk in and out
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can't just walk around

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I like to walk
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Miss feeling the ground
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Walk around just to see
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Take time to observe
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do not just walk past everything
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We see and it ends there
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Until you actually notice them
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Never looked at it properly
Representations of Space	
What the eyes see	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I looked out, a wall
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I get to see all the reses
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> See over them
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Places kind of the same
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Like matches
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Never seen that before
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appreciated paved bricks
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Décor is African-inspired
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Slopes everywhere
The design	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wish there was more grass
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wish there were more plants
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A public place to chill
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It's private the way it was designed
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wish for more central garden

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reses like a red brick
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Like an office
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • So differently designed
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • So small
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • So green
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pretty far away
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My residence – close to everything
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some buildings, I don't know
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lot of residences
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close to my res
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's open
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some weird art here
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seems so random
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Steel in the middle of nowhere
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not just a block
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Everything in alignment
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Everything to be detailed and unique
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Add to what we have
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhodes very secluded
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A bit smaller
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build African things
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building style, an identity
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mix it up
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No disability access
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No gender-neutral bathrooms
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African décor doesn't mean African
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No strictly-restricted area
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bordered by buildings
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New buildings to match old

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build it more South African
Representational Space	
Looks compared	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quite nice
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Looks like Venice
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Looks like overseas
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Like I'm at Harvard
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is a 'not-White' environment?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are paints racial?
Looks and Personification	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I like it
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • That's quite cute
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kinda ugly
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's nice, it's pretty
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very cool
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not as pretty
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Looks so smooth
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Looks grumpy
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's lonely
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern and fancy
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's beautiful
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low-key medieval
Getting used to how it looks	
	I'm used to it
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A while to get used to
The visual and its character	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some buildings look old
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It gives a character
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Like a castle
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make it a student town

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • So green
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An amazing feature
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Makes place look pleasant
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a story behind
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's a bit white
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There's white culture; there's Rhodes culture
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African décor doesn't mean African
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflect society and change of time
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paint something African
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhodes tries to be European
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build African things
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building style, an identity
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No statues of black people
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is not genuine
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reminds me of England
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Décor is African-inspired
Being within Rhodes University	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Like a little community
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feeling of community
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Didn't appreciate it
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Everything has a meaning
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New name on a colonial building
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's integrative
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two different worlds
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confusing
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too many pictures

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pictures make a lot of statements
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A certain culture around Rhodes
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhodes is a separate planet
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A good place to be in
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comfort in own space
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make everyone feel comfortable
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must accept view
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coloniality of place; theoretical
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficult to dislocate visual from social
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living the space differently
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Our own kind of wherever we are
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A particular narrative
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's quite a political space
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not really in your face
The visual and what I like	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Don't really like modern
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern is artificial and fake
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amazing to see that
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I hate that artwork
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nice and nostalgic
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's a little depressing
The visual and my home	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Don't make me feel at home
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Don't have much displays at home
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Don't make me feel excluded

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructure has no effect
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Features make Rhodes Rhodes
Features and consequentiality	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Name change; yikaka lento
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's just a fucken name
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's just a statue

Lefebvre table:

Theory	Count	People
Representations of Space	52	4
Representational Space	137	5
Spatial Practice	41	4

Table illustrating the number of times a code came up and was related to the theory as by Lefebvre.

I am counting both the incident and the number of people who brought it up

Table constructed after nine interviews

From just counting the codes, the participants talk most on representational space, then representations of space, and lastly spatial practice.

Appendix D: Themes and Categories

Initial Themes and categories:

1. People and socialising: this dealing with how the participants experience the social life of Rhodes, especially people-to-people sort of relations.
2. Walking and seeing: this dealing with people observing their environment and its decorations –some rather interesting findings here.
3. Walking a lot: the walking that many people talk about.
4. The design: how people speak of more-or-less the architectural design of Rhodes.
5. The Visual and its character –this here separated into subcategories aesthetic reception and culture/identity –the latter separated even further into a culture by comparison and a culture that is Rhodes internally.
6. Campus and home: when people talk about “being at home” most mentioned their actual home somewhere.
7. Being within Rhodes: this is different from the “visual and its character” category. It was really varied in terms of where it fit in on the individual’s reflections. At times it was in reference to internal Rhodes culture –especially people-to-people culture, therefore socialising; at times it was in terms of the visual, and at times even connected to thoughts on home.
8. The visual and what I like: this theme different from the aesthetic reception subcategory within “visual and its character”. This is basically where people actually point out their liking for certain features. “Aesthetic reception” was most about categorising the visual into more-or-less a culture of design. This category was exclusively about what the participant likes.
9. Consequentiality of features: This is when participants talk about their thoughts after having isolated the importance of the Rhodes visual. Here they would be talking about artworks, Rhodes design and decoration –both physical and sort of mental in terms of names and such, and how these affected them.

Final Themes:

Expectation: the Rhodian comes to Rhodes University with a particular expectation of what the campus will be like. Strangely although the participants does get a glimpse of the campus from the university's Prospectus, it is often the case that there is surprise at the architecture of the university once the person actually arrives on campus.

Looking: This is when the Rhodian observes the architecture of the campus. The Rhodian then grows to have a reaction to their surrounding in terms of what they are seeing around them as the built and decorated environment.

Contestation: The built and decorated environment for many Rhodians proved to be one of contestation -architectural contestation, if I may. This is the thought that architecturally Rhodes University displays certain aesthetical characteristics which are often to the curtailment of other styles.

The people: the Rhodians do interact among themselves and this inspires certain thoughts about the people environment within which they find themselves. One on one interactions are used to think of what may be out there with the rest of the people.

Rhodes University culture: a direct outgrowth from person to person interaction. The Rhodians see how people behave in the social sphere as indicative of a particular culture of social within which these people are located. This location explains the manner in which many Rhodians act towards each other.

Community: here the Rhodians speak on their feelings of being a part of a collective of people. As Rhodians the participants are obviously part of a collection of people who may be identified as Rhodians. Here the participants talk about the collectives which they believe may be inferred from the micro collectives that people often install themselves within once part of bigger collectives.

Home: the Rhodians here discuss their feelings of being 'at home' within the Rhodes University environment -both social and physical. They showed prudence in their reflections as many were adamant on the need to define what it is that 'home' is.

Subjectivity: somewhat of a follow on from the reflections on home. Rhodians are aware that many of their reflections apply somewhat eschewed to them. Rhodians here discuss how and why it is them that have the particular reflections which they have.

Affect: emotion: the emotional reactions to being a Rhodian are talked about here. The Rhodians speak on the consequentially of both the physical and social environment that is Rhodes University on them.

Appendix E: Categories in Transcripts

<p>Yeah.</p> <p>(.....)</p> <p>Can we go through here?</p> <p>What do I see every day? I see people, see cars obviously -going through here. Uhm, all different kinds of people, and...Yeah. What else specifically? (chuckle).</p> <p>Yeah. The residences are really close -like to one another or to? Yeah. It's quite cool..... like I don't feel like I'm crowded or anything. Which is quite nice. I used to like.....my room used to be right on the edge where like when I looked out what I saw was a wall and it was so dark but then I asked my warden if I could change rooms -to let me go to the top, so I'm on third floor now and I get to see like all the reses in front of me and it's actually really pretty. It looks like Venice or something...</p> <p>It looks like overseas.</p> <p>Especially when you can like see over them. So....</p> <p>Yeah. This isn't a res though. Yah. Like all those places are kind of the same. I like it. Like matches or something.</p> <p>My dad calls it vanilla. Yeah, I think that's quite cute. And then that is where I go for English tutorials -which I missed today (chuckle). And then like in between I chill here. I kind of wish there was more grass though. I think I told you that. Like I wish there were more plants and stuff because usually I like to go and lie like on the grass or under the trees or something because it's kind of nice to have a public place to chill because then you get like, like you can cross people that you know and stuff which is cool cause you can get kind of lonely like if you spend, you know, like if you come here you chill here then like you -I don't know, you can just like bump into people, like you came and spoke to me and stuff.</p> <p>..and then obviously here is the library. I feel quite at home at the library.</p> <p>Yeah, because it's so...it's like kinda private -the way it's designed, you know. (.....). And then I don't really go to the Kaif because there's always a line.</p> <p>A line. (chuckle).</p> <p>Uhm..... Yeah, and I don't really chill here coz uh....like I said I like to chill on the grass and stuff. I kind of wish.....</p>	<p>Socialisation + What the eyes see + Identity/culture</p> <p>Personification + Design + socialisation</p>
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Shame.

I'm sure it has a name on it.

Oh.

Uhm...what else can you ask me?

Oh yeah, I don't usually chill there coz uh....I don't like chilling on the concrete all the time.

It's kinda ugly.

I like the gardens and stuff, yeah. I kinda wish there was a garden that was more central so you could like come across people that you know while chilling there, you know.

(.....) Yeah, I kind of wish there was a garden.

Okay. So, uh...this is where I do English and Anthro -so I don't know if we must go there?

(Walking towards the lecture theatre)

Yeah. I think it's nice. And I like these buildings. I think they're actually pretty.

Yeah. It's kinda like blue grey -I never even looked at it properly. I didn't think at first they were as pretty as like my res because that one is actually an old building but I actually kind of like it.

Uhm, do you wanna go inside? Nah? (chuckle).

Yeah. Okay.

Yeah.

Yeah and anthropology.

Really?

It's even empty.

So, this is where I do Anthro and English. Uhm....I like it.

I guess I'm used to it so yeah uhm not that many people come all the time.

I've literally never seen that before. (chuckle).

The design

That's cool. (Walking towards the cabinet). (Reading) "medicines of the turn-of-the-century". Is this new? Because I've just never come down this way. It's actually very cool.

Calculators.

Yeah.

I was also quite surprised coz like I do English in a Pharmacy building. English in like the (inaudible) (chuckle). Then I go to..on philosophy at Zoo Major. Did you go to that one yet?

Yeah.

Yeah. I never actually like.... what is even.....coz obviously I have the lecture hall, what is above here? (Im not sure). (chuckle) It's not as pretty as that building.

I think that one is nicer. I think this is...look at the nice bricks and everything, the little garden, the little squares; I like them.

Yeah this looks like an office -it looks ugly. Do you wanna go into that one?

Not really. I don't know. You tell me. (chuckle).

Yeah.

Well, that building is basically the same as this building but it is not as nice. The chairs are so squished.

Yeah. (chuckle). It's like.....

Yeah, but I kind of like that Rhodes...some of the buildings look a little bit old. I like, I feel like it gives a character. It makes it feel like -I don't know -don't know why I didn't like it. It looked too fancy. I don't know if that's a good or bad thing.

But yah, Rhodes is definitely better maintained, though the rest of Grahamstown.

Grahamstown. Like if you go out of campus like the buildings are all like broken down and stuff and there's so many like old buildings as well.

And you know when you're back on campus because it's like so clean.

The visual +
culture/identity

Beautiful. It's quite interesting coz you can tell like the different eras that everything was built in according to its architecture so like you can see the old ones and then you can see like the ones that were built in the seventies and stuff because they all look so different, you know.

Yeah.

Yeah, it is. (.....).

Yeah. It is random. It is still used. It's so...I just think that with the garden and stuff around it it's like...and there's that little bridge that you go over to get there.

Yes, yes. It's so beautiful. (.....)

Yeah, well, I like the old buildings better. I don't know why but I just feel like they just like have so much more character than a block, you know. (chuckle) But I suppose like, they don't serve the same functions like you

couldn't have a res as a lecture room or maybe-like lecture hall, because they're like so differently designed.

(.....). Phew! It's hot.

So, what else do you wanna know? (chuckle). I hope I have helped you.

A what?

Okay.

Okay.

Yeah. You walk so much around here especially if you live up the hill. And I didn't have a car when I first came here so I also walked so much like to go get water and to get my groceries at Pick and Pay and like it's so hot and a lot of people all the time.

I think I lost weight -just from walking. (chuckle). And I even live on the third floor so I have to climb like three floors of stairs every time I go to my room.

Yeah.

It's quite nice though that you can walk everywhere. Like if you're in Wits or something like it makes you feel so safe because like it's uh...all the residences and stuff make it a student town, you know. So like if I wanna go to my friend's house, if we want to go out we just walk -which is so cool. Whereas like... because I'm from Joburg if you're at Wits or whatever uhm, you're not just gonna like bump into your friends at the shops and start...because like people come from all over the area, you know what I mean? And people who like come to

The visual and what I like + personification + culture/identity + the design

Walking a lot

Walking and seeing + culture/identity + people and socialisation + being within RU

Rhodes only come from Grahamstown. So I feel like you're almost more likely to make friends because of it's like so small.
(.....).

Okay, so where do we go now?

Let's go to the clock tower then.

Yeah.

(walking).

Yeah. Always chilling like between the library -especially during exams, everyone's coming out here to have a smoke. (chuckle). It's on 17, so should I stop it?

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I'm Yoli. I'm in second year and I'm studying a Bachelor of Journalism.

Are you just gon record my face the whole time?

Nah, I thought you'd also like record face, my feet...

I applied to Rhodes because it's got this good reputation of being South Africa's best Media and Journalism schools.

I think it's the only reason. I also got accepted at UCT but they didn't have a B.Journ and, and also my dad wanted me to do a B. Journ specifically.

Not really. It was still my choice at the end like they would have been happy with wherever I went. Like, I chose Rhodes -and I am also from the Eastern Cape originally.

Originally but I live in Johannesburg now. Yeah.

No, uhm...no, it still feels like home coz I still come uhm...and before I studied here, I still came to the Eastern Cape every Christmas for holidays.

Uh. No.

Uhm, Grahamstown is quite out of the way. So, there is not quite really a reason to go past Grahamstown unless yeah unless you're actually heading to Grahamstowns. It is not some place you go past. So, I had never been here.

Uhm, could you...could you just expand on that question a bit more, I don't understand.

Uhm...I quite enjoy living in my house. I mean you got its ups and downs and then it's like 74 other people..

Yes. 74. Yeah, it's kind of a big res. Uhm, but yeah, overall it's been good. The people I live with are quite good. Our warden is really good. yeah some of the stories I've heard about other reses, I think I am quite lucky where I am at. And it is quite central to all my classes.

Sorry?

Uhm...what do you mean "you guys?" -like in the res?

Uhm, I think everyone is quite uhm.....friendly with each other. I mean, you obviously interact more with the people who are in the same

PEOPLE AND
SOCIALISATION

year as you....But, I mean, everyone kind of interacts and there's no....there's nothing like too bad going on, there's no like drama or anything like that. I know with my neighbours they first years but I know that I want to borrow something I could just knock on her door.
Uhm... not being at Hobson, I think being at res sometimes can just be annoying coz it does get quite overcrowded sometimes, again being around so many people all the time. People obviously are like different, so you've got like different habits and, and some things I do you're not used to or its very different -some people study with music really loud; some people don't. I don't think it's just at Hobson. I think it's everywhere.

Uh...that dining hall over there that we've uh...- we didn't really just past - that was what's currently known as Jan Smuts Hall, uhm..the houses there uhm are Atherstone, New House, uhm.....I think also Jan Smuts the res, uhm...I am not sure of the fourth res.

Uhm, I'm actually not in that Hall, I'm in Hobson Hall.

Yeah. (...).

Yeah.

Yeah, I do but.... not that often. I don't like walking in between the trees that much, under the trees coz uhm...a while ago they found a snake.

(.....)

Yeah, it's called the Africa Media Matrix but everyone just calls it the Journ Department.

That's what it's like name is correctly; the Africa media matrix. Okay if you go inside uhm.... we'll see a lot of the decor is quite african-inspired, especially inspired by South Africa. So, there's uhm...uh.....just the artworks on the walls, there's a lot of artworks of the continent uhm just uh.. I don't know how to describe it, you just have to go in there, it's quite Africa-infused if that makes sense. Even the bathrooms, there's like quotes all over the walls, the seminar rooms are named after important journalistic dates in Africa.

Uhm.... I wouldn't say it's representative of Africa, I mean, just because you have African décor doesn't mean it's representative of Africa.

I think uh... obviously it's trying. It's better than a lot of the departments on campus but you can't just say its representative of Africa just because it's got African patterns and artworks.

Hmm?

Well, I mean to say something is African is problematic because it's a blanket term; there's different cultures, there's different identities within Africa so if we're saying something is African, we're putting kind of like a blanket term on so many different any groups and cultural groups, different identities. So, you know.. just by them having, you know uh..... like a camera that's painted in particular pattern..

It's representative of like okay this one culture but it...then there's no kind of uhm.... they don't have like a historical context so they won't say uhm 'ok, this is a head piece....from uh.....

Yah, exactly. And it means this to the Shona people, etc. etc. Instead it's just put there and it's for aesthetics, kind of.

Sorry?

Yeah.

Most of the time I go inside to the seminar rooms or these benches over there. Yeah. I usually come to work.

There's a place there, I've got like friends who are smokers so when they smoke they go and sit there and take a break.

It seems like a...

No, it's not a wheelchair. It's a sculpture of some kind. A lager....a voortreker lager or something.

I'm not sure.

Comfortable like in what sense?

It would probably be in my room coz I like my room space or.....anywhere where I am around my friends. Yeah, I think when I'm around them, I'm able to create then our own space, kind of like inclusive space, yah.

Um yeah I think I'm friends with uh.... with people who are very uhm.... uh -ooh, what's the word -uhm, people who you can feed off their energy and like are inspiring so we often have debates and we talk about political issues or social issues or what's going on. So, when I'm around my friends I know then we're creating our own kind of wherever we are, we start

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creating our own uh, our own inclusive space, and we start trying to DECOLONISE and make it more inclusive and like all these things that are...quite problematic.

I think it definitely had a lot of good points and it raised issues that definitely needed to be talked about and challenged within the space. You know, despite the fact that -I assume majority of the students are black middle class students -it's still a white space in a very white environment and it's just.. that's, that's evident in the structures of the place and the way things are run just the names of buildings, the fact that we're in an institution that's called Rhodes or the fact that there's still a Jan Smuts Hall, a Jan Smuts res. These things, those are very white spaces.

Like resistance from whom?

It's not necessarily resistance I just think this change is not coming or its not coming fast enough or it's not representative of where South African is at currently in its democracy so you -can't 22 years after democracy - but we still in a place that's called, that has a Jan Smuts Dining Hall. It's these things, these things need to start changing and it's a fact that people don't recognize these problems, that's a problem the fact that 'Ok, they're building new reses but they aren't being inclusive in that there's no disability access for disabled students or there is not enough ramps around campus and you can't be building new reses that don't have ramps for students, that aren't accessible to everyone. Just lecture venues -its stuff like that -I don't think its necessarily resistance I just think people aren't..... it's not representative of everyone and there's a particular narrative and a particular kind of person you need to be then to.. to be...in higher education institutions and not just, just Rhodes specifically.

Sorry?

Uhhmm, okay, just expand a bit. I just wanna be sure I'm understanding you.

I think we need to definitely do more as uhm... as people because I don't think the fight should have ended and started with just the fight to get political freedom. I think this there's a lot of things that we need to start changing, we need to start making this place better. I mean you don't have gender neutral bathrooms; the fact that we don't have mixed reses and our reses are still like segregated. For a lot of people they won't necessarily feel comfortable in the res that they're put in because of, you know.... their, their, their gender or what people perceive their gender to be, so...you know, we can't just be like 'oh well that's that'.

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Names do mean a lot. What he was doing like, like it, it's not even like a question because I know just culturally as umuntu ongumXhosa when I get a name that name signifies something and in spite of the aspirations or the history or or..it's a reflection of the times and often now names often uhm..names carry power and meaning and, you know, just even the name Grahamstown it's a problematic name because it's named after someone who, who didn't do anything for the indigenous people here, who basically took advantage of them candidly. Like, a lot of the names in the Eastern Cape, there's two names, so here Grahamstown/eRhini, Port Elizabeth/eBhayi and I think we need to go back to the names of these places originally had because they were named those names for significance that they carry for the people because that's their history.

I think uh.....changing the names of places or reverting back to the original names is something that's important and that needs to be done. I mean obviously just changing names is not gonna...magically improve everything. There's still a lot of uh... structures that need to be dismantled after that and then improved or transformed. So, I don't think just changing the name will be enough. Yeah. I don't think changing the name is gonna fix, you know, years and years of oppression that people have been under but I think it's a start of people being able to retain their identities because then they can start being empowered and being able to say 'okay I'm so and so from this place' and people recognize their history and recognize uhm....recognize that. I think that that lack of recognition is the problem.

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mmm. I think uh...at the end of the day uh.. the real effort should be intersectional. So, we can't say 'should we change.....(background noise; participant pauses talking). So, we can't say what's more important, you know, creating more access for disabled students or changing the name because I think people are intersection...intersectional, pursued in different ways, and you can't say one thing is more important than the other. I think that this is change that needs to come at once and obviously this is not going to happen within like the space of one year. But it should just be that when, when you're thinking of change, these are the things you need to start thinking of. So, it's a fact that there was recently a res built uhm down campus and it's like 'okay is that res accessible now for students with disabilities, is there a wheelchair ramp to go into the res, are there showers even wheelchair accessible, what about the the actual rooms themselves, you know? It's stuff like when you want to start improving on a place that you are you start being inclusive so that's why there was a big noise being made about the, the DSA division of student affairs or something like that with being moved to the Union, Stephen Biko, because it's like, you know, it cuts off certain people because then they won't be able to access that place it's really the fact that there's students who can't even go to the SRC offices just to speak to a counsellor about something because they have to go up those stairs and not everyone can go up stairs so we need to start thinking of something like that and then thinking of ways we can improve that.

I think again it's, it's very up and down -depending on your day, hey, and why I say that it's important when I'm around my friends because then that's when I get that sense of comfort and ease and being at home because you know it's very hard to feel at home in a place where uhm... this, the statistics on rape is so high and we see nothing being, nothing uhm happening, no change being made it's very hard to be at home when you know right down the road a couple of months ago a friend of mine was arrested during protests, you know, it's it's how do you feel at home in such a discouraging environment, you know, because it's VERY HARD BEING HERE at Rhodes sometimes just the culture and the people I think Rhodes is known for..... having this, I guess, drinking culture or whatever, and it's very known for, you know, stuff like uh during Great Field, people go out and wear overalls and they, they don't understand the significance of overalls like why people wear overalls and who are the people that wear overalls, what kind of jobs they doing when they wearing those overalls, what kind of uh social and economic classes they come from? To wear those overalls and, you know, people going out wearing overalls just so you can drink and not get

your clothes dirty during the, the great field weekend or whatever.
So, yeah.

YEAH. A lot of the time. It's something I, I feel all the time, very like out of place with uh what's going on, you know, anywhere. It'll just be I guess in the dining hall and conversations people are having sometimes you feel very out of place because you just like I, I.. you can't relate to that or, or just in lectures or just the general, the general environment, you know. I think in some instances I do feel uh.....at ease being here. I know when I'm back at home then I always want to be back here because I think also uhm... I'm at a stage in my life where I've kind of outgrown being at home so I've outgrown my parents and being in that room that I grew up in and, and that uhm that way of life, you know. I think when you go home your parents still see you as this as, you know, little girl or whatever the thing is and I think I've outgrown it, so I miss the freedom that I would have when I'm here and I can do -not like as I please like go crazy -but just that thing of if I want to just sit in my room and be

quiet and not talk, I can...I've got that freedom or if I just want to go outside and have a walk somewhere I've got that freedom, you know, uhm growing up in in the city there is very few spaces where I can go out with a friend at half past six at night; let's go to just sit outside and talk;

because friends have been like so many different places around the city and there's not enough like green spaces back home, so, you know, it's I think it, its, it's juxtaposed, I guess.

Uhm....the Fees Must Fall protests were last year; The rape protests were this year.

Uh, Yes.

Yeah.

Yeah.

Uhm...

With the spray painting uh I think again it was a way of people airing their grievances and it was a beautiful statement that people were making. I'm not saying it was necessarily part of the rape culture or fees must fall protests and I'm not saying it was not part of it. I think, you know, the people, the person who did it had their reasons for doing so and, you know, I'm, I'm not one for policing people's ways of protesting because I think that was a way of trying to draw attention to something that they felt needed to be addressed, I think...and yeah, that was that. So yeah I think it's, it's very, it's a very much tricky thing to, to talk about because then

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again on the other hand it's again your black workers who have to then go up and clean this, the graffiti on the walls so it.. that's what I'm saying it's a very it's a very tricky thing because on one hand it's a political statement that someone's making when, you know, they spray paint whatever it was that was spray painted, but then it's also like, you know, in another way you're kind of now adding on more work to underpaid black workers.

Uhm....I didn't understand the question.

Uh, again I think all those aspects are, are so important to me and I can't choose just one place because in the what –this is my second year –so the two years that I've spent here it's been, there's been a lot of like learning and unlearning kind of thing going on where, you know, outside and inside of the classroom I, I know just for instance with the rape culture protests uh one thing that they started doing was.....lecturers from certain departments started having their own talks on different things related to rape culture so then again that was learning but outside of classroom which I think is as important as learning inside, so I think what I learned in those impromptu lectures it was as important to me as what I'm learning when I go to Barrett and I have my politics two lectures, you know, and uh..and I think it also....Rhodes is quite...-depending on the circles you move in- it's quite a political place. So I think you can choose to not be aware of these things or you can in terms of where you're moving and the people you interact with you, you can be very interested -not really interesting - you be very aware of these things. so I think, you know, as, as uh... as someone who is a feminist I, I look up to so many people within the Rhodes space; be it lecturers such as Lindsay Kennenth or even just other students, other years, you know, I think it all, it all comes together. There's, there's a certain..... uhm..... a COMMUNITY maybe(?) or communities or, or a certain people or sectors where the student or the uhm...-I can't even find the words to describe it -like certain people or things that you can go to that uhm.....uh..... help you and uh..... -sorry, I'm just...I can't find the words...

Uhm... like MOULD you kind of thing. Be it...yoh! I can't even explain. it's just I think that we're also very lacking the fact that Rhodes is quite an open campus there's lots of greenery. Just here, there is places where you can sit and like just be so appreciative of nature. We have -be it at Drotsdy Lawns or the Bot Gardens or the Great Field lawns or all these green spaces and uh we even have uh yah.....-I'm just going to end there, I can't....

No, it's not ideal Rhodes. I think that's what Rhodes is.....It's not my ideal Rhodes. I think uh..... uh....

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Uhm.....some-thing like, that, something along those lines.

No, not necessarily. I mean, it's something. It's something similar to that, Yah. yeah, sorry about....

Definitely again, I think the most important thing is that it needs to be an inclusive space and I, I can't then speak for everyone because I'm not aware of the different challenges that different people are facing. So, I would just say that it needs to be inclusive, be that inclusive in terms of

the different financial brackets that people come from, you know, should....there is some students who are on NSFAS, and there's students who are not on NSFAS, but then there's also that NSFAS shouldn't be used as a measurement of, of, you know, your economic standing because some students unfortunately don't get NSFAS even though they can't afford the fees or... you know, so inclusive in terms of that and finances, inclusive in terms of uhm...uh..... racially. I think this idea of creating a non-racial society is very problematic because it erases people's identities. I don't think uh... our environment, our society needs to be non-racial. I think it leads to uhm.....being racist, you know. It needs to stop being racist structurally and in, in terms of HOW...uh, the percentage of black lecturers within the institution, it needs to uh... in terms of changing, you know, the sexist aspects how uh.... female lecturers would earn less than their male counterparts even though they probably have the same, you know, uhm qualifications. I think -and there's obviously like a ton of other things that we need to start improving..... but I guess that's, that's countrywide and worldwide things are being, start changing and improving about how societies are going.

I still didn't get the whole, I guess, visual aspect of what you're talking about. I don't think this reflected on the architecture or the significance of architecture or the buildings or how you can tell what's uh..... how.....

BEING WITHIN RU

SAUL:

My name is SAUL, I'm an LLB student here at Rhodes within the Law Faculty. I'm a post-grad student, yeah. I'm not sure if there is more that you want. (chuckle).

About Rhodes?

Well, uhm...I did my undergrad at uh at the University of Limpopo, then from there my mentor advised that I, I...I perhaps further my studies at Rhodes because of (air quotes) "based on his interactions" with a number of Rhodents, so, he thought perhaps maybe it would be a good idea for me to come here. I mean, Rhodes -probably the Law Faculty its a..it's one challenging faculty uh oh LLB per se, its one challenging degree because it requires so much for me. So, that's how I found out about it -from my mentor.

Well, well....what he said was that most Rhodents or graduates from Rhodes are just EXCEPTIONAL. Those are the words that he used. He said that "They are exceptional" -by the way he's one person who always intellectually challenges me. so now what he said is that he is still uh uh...he is still -I'm not sure of the proper term, but uh... but yah, he's..... but he likes what he has seen thus far in regard to Rhodes graduates, because they are quite good -across the field, by the way.

Yah, exactly!

I first arrived here at Rhodes in uhm -it should be 2014 for Arts Fest. So, that's when I first arrived here. So, uh...when I arrived here, I saw quite a small town, yah, with very few streets, but yah.... I like it, I like it. Actually my coming here for Arts Fest was just to see the place. Like uh, what kind of a place is this, so I could make an informed decision. By the way, by that time I had already received my acceptance letter. So, I wanted to be sure that uh and also, just to make sure that I'm coming to the right place and not to regret while I'm already in their system.

Yeah.

Well, well...it's a, it's a, it's a...it's an OLD campus and the building that tell you that uh 'they are old,' memories were created here. I mean, look at this temple -it says a lot, and uh, I mean, also, the environment itself -when you're having a river, a river stream passing right across the campus uh, so...it's quite beautiful, you know. The environment it's green, it's friendly, it's quite friendly, yah. This is my faculty.

Yeah this is the Law faculty.

Never get to see. Yeah, this is our sanctuary. (chuckle) This is where we hide. (Pointing) Law Faculty. Yeah.

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Not necessarily, I am one person who enjoys walking. So, in actual fact, we have a study room this side and also we have our library, but I usual prefer working from the main lab. So, from this side I'll just walk straight, straight to the main lab, you know. Yeah.

Okay, we can just go in. I'd like to enquire about something also. (chuckle). It has a pause, right? (chuckle).

Yeah, like..but you can record if you want to.

(Looking at pictures on wall).

Yeah, I've been told that these are Rhodes graduates, who are judges.....this is uh, Lex Mpati.

Yeah, yeah, yeah. He's in the SCA now. Supreme Court of Appeals.

Oh, its closed -what time is it now? Oh! It'll open at 2.

This is our lecturers.

Very, very, very, very small. We only have like 200 students.

Yeah.

That is fourth and final year combined.

Yeah, it's very much small. And this is where I usually chill and have drinks -I usually have coffee around 10, and at 3 in the afternoon, and then from here I'll walk to the main library -depending on my destination, in the main, usually the main library.

Uh, I've seen a snake. I've seen a snake before, around the roof. It wasn't a big snake, it was just a small snake. So, meaning that wild animals are there but they're not necessarily a threat, you know. They not necessarily a threat. I DO NOT KNOW what kind of mechanisms and measures they take to prevent them but I suspect because for a campus like this not to have wild animals clearly there's something they are doing, because if you just remember, (pointing) we have some mou - there is a mountain. So, so, it should be free to come into town. Because another thing, (pointing), this stream....uh, it could also be one of those channels through which they gain access (chuckle).

Well, well.... when you're doing LLB -it's an (air quoting) "ELITE" kind of LLB, it's it's...when you come in into your first year here when you do BA Law, you're not necessarily guaranteed to cross that (pointing) river stream. (air quoting) When I say 'crossing it' it means that you get to study LLB Law.

You need to work extremely hard. So, it's our space there that side, when you've crossed that stream.

It's like, you know...(chuckle). That's where we would sit and have our, have our..we can sit and then have our discussions, you know, around general issues. And most of the time usually we usually sit there when we're having tea coz – we usually have tea at 10 and at 3 or 15 hours.

No, not necessarily. No, not necessarily. What happens is that uhm....you have people who are majoring in Law and you have students who are just doing Law. So, now for those who are doing Law, they're the ones who sit that side. Yeah, they do have access; they do go in and out as they like, but people you're likely to find stationed there most of the time are Law students.

Yeah, it's an ELITE kind of a system. (chuckle).

Yeah.

It is, I mean, our faculty is (inaudible) (chuckle)...but uh, also in terms of the number of people you get to interact with and see daily, that side's a bit smaller. Because -as I mentioned earlier -we only have 200 students and those 200 students, it's not that all of them come in at the same time, you know. So, we come in batches of fif-ty, twe-nty, depending on what you're doing and studying at the same time. So, yah, it's very small. Unlike (pointing) this side, where you just get to see people, if you want to see a number of people and students, it's better if you go this side.

Uh, yeah...it helps you manage with the workload and all the pressures that come with the study load coz it's not a, it's not(chuckle)... it's not easy to study here at Rhodes, it's demanding. (chuckle). It demands a lot of time.

Yah, yah.

Well, for me I'm one person I can adapt to any, any situation or environment I find myself in. I want to be quite frank and honest; I am more comfortable this side because like it is more spacious, it's not like really concentrated, and you.. you don't get to see people you see daily unlike that side where you see people, people that you study with daily and you see your lectures criss-crossing with the building, in and out of, of the building. So, this side you get to see different people, get to interact and get to be social at the same time while continuing with your academic programme. Yah.

Yah.

Yeah.

Oh, well uhm since I'm living in digs, whenever I am on campus I just do academic stuff. But for just uh relaxing and all that uh I'll prefer to come this side and just sit this side by the Kaif or the benches which are available. But mainly I would just go up to the fourth floor where there are reading books and just read in terms of general literature and general readings.

Yeah.

EXPERIENCE +
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Which is good for exercising. (chuckle) but yah, there is a lot of walking because you can just walk for about uh.....five to ten minutes. It's not too bad. Unless of course you are not used to it. Me; I am used to it, it's a daily thing, it's language and for me to have sensitive..more like it's part of my daily uh walk.

Yeah. Uh... one does appreciate the.... the paved, the paved bricks uh....(chuckle). OK, these (looking at people laughing on stairs) are my comrades. It does offer you the opportunity to walk in a clean environment, because it doesn't ruin your shoes or put mud because you know Grahamtown its more rainy -lets just go down there. So...yah. It's fine, it's fine, it's fine.

Yeah. Yeah. I usually have my lectures there at the law faculty and then I'll be either at the library or at the Jacaranda Labs.

Yeah.

(chuckle).

It is...it is also part of my sanctuary. It's one of those places where I hide if the main lab is closed, the main library is closed. I usually spend most of my time usually at night.

I also try to work overnight, It's actually a good space to be in

ah not necessarily I'm still yet to see someone (chuckle), well I've seen people sleeping, I've seen people lying on the floor, people sleeping on the, the sits, people sleeping on the table, but I am yet to see someone just bring their whole bag or just stuff -sleeping stuff to sleep. Yes, people do bring blankets when its cold but....

(.....)

Yes.

Actually, I think it allows me to have more time here because when I leave in the morning I just leave with everything that I will need for the day, and then uh... with regards to lunch, I sometimes do pack lunch and also pack water and then yeah as you can see my bag is actually quite big, because hey, hey I just pack everything that I would need, is just a few unfortunate instances where I've forgotten something, then I would have to go back, but it is never academic, most of the time you find that it's something that I have to use personally.

Well, well that, that, that question would differ from individual to individual –let's just go to the stairs - it differs from individual to individual

because uhm one question that you must answer is uh....what makes me to feel at home? When do I feel at home? What is the definition of a home, you know? Some say that home is where the heart is. So, in my case home is where I find happiness, home is where I'm at a time where I'm just at peace with myself at the time. So I am at peace with myself right now here at Rhodes, so, I CAN SAY I DO FEEL AT HOME. –I'm not sure if you mind if I just sit here.

Yeah I'm saying that home is where you feel at...its where your heart is, where you are at peace with yourself. So the environment is quite conducive for study, it's socialable, it's not necessarily exclu....exclusionary -I am not sure if there's such a term -uh, I'm not sure you can see me there coz the sun is actually behind me.

Oh, yah. It's at an angle. Ok, so....uhm.....yah. I do feel at home.

Indeed coz the moment you do not feel at home you will have challenges academically, you'll also have challenges with (turns his head to look around)...uh, but another thing perhaps that we would like is wherever I may be at the time, I try to make myself feel settled and at home. So, perhaps that's what's different about me.

Yeah, yeah, yeah I, I adapt quite easy in any, ANY situation –I've been to worst and the best situations and (chuckle) I DO adapt. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

For a peace of mind it is a positive, it is a positive.

No, no, no. I usually pass through here at night and during the day I pass here or go through (pointing) here. But I don't necessarily sit here, it's uh.. it's uh...rare to find people who generally, genuinely sit here people would rather go sit in...in the lawn or find benches by the Kaif side. But people don't necessarily come to just sit for....for no reason. (chuckle) Yeah, at Rhodes you can't just sit nje for no reason (chuckle).

Yeah, you must understand that some people want to...be in comfort of their own space. So, for them to leave their own space and just to go chill somewhere else, I don't, don't...I don't think also it would make sense, coz when you're in your space, in your room, that is where you are comfortable, that's where you have everything that you need, that's where you get your things and do a lot of things. So, yeah. It makes a lot of sense actually.

Yes.

I'm not sure of.....in terms of what?

Yeah, look.....the fact of the matter is that in South Africa our universities are quite old, in their majority. Also, the University of Limpopo is, is old...it's quite spacious. I mean it has 20,000 students unlike Rhodes which is 7000 students. So, it's quite big...quite big...and my understanding is that in Limpopo the, the temperature and this side is slightly different so, it's not quite as GREEN as this place but also it is green because there is a number of trees around the institution. But yah uh.....Rhodes is quite green. It's quite green....and small too. (chuckle) very small.

Yeah. I know that people actually go there. It is not one of the places I usually go. But I know that uh a number of people actually do go and chill that side.

Nah.....noooooo....no reason at all. If I'm invited to go and chill that side, I would certainly do go, I would certainly do go. But uh...ay.... there, another thing is that the pathway is out of my way, its out of my way (chuckle). So, yes, when I'm coming from the Law Faculty I can just pop in, yeah, take a detour, but uh... I never planned on my to-do list, like to-do list; I'll just take a detour.

Uhhhh... For me -oh perhaps spaces where I do not feel comfortable?

Nah. No, no, no. I don't have such. You must understand that also socialization and how you grew up, the environment within which you grew up in, also shapes how a person sees the environment, you know. So for me I do not have a place here in Grahamstown wherein I am not comfortable to chill. I just enjoy uh....I do not mind going to

the township, just go chill with the guys and enjoy SOFT DRINKS (chuckle) Ey yahhhhh. Uh, and not that I haven't been to the Bot Gardens. I have been there, but it's not the place where you would find me by chance. Yes, I do go but you will not necessarily bump into me there. When you find me there -actually its where you could find me by chance -but aaaiii it's a case of once in a semester.

How far are we?

How far are we from finishing?

Okay, we can just take a route...I've just saw that uhm the minister was just passing now, the deputy minister of communications, I need to go see her.

Not necessarily, we're just mobilisation of the campaigns for the local municipal elections.

I'm uh, I'm uh... I am involved actually. (Hmm. uhm,..... didn't they do the, the Rhodes So White documentary from up there....up there)

I mean you...you cannot uh.....-okay, let me put it like this -I think it's wrong to, to try and define, contextualise people's experiences because experience is something that you feel yourself, you know. There is no one who can feel it for you, you know. So, when people feel out of place and people feel that this place is white, it is within their right. And I am also of that view, actually to say....to say, it's a bit white. There's white culture; there's Rhodes culture. In a way it impacts upon how students from uh.....poor backgrounds experience the place. So, uh...it is correct, I mean, they are expressing their views of which it, it has bases coz uh.....(inaudible from wind blowing)...it's so windy (chuckle), coz uh...when you arrive here in O-Week, people will be spending thousands of Rands drinking in the local pubs, and now if you're from a disadvantaged background you're in a situation whereby people are displaying their culture and you are feeling left out. So, uh...I think it does disadvantage people.

Yeah, yeah.

Curriculum and space.

Both, because currently we are speaking of uh...uh...-there's the minister there, the deputy minister of communication. Uh... yeah, I mean, if you look at...decolonizing curriculum, we are speaking about..we are saying; how do black students relate to what they are studying? Their relationship towards what they are studying, and their uh..... the rate of passing.

EXPERIENCE +
CULTURE/IDENTITY
+ PEOPLE AND
SOCIALISATION

My name is Gift. My surname is Mpho. I'm studying German, English, HKE and psychology, with ambitions are.. I'm going to be a sports psychologist and I'm a local man, study at Rhodes, right here.

like every day like

this is my ...i usually like enter campus under the arch so like yah.

yeah i-entrance yami le. Bayayazi ukuthi yah the king has arrived. THE KING HAS ARRIVED. This is my entrance, the red carpet, uyabona nawe. yeah this is like the everyday route through campus.

so yeah school-wize I went to a public school primary and high school was a bit like fucked up in matric but I did pass. So yah I ended up taking a gap year and shit, then I graded. I then came here this is like my first year so that's like me. i didnt go to like a private school or model C school

I'm not like public all the way and I thought like the change. I needed a change of scenery but you cant

be like, you cant go for 12 years in like a public school and then also like college university like probably Fort Hare and what-not. No no discrimination, like respectively and shit. But I view like...and its not my opinion only –there are like other people who think of Rhodes like -in terms of like levels -Rhodes is like better than the other universities or it is considered a good university when you come here you're getting a good education. mm that's what motivated my decision to like come here.

This view man is this view is uhm -what can I say -it's around us we have to embrace it. it is around us to embrace it. we have to accept it.

Yah. That is like the Rhodes flag.

but I got a great idea like what i was thinking like in terms of like preparing for the interview yakho when you said that uhm..ukuthi, wouldn't maybe like.... when you said like the interview is to be about like the whole structure of the University like how the buildings and whatnot it would be like really great , I think personally, maybe next time when they like build a building or like i-res perhaps build like more like African things, African like u-rondo -a hut like a res. obviously it would have to be like you know like maybe three stories high or I don't know or whatever but like the shape of like ibe-round.

I think that would be like, that would make people appreciate like the architecture of the place and also like the University as a whole sense, in terms of like accepting everyone, everyone's backgrounds and cultures and what not and also embracing the fact

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that it's in Grahamstown. It's not only in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, but Africa. So like...embrace the whole African-ness and the fact that it is accepting of everyone and what-not. Yeah, I got that crazy idea.

yeah, it is not that, at all shame. Perhaps like the buildings, paint it like uhm Swati...uh... no not that i don't know i'm not sure like the whole i don't know maybe it's Swati or what.

Yeah, Ndebele paintings. that would be like nice and colorful -it would be like Jac Labs. That would be like really nice not the whole white yeah white is white -actually it's white it's not black it's white, it just says another thing.

Yah, lets turn ngaka-right.

So that I think, that's also something to like considered food for thought.

yeah i mean like we are in Africa after all and I think like I don't know about my calculations or whatnot but I think like I think the school students like the most students are like I am NOT sure but there are a lot of black people in the school -which is a good thing well -we also need this education, we've been known as like the race that is illiterate, our fathers and also apartheid like disadvantaged us so we are like catching up or playing catch-up.

Yah, go the extra mile to make everyone feel comfortable. well i'm not saying like hone in or zoom in on the fact that ukuthi sise-Africa, Africa and kufuneka everything ibe-Africa, African...no. no. I mean in the sense of uhm obviously white people have their own style of building houses; we also have our own African style of like building houses like I said with the hut and the paintings like the Ndebele paintings are like why people also have their own style like was building houses their own -what's the word - own identity.

their own thing that fumaniseke they find comfortable.

yeah I would say like lento efumaniseka bona ibenza happy, makes them appreciate there's s...their surroundings and feel safe and comfortable and feel love and feel that ukuthi you know, you know what...this university like went the extra mile for me ukuthi ngibe comfortable. Yeah, well even though i may not notice, notice that every day but yah like it went the extra mile. That's what I'm like it should be like ubone...kufuneka ibe like accommodating for everyone. (Comes across friend -a minor exchange)

(.....)

just mix it up; mix everything up we are multi like racial country, yabo? So like consider everyone's point of view and consider

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+ the visual and what I like

everything we do..with the mere fact that ukuthi we have everyone, we have Africans, we have Asians, yabo...

Even Asians, I almost forgot about the Asians, also like do something about the bamboos like, you know, what chinese hut with the bamboo and whatnot, something njeee even a table, you know, like in one of these dining halls, like design a table made out of bamboo. It's safe for the environment or what not, I think. Like it's safe for the like, you know man, consider everyone just go the extra mile in terms of the building. Ha. It's very ironic that ukuthi like we're (inaudible) to the famous statue, the Rhodes statue.

Uh, my opinion....(chuckle) you know like, you have to like know ukuthi ithini i-history yakhe u-Rhodes and whatnot and as far as I'm concerned he was uh...he came in from the cape, he was like this rich guy -like diamond mines or something but in cape town - and then uhm they was like really wealthy there was also like a university named after him - there was a lot of places named after this guy, so like he was clearly like....he was really important. People like, other people's opinion about this Rhode thing bathi like uh....it's.. it's colo, it's colo -what's the word - it's colonial. It represents colonialism. It represents how he made black Africans uh slaves.

Abone like it's... also people were referring to the fact that we don't have statues abo -like Mandela I think like he is the first statue of like a black personwe don't have statues of aboShaka, aboMakana, we don't have statues of African heroes, wabona? But we have statues of white boys, which is a bit unjust in a sense because like.. we were colonised - like I-route yami le, so I walk past this thing like every day...uh, it's just a fucking statue.

it's just a statue I don't care...it doesn't affect my life.

Yah, it doesn't shame. But they brought it down in Cape Town claiming that ukuthi it's uh..... yah like... the thing that I've said before ukuthi it represents colonialism what-not and what-not. I understand where they're coming from. I understand that ukuthi yah...I have a problem saying ukuthi "no, as Africans we are not being embraced. We don't have our own statues," "the buildings are not African, they don't embrace the fact that we are multiracial university". Like paint it... like paint it Ndebele, man. Or what not, just go the extra mile to accommodate everyone.

Yah. You don't have to like spend millions or thousands to like build a hut, no. Just change the painting, a simple thing can go like and be like long way to like...so like, yeah man.

Culture/identity + consequentiality

Experience + design + culture/identity

For the point of the statue (blows lips) the statue I don't know why it's such a like a big deal.

I don't know why. What's your opinion about it?

Have you ever like encountered a like a racial...where you felt like uncomfortable?

No. Like in general nje. With people nje.

Have you ever encountered fumaniseke a situation where someone be like racist towards you?

Yeah.

Yah, me too. I haven't encountered that ukuthi... I think people here are really nice. I don't know, I don't know maybe ukuthi baya-fronta or what-not. (chuckle)

Nir 1:

(so this is the first interview for this 17th of October we're just about to take our routes through campus with participants and get his uh thoughts on uhm Rhodes as a place. So, yeah feel free to move with me).

Okay.

(..)

(So, uhm... this is how you enter campus)

Yeah this is normally how I get into campus. I usually drive up here and then I park behind uh...I park in the Allan Gray res's parking lot, where my office is -right there. Uhm, and then I sometimes I got to visit people at the Allan Gray centre, and then from there if I got a hankering for coffee I either come down to one of the two shops down here -normally Home Ground or the other one - Festival Café - and then I...uhm...oh, and also, also sometimes I go through to the Provost. So, it's kinda this road and then I lecture at the Zoo major mostly, so...I walk though that side of campus.

(And it is basically a lot of campus).

Yeah. Oh, and over the weekends I spend quite a lot of time at the library because my kid likes the ramps.

(Oh yeah (chuckle)).

He rides his little motorbike up and down those ramps which is very cool.

(It is EXCITEMENT!!)

It is for him.

((chuckle)) (How about you?)

Uh....I think uh..... when, when you were telling me about your project and when I was reading about your project and I was thinking quite a lot about what my experiences of campus and how I view campus, what I see and I think the first thing that I've seen and, and I think this is -I think this might be true from the first time I've set foot on campus -the first thing I think that hits you is actually the people. So in terms of the structures at Rhodes, what I'm kind of, tend to be focused on is the people at Rhodes

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and I think about the mood -one of the nice things and, and sometimes one of the detrimental things about Rhodes is that it's a very small place and so...it's not only the place you work but it's also the place you live. And you tend to be able to pick up the mood of campus pretty quickly and it's just from the way that people are; by how quiet or how busy campus is, you almost know what kind of day you're going to have just by the way that people are as you, as you enter campus. I think it was probably most starkly highlighted during the recent protests where campus had a very, very... strange and and difficult feeling even when, even when people weren't protesting; the feeling surrounding the protest, the anger, the fear, the aggression, the uncertainty, the.....not sure about whether to be on campus or whether to be away from campus, All of that was something you could feel and you could tell from the way that...the way that people walk, the way that people spoke, the way that people just existed in their space here. Uhm..... I think that Rhodes has also been one of those places where...uhm one of the things that you, you're gonna ask me is whether or not it's a place where I feel at home?

I think I've never felt more at home -anywhere on the planet that I've visited - than I do at Rhodes.

(Than here at Rhodes?)

Yeah and again it's got to do with the people. Uh..... for all Rhodes' problems, and there are some (head motion).. for all of its colonial and you know historically prejudicial background It is also one of THE most liberated spaces in terms of the way that people treat one another. It it's,.....it's a space where if you compare it to places like Cape Town or Johannesburg or Durban all of the...Port Elizabeth to some extent, all of which are places that I've spent a fair bit of time in, Rhodes is by far the most accepting of difference -particularly with regards to gender, with regards to sexuality, with regards to race. It hasn't always been as accepting, certainly in the late 90s, early 2000s -It was a place that was still learning how to transform. Uhm, but at the moment -and again it's about how you experience your world in the way that people sit with one another and the way that people talk to one another and the way that they walk. People walk with each other, so I've never, it's never felt like it did in the late nineties where people walked apart; we had different racial groups in clumps. So everybody was on campus but everybody walked in their own groups and, you know. And by their own groups I just mean kind of racially segregated. I just don't, don't see that happening as much and I'm not saying that there isn't, there

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+ WALKING AND
SEEING

isn't an underlying tension -not at all, but I'm saying that if I look at the way that people just casually engage it's far more integrated than uh..than it was.

(So, I believe uh...well, I have only known you this year, but then the way that you are talking it's as if you have been here before).

Yeah, I studied here from 98 to 2003 -I was here for six years, I did my undergrad, Honours, and Masters here. And all of uh...well, all the post-grad stuff was all done in the philosophy department and yeah it's been a long, well I have been away for a really long time obviously -13 years and I'm back and hoping to stay; Yeah, hoping to stay.

(As you've said uhm but you have never felt.....)

Yeah, That's right. This is my home, and when I teach, it's the thing that I'm the most passionate about really, it's teaching and uh when I give a good lecture and I feel like I've done a good job, I walk out of Zoo Major and, you know, walk down the road, I feel like I'm at home, I feel like I'm doing the right thing and I'm in the right place to do the right thing, I'm doing all of those things and that's a really rewarding feeling.

(Hmm. I understand. Uhm...just uh...you mentioned that uhm.... okay for the first five minutes you mentioned people and how they actually uh uh...make the place the place, so how you can tell the mood from just their being in the environment and you mentioned that it has changed because in the past you mentioned that it used to be very much grouped and people would be walking with their one racial group. So... we aren't just uh..-okay you mentioned that you were here in the 90s and took a little break and then came back now. So uh... beyond just uhm....that, that leaving or that break that you took -I believe it was in the year 2004 sometimes -the physical environment itself actually had some additions to it.....)

Like new reses and stuff? Yah, uhm...I think Eden Grove itself was 2001, the year 2000 it was finished, I think. Uhm, I mean I, I mean I haven't been up to the new residences. I mean, yesterday I had to drop off a student (chuckle) (arm gestures) Yeah. I don't know. I have no idea what that is like. I mean, when I got here in 1998 the Stanley kid res (Stanley kid). Yeah that was, that was that was a new res at the time and uhm...yeah, those were the new reses on that side. But

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uh..the other reses like Rosa Parks res and stuff like that
uhm...yah.

(They were not here?)

Uh, the new Journ Media Center that wasn't here;
Journalism used to be down the road, the Rhodes Theatre,
they were both in kind of the same building. And
yeah....now they've got that fancy new effort up on the hill
- which is pretty cool.

Yeah, uhm....I was thinking a little bit about what, you
know, I was having a read through your Informed Consent
Form and I was thinking about physical structures as a
space of oppression or as a symbol of oppression. And it
got me, me thinking quite a lot -it's not something I had
thought about a great deal but I was thinking about how I
once lived in this, in this one kind of flat in Joburg, and
from the time that I first started renting that place to the
time that I left, I was pretty much with the same person -I
had started dating her pretty much as I was moved into that
flat and we broke up about two weeks after, two weeks
before I moved out of that flat. And it just made me realize,
I mean at the time when I got back to my flat because I
ended up living with her quite a long time, when I got back
to my flat I found it an incredibly painful space to be in
because it reminded me of her so much because all of my
association with that space was, were with her and I, I
guess maybe that's the closest I can get to in terms of
thinking of a physical space as being emotionally
significant, just in terms of my own ability to empathize
with that kind of claim, right. But I don't, I don't really
know.....I guess, I guess it's a question; it boils down to a
question: do we as people define our space or do the space
define us as people?

And I think that if you think that, I mean obviously I take it
that, that spaces carry within the weight of history.

But...but how much weight do we let them give us? Do
we....it's a genuine question. Do we, do we get upset about
the fact that that some of our, that some of our buildings
were just built at, at, at a time when, when there was deep,
deep racial politically-mandated segregation? And do we
treat our places like our campuses..... as being
representative of those, of those governments and
decisions?

And you've gotta remember that I, I was at Rhodes at a
time when same-sex marriage was not a legal option and
yet at the same time this was a space that was incredibly
accommodating of same-sex relationships. I dont think
Cecil John Rhodes would have been super excited about
same-sex relationships.....but, but Rhodes created that

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space and I don't mean Cecil John, I mean Rhodes the campus MADE it a space to be okay to have same-sex relationships. So again, do we let history define our space or do we define our space for history?

(Hmm. I don't know. It is quite a question).

(.....)

(And I noticed that in the beginning you mentioned how liberal of a space it is and just now I believe you turn back to how liberating it is because even uhm you've just said that someone like maybe Rhodes himself would not have uh... how can I put it? Might not have allowed for the thought of the space as one in which we are in, which could be a possibility for same-sex relationships. So, the liberal-ness of the campus, do you think uhm... I think it's actually a foregone conclusion...do you think it has been a positive?)

That's a really good question. I mean, I, I think any space that demands that we think carefully about beliefs and our prejudice is a valuable space. And one of the one of the big fights in academia more broadly, right –and it's not, it's not just in Rhodes but more broadly, it's about what value the humanities and the social sciences provide? And an increasingly neocapitalist world there's been a greater push by governments to, to cut the liberal arts, to increase funding for things like the STEM subjects, right; Science, technology, engineering, maths. And I, and I've argued that, that if we do that, we're, we're, there's a very big danger that we're going to face a very real humanitarian crisis because one of the things that the liberal arts do is they make you question your beliefs; they force you to empathize, they force you to look at history and to look at whether or not that history is just. And, and one of the, and I think that one of the reasons why Rhodes is a liberal space - well that's certainly my experience on it - and again they are going to be people on campus who don't experience it that way at all, right. But for me, I think at the reason why it's a liberal space or the reason why I've experienced it as a liberal space is that (a) it is an essence still a liberal arts college, so yes we have an excellent Comp Sci department; yes we have a B. Comm; yes we have all these things but at the same time that the weight of this university is still very much a liberal art one, alright. And so this deep questioning of our core beliefs and our prejudices is still part of what makes up Rhodes. (2) As I mentioned earlier, Rhodes is not just our place of work, it's also our homes. So we live so close to the campus that you

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can't escape the influence of the university on, on you as a person. And so when you go out to the pub or whatever where you go out to have dinner or whatever, you're engaging with people who you saw earlier that day in your lectures. And I think that that means that you're hoping that those people are, are gaining the same value and insight into their own beliefs that you did. Uhm.....yah.

JAMIE:

Uhm, yah, since I pushed it down. Yeah, so this is where I walk towards home, I like the greenery and I think this is the oldest building from what I've heard the Botany building as far as I know, one of the oldest building on campus so I like that I like (inaudible). Yeah I do.

Yeah. I think that...

Yeah I mean I'm sure that -I haven't really thought about it before - but I'm sure that the rock was probably quarried locally or something like that and

Then, yeah, I mean I think that the distinction between that and that which

Is, you know, much more of your sort of 70s/80s I would imagine kind of boring square, small windows institutional looking architecture. Yeah, so here uhm

Yeah, Yeah. I like that you can actually see the stone which I think is something that, you know, is definitely lacking in a lot of -oops- in a lot of sort of more modern architecture or at least like that kind of architecture it's just brick and, and cement and some horrible pascal kind of paint you....

(.....)

Alright, okay. I mean I hate that cycle of oh that artwork.

I've always hated it. I don't know, I just, I just think it, it's too, it's contrived, you know, it's like trite. I don't even know what it's a cycle of, the Cycle of Life or something and it looks like, what does a bicycle have to do with, no I mean you know it's cute but it's, I don't know. I, I think for what they would have spent on making some kind of public art. Yeah, anyway....

Yeah.

Yeah, yeah. Exactly. And it's a little depressing it's like, no it doesn't go all the way around but what's it called it's called Cycle of Life or something. It's like you, it's like you sort of fall off at the end, if you actually think about it. (Chuckle). Like you start riding and then you fall off upside down.

I mean, I guess it's that thing that if there is an artwork, you might as well take a picture next to it without never sometimes actual... thing itself is kind ofyeah I mean, I, I usually walk... which we walk up as if I was walking home which is the way that I go uhm to the campus.

CULTURE/IDENTITY
+

Oh! Yeah, yeah, yeah. We can go down on this bit. I'm ..yeah I, what do I think about this kind of thing, because Student Bureau building, I have heard it is one of the newer buildings like it wasn't here 20 years ago so yeah I mean I think that's the thing with Rhodes that there's such a mixture between the old kind of colonial, you know, stuff and you can see the vestiges of it all like blockhouse and the coffees, the Provost. Yeah, and then all these new kind of shiny buildings as well..so I suppose....

Yeah. And I mean you'll... yeah, and I think it's kind of weird especially after you know like what happened last year the protests and all that is that, yeah as much as I do I, I like the, the way the old buildings and that looks but then you have to remember as well that kind of, you know, what looks like the pretty building was a prison barracks or was a, you know, this kind of center of colonial.. Yeah, so I mean so yeah it makes you almost a little bit uncomfortable in a way because it's..... Yeah..... I mean, if you understand South Africa.....just talking, hmmm (inaudible).

Yeah, yeah. I think that is, I mean I think, you know, I've been here for a long time now on. This is like my 5th year but, and you, and you learn the history gradually as you going to something. When I arrived in Grahamstown I didn't really know much about the history of the place. I didn't know, you know. And then you learn the different history for each building and 'oh this was this', and 'the Provost was a prison' or 'this was this', they used to hang people on the lawns or whatever....

I don't like face brick, I think it looks pretty eerie compared to....well, this doesn't look too bad actually. Yeah, I've never been in there. I don't even know what department it is....

Institute for the Study of English in Africa? I walk past it every day and i think I've never actually thought to read the sign –it's got an upside down cross on it?

Yeah. can you see that?

In the middle (inaudible) isn't that a little like satanic these things....like...nah...like now she sounds satanic....yeah. It's a little bizarre or is it a Masonic symbol? I don't know.

I have no idea...anyway... I'm sure it's not a secret satanic.....

Yeah, I mean that's always been a thing for me actually. I mean this is a good kind of point like I was born in England and I grew up there till I was sort of 12 or so and I lived in a town actually called, well right next to a town called Truro, so Truro was where, where we used to go for like outings for the day, you know, and uh...one of the things I always liked about Grahamstown was that it kind of

VISUAL AND CHARACTER + THE DESIGN

THE VISUAL AND WHAT I LIKE + BEING WITHIN RU

CULTURE/IDENTITY + CAMPUS AND HOME + WALKING AND SEEING + PERSONIFICATION + BEING WITHIN RU

reminded me of England a bit, you know. Yeah, I mean because, you know, the, you know, it's pretty green; it's often very wintery here so, you know, I mean a day like this you might as well be walking through some little English town, you know, which is sort of nice and nostalgic for me because it kind of reminds me of, you know, being a kid again. But then at the same time it's like this is not England it's South Africa. And I think Rhodes -and probably Grahamstown itself -tries very hard to be this sort of little piece of Europe, you know, they used to call it 'Oxford in the bush,' you know which is, which is uh...I don't know, problematic. It is not very genuine I suppose...uhm...but I suppose that's the other thing, and we think...the one thing about this place is that as soon as you start thinking about it you...it makes you feel uncomfortable, so you know uh..... Yeah. Well here, the panic buttons everywhere I think are quite interesting because I think you forget they're there as well.

Oh yah, there is that one. Yeah, I have heard of those being used. But never since I have been here so I mean...but you know, I always know if I walk back here late at night I'll try and remember that it's there yeah.....and the churches, Grahamstown and churches....ah, the Chapel, this is beautiful, I haven't been inside in a long time.

Yeah, I don't know what they do in there. Uhm I think...I don't know, I've tried to get in before but it's always locked but I have been in one string festival they had like these writing workshops, poetry workshops, it was lovely, stained-glass windows and like pretty quaint and pretty. Yeah, I mean again.

Isn't that Law? Uh, no, that's education, and then music I like walking through here because you can often hear people reciting, uh....yeah, doing piano or..... which is cool.....uh, do you want to go back or walk around through?

I usually walk this way...sometimes I walk through the steps in the Admin Building.

Oh, yeah.

Appendix F: Themed Quotes

Being with RU:

Nir:

Uh...I think uh..... when, when you were telling me about your project and when I was reading about your project and I was thinking quite a lot about what my experiences of campus and how I view campus, what I see and I think the first thing that I've seen and, and I think this is -I think this might be true from the first time I've set foot on campus -the first thing I think that hits you is actually the people. So in terms of the structures at Rhodes, what I'm kind of, tend to be focused on is the people at Rhodes and I think about the mood -one of the nice things and, and sometimes one of the detrimental things about Rhodes is that it's a very small place and so...it's not only the place you work but it's also the place you live. And you tend to be able to pick up the mood of campus pretty quickly and it's just from the way that people are; by how quiet or how busy campus is, you almost know what kind of day you're going to have just by the way that people are as you, as you enter campus. I think it was probably most starkly highlighted during the recent protests where campus had a very, very... strange and and difficult feeling even when, even when people weren't protesting; the feeling surrounding the protest, the anger, the fear, the aggression, the uncertainty, the.....not sure about whether to be on campus or whether to be away from campus, All of that was something you could feel and you could tell from the way that...the way that people walk, the way that people spoke, the way that people just existed in their space here. Uhm..... I think that Rhodes has also been one of those places where...uhm one of the things that you, you're gonna ask me is whether or not it's a place where I feel at home?

I think I've never felt more at home -anywhere on the planet that I've visited - than I do at Rhodes.

Yeah and again it's got to do with the people. Uh..... for all Rhodes' problems, and there are some (head motion).. for all of its colonial and you know historically prejudicial background It is also one of THE most liberated spaces in terms of the way that people treat one another. It is,.....it's a space where if you compare it to places like Cape Town or Johannesburg or Durban all of the...Port Elizabeth to some extent, all of which are places that I've spent a fair bit of time in, Rhodes is by far the most accepting of difference -particularly with regards to gender, with regards to sexuality, with regards to race. It hasn't always been as accepting, certainly in the late 90s, early 2000s -It was a place that was still learning how to transform. Uhm, but at the moment -and again it's about how you experience your world in the way that people sit with one another and the way that people talk to one another and the way that they walk. People walk with each other, so I've never, it's never felt like it did in the late nineties where people walked apart; we had different racial groups in clumps. So everybody was on campus but everybody walked in their own groups and, you know. And by their own groups I just mean kind of racially segregated. I just don't, don't see that happening as much and I'm not saying that there isn't, there isn't an underlying tension -not at all, but I'm saying that if I look at the way that people just casually engage it's far more integrated than uh..than it was.

That's a really good question. I mean, I, I think any space that demands that we think carefully about beliefs and our prejudice is a valuable space. And one of the one of the big fights in academia more broadly, right –and it's not, it's not just in Rhodes but more broadly, it's about what value the humanities and the social sciences provide? And an increasingly neocapitalist world there's been a greater push by governments to, to cut the liberal arts, to increase funding for things like the STEM subjects, right; Science, technology, engineering, maths. And I, and I've argued that, that if we do that, we're, we're, there's a very big danger that we're going to face a very real humanitarian crisis because one of the things that the liberal arts do is they make you question your beliefs; they force you to empathize, they force you to look at history and to look at whether or not that history is just. And, and one of the, and I think that one of the reasons why Rhodes is a liberal space - well that's certainly my experience on it - and again they are going to be people on campus who don't experience it that way at all, right. But for me, I think at the reason why it's a liberal space or the reason why I've experienced it as a liberal space is that (a) it is an essence still a liberal arts college, so yes we have a excellent Comp Sci department; yes we have a B. Comm; yes we have all these things but at the same time that the weight of this university is still very much a liberal art one, alright. And so this deep questioning of our core beliefs and our prejudices is still part of what makes up Rhodes. (2) As I mentioned earlier, Rhodes is not just our place of work, it's also our homes. So we live so close to the campus that you can't escape the influence of the university on, on you as a person. And so when you go out to the pub or whatever where you go out to have dinner or whatever, you're engaging with people who you saw earlier that day in your lectures. And I think that that means that you're hoping that those people are, are gaining the same value and insight into their own beliefs that you did. Uhm.....yah.

That's right. And that's what I want to do, that's the space I want to be in. I uh.....so when I left Rhodes at the beginning of 2004 to go up to Joburg, I became very quickly disillusioned; one of the things that I loved about Rhodes -and I think it's still true - but it, it is a place where being smart is seen as being cool. Your Master's students are looked up at; your PhD students are looked up at; Honour's students are people who have gone past the undergrad and so and the majority of the student population thinks that this is something that is noteworthy and exciting. It's also a place -less so now perhaps; more so back in my day -where, where there was just far less interest in wealth. No one, no one gave a shit if you had a car when you were, you know, in fact it was a rarity to have a car in my undergrad days. I think in my entire res, I think one or two people had cars in a res of about 40. So we're talking 1 in 20 people had a car. I'm not sure what the statistic is now but I would imagine it's more and I like the fact that people were less interested in the material and far more interested in the intellectual. When I went up to Joburg it was exactly the opposite: people were far more interested in the material and far less interested in the intellectual. And I found that very disconcerting -to be in a space that values a thing that I don't think is valuable so much.

When I speak to people on that side, I sometimes forget that the town or the city that I live in is Grahamstown. I tend to tell people that I, that I live at Rhodes. No, I don't. (shaking head jokingly). The university and the city to me are pretty synonymous. And I know for a fact that if you speak to people like Maynard who is the owner of the Rat and Parrot, if you speak to

him about the kind of co-dependents or the dependence of the, of the city on, on the campus, the students are the life of, of this town. Without the students this town would probably fall apart rather quickly.

That's right; that's right. They can, that's exactly... I think, I think that's a really, I think that's a really good point to make. So, during the protest your physical structures are exactly the same; they are the same physical structures that were there the day before; the campus is a totally different place and that really highlights the importance we give that space rather than the, the emotions of the things that space gives us.

Jamie:

Yeah. And I mean you'll... yeah, and I think it's kind of weird especially after you know like what happened last year the protests and all that is that, yeah as much as I do I, I like the, the way the old buildings and that looks but then you have to remember as well that kind of, you know, what looks like the pretty building was a prison barracks or was a, you know, this kind of center of colonial.. Yeah, so I mean so yeah it makes you almost a little bit uncomfortable in a way because it's..... Yeah..... I mean, if you understand South Africa....just talking, hmmm (inaudible).

Yeah, I mean that's always been a thing for me actually. I mean this is a good kind of point like I was born in England and I grew up there till I was sort of 12 or so and I lived in a town actually called, well right next to a town called Truro, so Truro was where, where we used to go for like outings for the day, you know, and uh...one of the things I always liked about Grahamstown was that it kind of reminded me of England a bit, you know. Yeah, I mean because, you know, the, you know, it's pretty green; it's often very wintery here so, you know, I mean a day like this you might as well be walking through some little English town, you know, which is sort of nice and nostalgic for me because it kind of reminds me of, you know, being a kid again. But then at the same time it's like this is not England it's South Africa. And I think Rhodes -and probably Grahamstown itself -tries very hard to be this sort of little piece of Europe, you know, they used to call it 'Oxford in the bush,' you know which is, which is uh...I don't know, problematic. It is not very genuine I suppose...uhm...but I suppose that's the other thing, and we think...the one thing about this place is that as soon as you start thinking about it you...it makes you feel uncomfortable, so you know uh..... Yeah.

And about Rhodes' history and about you know the kind of coloniality of the space very theoretical before last year, you know. Yeah, I knew it was a pretty, yeah I knew that it was a, you know, a barracks or whatever, you know. And you knew that it has this kind of history but it was in a very kind of academic theoretical way. I think because for me I was experiencing in a kind of academic and theoretical way, for me the history was very much the history, you know. But I think when the protest happened when people started saying that like you know those things for a lot of people here aren't just academic issues or theoretical issues they're actually lived you know they, they still live that space in a very different way, you know, then it changes the way that you kind of inhabit the spaces but because you know I think just by

kind of osmosis....and yeah and-and-and obviously, you know, in terms of the kind of discomfort I think that the kind of the events of last year were discomforting for everyone and including white people and I think white people in it, in a, in a slightly different way you know and I'm not saying that in any kind of, you know, 'but the poor white people felt so uncomfortable'. I'm saying it in like that, 'yeah, you know, they should have because that's what this whole project is about,' is about kind of making people kind of uncomfortable with the way things are right now because some people live that discomfort every day and some people don't because they don't have to, you know. So, I think it's important that people like me experience that discomfort and take stock of it and think about it and, you know, I'm not, I'm not saying that you, like you need to kind of walk around apologizing or you to walk around kind of feeling like an outsider. I don't think that, you know, because that's obviously not right either but I mean... Yeah, I think it's like, it's important to have to, to, to, to try at least and ex... or to..you know, empathise with how other people experience space or to, you know, to, to think about that and I think that will change how you experience this place you know if you empathize with it.. I mean, yeah I think that would be a way of I think it's like, you know, like that empathy thing. It is quite interesting; I think of my little brother, he hated school, was bullied and hated it and walking into that school which otherwise would have just been a school but if I walked in there actually I could feel like what he felt in that was like this horrible pic know if I pick them up from school like you can actually the place looked oppressive, it felt oppressive to me because of what I knew he was experiencing there, you know....anyway, I think it maybe works a bit like that if you, you know what I mean? Yeah, yeah, yeah. If you have a sense of that then that changes because I mean I'm like, I'm not even saying that it changes the space in a theoretical way like it doesn't, it's not me saying I understand that other people find this place oppressive, it's almost like I actually find this place oppressive because I understand that other people find it oppressive. So, like it changes your own way of being in it so of...sort of in the first sense and indirectly it's like you experience through other people's eyes. But I think that indirect experience actually change for you as well.

Yeah, I mean I think it's quite difficult to dislocate the visual from the social in a way if I'm trying to think of what is..yah... I mean I think this...yeah I don't know, I don't know how I could answer that. I think that my initial response would be like the social is more informative to me kind of thing. But I mean there is something actually about walking around with a camera and kind of looking at the visual stuff which makes you think that maybe, maybe it actually affects me more than I realize in way because there are all these social I mean not social but visual kind of cues that you're picking up all the time, all the time subconsciously too so I think that looking, I think that the two are definitely enmeshed in a way I'm going to be..no, I'm going to be pretty much more conscious of what I'm seeing after this... yeah I think, you know, it's like the social is all the stuff that happens maybe the meatier stuff but it all happened against the backdrop, you know. So it is interesting how that backdrop influences yeah.....

No, I mean, I'm just this is all just like nothing but I mean that there is essentially these people, you see people around campus you can most of the time almost immediately identify who they are, you know. You can see students here, you can see lecturers, you can see all of, you know, ground staff -obviously they will be in uniform. But a lot of the time it is not even the uniform.

And then they'll be, you know, sometimes more ambiguous kinds of people where, you know, you see someone, I mean, I saw an old sort of white lady jogging through the other day, you know. I'm like 'I don't know where she is from'. You sort of can't place her within the kind of, you know, the roles of the...-so she is probably a Grahamstown native jogging through campus I'm sure. But uh...you notice. It's a visual thing because, you know, you... it is actually visual in a way and I'm sure, yeah, you know, you know and I think that there are some...I mean from a more academic like perspective there was this - which actually you might find interesting, I think Lewis Gordon uh...yah, you know Lewis Gordon, he has this kind of, he writes about illicit appearance which is basically kind of people who are, their actual presence in a certain space is almost like illegal in a way. It's not, it's not illegal but it's, it's like they don't know. Yeah, so, so I mean and then you know the conversation we had one of the, the classes he was saying that there's a sense in which people even, even, you know, even in place we are sitting in right now, the guys who sweep the leaves and stuff like that, there's a sense in which they, they are there in a social capacity which is to, to do their job and to not really engage with people, like you know what I mean? There's a sense in which, you know, there is a kind of, you know, this is there, the way that they are in this space is quite different to the way I'm in this space. I can be very loud, I can jump around, because I am a student and that's what students do. But they, they necessarily, they don't necessarily have the space in that kind of way and I think that probably one of the, one of the street kids from...-I don't think that the right term to use, you know, but if they were in this space sitting here right now their appearance would be even more sort of illegal in a way and probably it would actually be illegal and they would be told to leave by security guards. So, yeah I don't know. There is something weird there, I am not sure how to think about.

Quaz:

Yah. It doesn't really allow you to excel -not necessarily academically, but also in other things, you know, that.....complement academics -you know what I mean? Like, it only recently like became a space where students could participate in Politics. I don't think Rhodes used to allow that at all. Since 2012 I've never seen anything like the Black Student Movement or any political-related movement at Rhodes per se, you know. It's only been, I think it only started last year....last year 2015 where I started noticing that actually student are participating more in politics and it seems as though it was allowed within Rhodes.

Uh, you know....if you....if adapting emancipates you in a certain way then obviously it is a good thing. But if you....if adapting means having to CHOP down some of your traits, a bit of your character just so that you can fit it, then adapting becomes somewhat negative. And I believe that that's what you find here. You will remember how in our first interview I mention how a student coming from Joza has to transition each and every time they enter into a taxi just so they can fit into Rhodes...that kind of adaptation according to me isn't a good type of adaptation.

Uhhhh....I can't really remember any instance when I can say I had to adapt or tried adapting, you know.... I have always avoided like adapting to whatever is happening here. Uh...I've just

lived my life the way I know how to live it..and....you know.....walked around just the way I know how to. I wouldn't say I've found myself in a situation where I had to adapt and actually ATTEMPTED to. If there was ever a situation, then I guess I would maybe...(chuckle)....kill myself; shot myself.

I think.....It goes both ways. Rhodes within itself is uh.....a separate planet, you know. It's as though it is not in Grahamstown or in South Africa per se. So, with that being said...the moment students come into Rhodes..you know, they start behaving like they also NOT part of South Africa or...they adapt, you know, when you go to Mars you do what people in Mars do. And what the people in Mars do is determined by the kind of planet that Mars is. So, I think that's just that...I think that Rhodes is very secluded, it's just a world on its own and the moment students come in here they become just that: people living in a separate world. so in terms of culture -of the Rhodes culture, it goes both ways. Uh, Rhodes ALLOWS for that kind of..... or uh...it initiates that kind of behaviour, and students just adapt to it. and go on with it.

I think the infrastructure itself, right.. has no effect on how you would feel.....

about it as a person, but the moment people come in then that particular place, you know, can have an EFFECT on you as a person. Like for instance, I can be in a seminar room, alone, and I wouldn't feel out of place. But the moment people start coming in...then, tension..like, a bit of tension arises a bit of awkwardness, the moment people start speaking uh.....we think differently as people uh... then you can start feeling out of place, you know...and all those kinds of things. Otherwise I don't think the environment itself can illicit such feelings from, from a person uh until people start coming in. For instances, the library is so chilled, when you go in there and you sit alone...but...but the more people start coming in, the more people start PAGING, and you begin to feel out of place, you know...in tutorials, in seminars, you know...and it also depends on the kind of person that you are. If you are..if you're a person who is very talkative, who would engage with any conversation I doubt you would feel out of place. But if you are... reserved, and you don't like talking, the moment people start talking, you begin to feel tense and when they now turn the question to you, it now becomes even more awkward, you know. So, I'd say that uh...the environment per se: No. But put people in that environment then yes.

Uh, you know what? (.....)(chuckle) Rhodes is really not a bad place, if you give it a chance. Uhm, but also it closes up reality and what is real in other people's lives, you know. And I think uhm that's a danger that people should be aware of, you know. Come to Rhodes, live but don't forget uh where you come from and what your reality is like, you know. Because it's easy to forget when you get to Rhodes. Like I said; It's a different planet on its own, you know. You stand here at Rhodes, you look at Joza -two different worlds, but these, these places are a taxi away from each other, they're in the same city, they are actually the same place, but uh...life there is different. So, I'd say that you know- it's good to live and not just exist at Rhodes but...at the same time, you know, like every once in a while we all need a slap of reality -which Rhodes does not offer. (.....)

Sol:

Nah. No, no, no. I don't have such. You must understand that also

socialization and how you grew up, the environment within which you grew up in, also shapes how a person sees the environment, you know. So for me I do not have a place here in Grahamstown wherein I am not comfortable to chill. I just enjoy uh....I do not mind going to the township, just go chill with the guys and enjoy SOFT DRINKS (chuckle) Ey yahhhhh. Uh, and not that I haven't been to the Bot Gardens. I have been there, but it's not the place where you would find me by chance. Yes, I do go but you will not necessarily bump into me there. When you find me there -actually its where you could find me by chance -but aaaiii it's a case of once in a semester.

You get lecturers giving examples of uh...experiences you need to be rich in order to experience you need to be well off in order to experience. I remember in one of our, in one of, in one of the lectures we had a lecturer asking how many people have gone shark-diving. And some of us, we've only seen it on TV; a number of white students actually said they'd seen, had done shark-diving. So, it is one of those things.

Gift:

I would slap him. Ungijwayela amasimba. But uh one would think ukuthi ..uh the fact that the university is so colonial, colonial the buildings, the statues, people would like...bazoba with that mind-set yok'ba you know what? "We're like superior; you people like came into our..-the University, you know. what's the name of university? its Rhodes, it's not what-what its Rhodes. It's an English....ubone, people would think that mind set but you know what some people are racist and what-not. But no not at all.

But you asked me a question ukuthi do I feel more comfortable at home or here: aaaah.....to me; school is school, man. To me school is school. Its where I learn. its not where I like....I wouldn't say like people here.... okay, to be blunt... we are, we are...this is a multiracial university. We are not sociable we are...we just tolerate each other. Its like "Hi" "Hi" That's all. It's not like....fumaniseke....another one that's fumaniseke interested to know where you come from or what not or interested about you. No. We just "Hi" "Hi". That is all. We don't even speak sometimes. Even when uhleli apha ecaleni kwami awuzothetha nix; nami andizothetha nix. Hhayi it is who I am and nawe it is who you are. I'm not blaming you; nawe don't blame me. Maybe it is how we were brought up. It is how we were brought up, you know, post-apartheid our mind sets or what-not. And we shun upon those who befriend like white people uthi "ahh, uyazidala...awumjonge...." ahhh. Ay, I am sick and tired of uh...black people don't want to fucken evolve. They don't wanna evolve. No, from square one siyabuyela. We are returning to square one.

(.....) some undercover-nyana thing? I think like overthinking is also something. Yeah, indlela like oyi-viewer ngakhona into and also like with like overthinking, what I mean by over thinking about the name change, yabo? yeah they have a point ukuthi you know what, African heroes are not being remembered or being commemorated enough so we need to like name more towns name more places in order to like comma....comme... commam-....whats the word? Yeah, commemorate them more, yabo? and also like to reflect on also the majority the society also like the change of time, yabo? Because like, you can't have an Afrikaner street name during Apartheid and then you claim ukuthi "no, it's the rainbow nation; it's the what-not" but still you haven't changed that name. It's still apartheid, so apartheid in a sense still exists, yabo? So I think like it is also good to like change it. But to, to be practical, South Africa is not a rich country.

Okwakhe:

But like coming to places even like this for some people it is like part of what they are not used to. So they decide not to come. But like there's also other people who prefer coming....I mean, people think it's like a privilege kind of thing to be able to come to such places. Like,...yah. Some students thinking like only the privileged ones get to come here and not be judged and stuff. And obviously if I like do go, people are going to think I'm being like -what can I say? - like it's...they feel like it's not within their league to be in places like the Bot Garden. Which is kind of ridiculous because this is kind of a place for everyone, regardless of your background and where you're coming from. But like, I have friends who I'd like probably ask to come here and they'd be like 'Oh, this is not my kind of scene' (chuckle) 'It's beyond my league' Like....'noooo'. It's never beyond anyone's league. (...) But some people do yeah, do find it hard to come here. I guess it goes along with being comfortable on campus.

Yeah. But I'd probably also think it's beyond my league. But then I've realised that it is not beyond anyone's league and that it is opened for literally everyone. And it can be quite therapeutic if you want it to be. So, if you want to get your mind off things, this is like the place for it. Yah. But like I...I still can't come here and play my guitar and sing and be like 'Oh yah, it's the Bot Gardens'. Nah, I can't do such things. (chuckle). People are not quite comfortable to do such things like....even myself I've been here for like one year six months yet I'm still not comfortable to do certain things, like the things that make me feel at home like..just play my guitar on a random day and just forget about everything. I always have to think like 'Okay, my neighbour is not gonna like it' and then if I do come here I am not quite comfortable coz like people are staring and passing by and that 'aah, okay, what are they thinking and stuff'. It's not really fun to not be always, to not be able to do what you wanna do that makes you feel comfortable like a home.

Also like the culture of Rhodes, It's like when you come here, it's like the university or like the general people they throw you in a culture where you feel like you're supposed to know certain things. And then like...if you do not know them you sort of feel out of place. Like in terms of the drinking culture, it's quite prevalent here. So, if you're not like a heavy drinker like some of them, you tend to feel Aa bit out of place coz like that's what they call HAVING FUN, going to town; it's always like Prime! Prime! Prime! Oldies, the Rat. And some people come here and

drink for the very first time because of these cultures where people are just assuming that you.....you're just supposed to know all of this. You're supposed to know the culture and the drill and like pre-drinks in res and then party-party and get all worked up. But yah, those are like one of the culture that people are just assuming that you need to like understand and all. So like, it's like the places that pen for people from like different backgrounds to influence each other -it's like we're all from different backgrounds, but like there's one culture that's set ,and we all come here and just comply to the culture and we become part of that culture. It take like yoh! big people. I don't know. It takes people with courage to like establish themselves and like follow their own culture and stuff. It takes such people to dig through. Coz I know people who've been here but have not changed EVER SINCE. They've just like stayed the same. And you're like 'HOW DO YOU EVEN DO THAT?' (chuckle). But that's pretty much it.

(chuckle). Well, when I first came here, I changed a lot. I think I assimilated a lot because it was like coming here and I was trying to have a good time. So, I would not have a good time being the same person, so I tried assimilating and all. But then I realised that assimilating is also not quite a good idea, so I just decided to just be me. But when I first came here it was all church, church, church. And all like 'study, study, study'. And then when I came here the people were like having fun and like 'party hard and study harder'. So, yah...I got into the party lifestyle...kind of. But then it was like after I had joined the radio.

I think it is a good idea to come to this place. Coz like I realised so many things. I grew; I kinda grew. I learnt things that I wouldnt learn like if I was in Cape Town or Joburg or Durban. Yah, it's a small town but like in terms of demographics, if I came here, I never like....okay people are always talking about racism and all of those things and I only like experienced racism when I was in grade 8 and I was like ...we were going to a camp and then we stopped by in Pretoria -because Pretoria is like an Afrikaans place as well -so we stopped in Pretoria for snacks and all. And then this one guy -he was in a wheelchair and he....I think his life was quite miserable as well....he was white and Afrikaans, and he was like....driving around like his automatic wheelchair in the store, and then...because we were kids, when we left we were like waiting, we were walking as a group..my high school group...we were going on a leadership camp, so I...me and my other friends we were two black, we chilled by the door of the store waiting for the others to come. And this guy was like driving around and he did not find what he was looking for...he was quite miserable like 'Ohhhh' all grumpy, so he comes by the door and we're not facing his direction, so we don't see that he is coming. So, he gets to the door and he hoots on us and is like 'you, you, you kaffir; you kaffirs you have to move out of my way'. And we were like so taken aback like 'Wow'. So, that was the first time someone called me a kaffir. And I was like 'whatever', I was a kid. I had never experienced racism at that time. So being in that space where everything is HUGE like, you're not exposed to racism and all , so you're thinking maybe it doesnt exist and you like believe in this 'Oh, democratic South Africa; Oh, Rainbow Nation, we all love each other'. Because you are not like constantly chatting to each other with different racism. And like maybe just at school, maybe just your teachers and fellow kids because kids are kids, they always interact.

And then you come here and it's so prevalent. You come to a space like Rhodes where like this -not-majority are white, but there's like lots of white people here compared to, I think, other institutions, one gets to interact with lots and lots of white people, so when you do get to interact with them you get to learn about like what they like and whatever and you see like things that they say about other black people and you be like 'Geez! Is this what they think of us?' Although they never say it to your face. Or you get to instances where white people are like more nicer to you than black people. So you end up hanging with white people instead. Because, because that was like the case for me when I came here. I coul not speak Xhosa, right? But because like I had lived around Joburg a bit I could understand Zulu, whatever. But the students here..if you don't understand Xhosa, they just like push you away. Like we had field trips, right? So at our field trips there would be like groups of people during like leisure time, when we're not doing anything. So, you would try and chill with the black people, but then they'd be all like conversing in Xhosa and you don't understand coz it's kinda hard. So you end up chilling with white people because they speaking English and you understand English. So it's more like sometimes they push you to that extent. But also you do learn that 'okay, white people are kinda racist sometimes'. Not all of them. And you're like, and I just don't wanna be in such a space where it's just so apparent. But...one thing that I had to learn here was like...just because racism has never happened to me, it does not mean it's not there. So, that's what I realise because some of them were nice to me but they were not necessarily nice to other people. Yah, like there were passing remarks like 'Oh, that is so ratchet' on someone who is from the rural areas.

And you know like...when you're from the rural areas, it's quite apparent if you come to a space like this because you don't usually want to fit in, which is something I like from people from like deep rural areas. You don't necessarily want to fit in; you don't...you just wanna keep being you like...doing the things you used to do. And when you're from the township like me, you kinda have both like rural and urban fused together. So you get here...it's not hard for you to like adjust and assimilate, unlike someone from the rurals -they are like...if you're from the rurals its hard for your accent to change, it hard for your behaviour to change and all. So for them..you get like white people or privileged kids calling them ratchet and like 'Oh, but that is so ratchet'. But you're like 'That's just how they are'. 'That's their lifestyle; that's how they live on the daily basis'. So, you cant be calling them ratchet because maybe, maybe because they don't have money, they are not quite advanced as others are. But those are the kind of remarks that they make and stuff like 'you are too pretty for a black person' or 'You're too handsome for a black person'. That's the kind of statements that they say, and it's like (chuckle) 'Oh, wow!'. What are you saying; So black people are not supposed to be pretty?' Coz I have this friend of mine, so she...she...also was called like 'Pretty for a black girl'. So she was kinda offended by it. So she was like 'Can you believe this. Someone said I'm too pretty for a black girl'. It's like 'Ah, sorry'. But that's the kind of thing that you, that you do....or like when you're like chilling at Friars, coz like it's a white space, most of my friends do not go so I go with my white friends. So, when you're chilling you get this one random person saying 'Uh, for a black person, you have a really nice smile'. And you're like 'Geez! Am I supposed to say thank you for the compliment? But...no. That's the space in Rhodes.

People are not genuine as well here. You can't completely trust them. I don't know but I find it hard to trust some of them. So I talk to so and so if I have problems because people are just

like double-faced, you know. They're not who they really are, especially with the whole Rhodes Must Fall, Rhodes So White, Fees Must Fall, and like RU Reference. People are just like trying to say the things that they think society wants them to hear. Whereas they know exactly that they're not who they are. For instance, so I have a friend, so he's white, right? And then we've both been like good friends since first year. So he is like literally my closest friend to me. But like uh the time where I get to like see the different side of him, then I'm like 'Wow....he's racist,' 'Okay, wow. He's this, this'. From like what he says when you chill, because I'm like his friend, he gets too comfortable and he forgets himself and I bust him like (finger snap) 'Actually you are racist' and stuff like that. But yah, people are not quite genuine here. And also we live in like a bubble here at Rhodes. Oh, well someone once said that 'Being at Rhodes is like living in a bubble'. Because like you're living a life that you wouldn;t normally live when you're at home. Yah, basically, for some people it's like living in a bubble. So, they....we're not, we're not like thinking outside the bubble and thinking of the worst things that are happening to people out there. Because like...this other friend of mine was talking, we were talking about uhm poverty and all, they were refusing to look into poverty because like being at Rhodes, 'do you see anyone suffering at Rhodes?' Uh. and it's like, that's the problem. You are referencing to Rhodes where like poverty is not that prevalent. Okay, but maybe it might but you can't see it because you're all like at the same level here. But then like if you go to places like Joburg where you see a beggar, like a mom with a kid on the streets asking for money for food, you know...that's where you're gon realise that poverty is real. So some people are not exposed to such things hence you say like 'Ookay, they need to be woke and stop living in the bubble that they live in'.

Eden:

So, you see where the red car is parked? So, the university provides taxis for don't who can't afford.....those who don't have cars to go back home, can't afford to pay for transport to go back home. So, basically I think it runs only from six until midnight. So, it shuttles in people who are going to the location or just literally outside campus. I know a friend of mine usually takes the shuttle back home. So, it makes it safer for people to go back home and makes travelling far much easier. Uhm, however, if you are stuck on campus you can always go to the Rhodes page and ask for transport. There's, there's a million good people at this campus and they're always willing to help. Yeah. Hey! The sun is up. Yay! (claps hands).

Yeah. Yeah, because when I go back home, I actually miss being at Rhodes, uhmmm...I think it's it's a very integr.....integrated and accommodating space. Uhm, I haven't been a..victim of any sort of VIOLENCE -domestic violence, sexual abuse, uhm xenophobic attacks or racism.... so to me it's been quite a.....uhm.....a good experience, in that perspective, yeah, so....it's, it's... it's kinda like a home away from home -though I hate that statement. Hmmm.

I think the biggest part of the university would be, the people...because visually, yes you can have beautiful architecture, beautiful landscape but...people,..make, you, feel, make you feel at home, because I live in a small res and we're kinda like a little family, so....my experience is very intimate because you get to know the people you've living with uhmm Rhodents are very vocal; we express ourselves in various ways, and because of that when there are problems such

as the rape culture at Rhodes, it might take time for people to acknowledge it and to realize that it's a problem that needs to be fought for...but uh...when people actually come together -even if it's just a hundred people -they can make a lot of noise and make things happen -like with the rape protest, I believe here at Rhodes we are like 7000 students, so the people who were protesting were like less than a thousand, but the noise that was made was so renowned that, you know...it was uhm...it got media attention, it was aired on SABC, all around the world, and people got to know what was going on uhm...again, the essence of the people here at Rhodes is,... we teach each other uhm about social inequality; we teach each other about privilege; we teach each other about uhm all the other uhm problems we face and we help each other around out when we face difficulty, coz I remember uhm walking into the library toilet one day there was a little,..there was a bag with pads in it, and it said okay 'take one for whoever needs it'. And there has been talks of 'condoms are freely available yet pads are not freely available'. It's kinda like a disparity in the gender uhm inequality, argument so I think that's something that needs to be addressed, and I gather that someone actually took the initiative to do a small thing that helps a large number of people, also.....(cough).....uhm.....yeah....yeah that's basically it....I think I have spoken.

Gaby:

It's quite nice though that you can walk everywhere. Like if you're in Wits or something like it makes you feel so safe because like it's uh...all the residences and stuff make it a student town, you know. So like if I wanna go to my friend's house, if we want to go out we just walk -which is so cool. Whereas like... because I'm from Joburg if you're at Wits or whatever uhm, you're not just gonna like bump into your friends at the shops and start...because like people come from all over the area, you know what I mean? And people who like come to Rhodes only come from Grahamstown. So I feel like you're almost more likely to make friends because of it's like so small. (.....).

So like, obviously in Joburg everywhere you go you have to drive. So, getting to school every day was like an hour; getting back was like an hour, you know. So it's so cool that I could just go back to my res for lunch and if it's like the weather changes I can just go and change in the middle of the day unless they have a free between my lectures I can lie on my bed and read my book and then if it's the middle of the night and I need to go into the library and study, I can just walk, right? And then you always see the same people around it's like a little community which I really I really, I think it's quite like having my own -I don't know, like this is my garden.

It's so cool. If I lived - I'm getting an apartment next year to stay in, but I like that I can just come and chill in the grass, you know. it's like so op.. -that's what I like, it's open. Like in, in my house, at home, you know, we got burglar bars and we have an electric fence, and we have all of that stuff and then if you want to walk around it's not safe. And you can't really just walk around. Like if you wanna like go to the bar, I can't just - with my friends -I can't just walk; I have to get like an Uber and then I have to go in traffic, you know. it's like so much more carefree. We just like, I feel safe. I can go for a run, I can go get coffee at the Provost.

And uhm.... I feel like it would.... if the...like...I've been to Wits, and then you have to drive in and people shout at each other because there is not enough parking and it's also enclosed. And.....I DON'T LIKE THAT, you know. It's nice to be able to just walk in and out. Like, I don't think we need.....it just... like just makes it feel like you're in danger or something. If there's like fences because you're like you need to, you know, protect yourself from something. so I think it's like unnecessary. (.....)

ALL THE TIME. It depends if its uh -what's the word - sunny. Then I'll go to botanical gardens or here or to the pool uh... so quite....I actually wished that there was more like a -because oh there's such a nice..opposite my res, there's a whole bunch of reses and they have gardens in between and it's so pretty like I kind of wish our res had that coz it's so private, it's so open at the same time because it's like no fences or anything but..it's nice. So, I spent, like I study, I think it's good to be in nature and stuff because I come from the city so like it's good to be -I don't know - like I miss feeling the ground, you know what I mean? Uhm,...so like I'd go or I'd go for a ride -coz I got the whole afternoon free. So, I kinda just chill. I have like a picnic blanket even. (Chuckle).

uh...it's such a difficult debate, you know. Like it's something that's so.. it's hard, like no one, I don't know the right answer, you know. All I know is my experiences and like....I don't know the answer. I do think that it would just be a waste if you've already got buildings to take them down but I do, I do understand the reasoning as to why people would want to do that but at the same time you can't erase history. So by like monuments and things....especially like, let's say if you rename it like I think it's kind of beautiful to have a new name on a colonial building. I don't know it's like, you know, it's like integrative almost. But I suppose people don't want that, they want it... but you can't get rid of history so it's...I don't know, like people.. you still got the flippen Auschwitz Concentration Museum, like people didn't pretend that it didn't happen, you know. And it just seems like a waste to...if you've got the facilities there. But I understand. So, it's, it's....I don't know how I feel like...I don't know. Coz it's hard, you know. Like if obviously people could like go back in history and demolish like all the unfairness and stuff. Uhm, and there's a lot of things that symbolize how unfair life is, you know. But I don't think getting rid of a building is gonna fix anything. I don't think you can reconstruct the past, you know. I think that you could rather spend that money on building more universities that represent THIS heritage in this new AND ADDING ON TO WHATEVER WE HAVE and like that's more symbolic of the kind of life that we want to live, you know, instead of demolishing which just doesn't make sense to me, you know. It's just like a....I understand changing names and stuff but then do it and like make other differences; build other universities, we don't have enough universities here in South Africa, you know. Uhm....I don't know why. Why haven't they built... why haven't there been any more built? Do you know?

I don't think I ever feel out of place on campus unless I'm like, if I'm...you know, when I'm up the hill like I don't live there so obviously I feel out of place coz like (inaudible). Uhm.... the

only time I've ever felt out of place was during the protest coz uhm (deep exhale/exasperation) fuck... (mumble) where do you guys want me... yeah but otherwise I've never like –on the actual architecture- oh no. I've felt very much at home like Rhodes people are very accepting and, you know.....maybe I feel out of place when I sit on the concrete of the Kaif coz it's like -I don't know –concrete and I hate it. Uh...Yeah. But I suppose no one really likes it when people fight and stuff, you know.

Displays and consequence:

Yoli:

Names do mean a lot. What he was doing like, like it, it's not even like a question because I know just culturally as umuntu ongumXhosa when I get a name that name signifies something and in spite of the aspirations or the history or or..it's a reflection of the times and often now names often uhm..names carry power and meaning and, you know, just even the name Grahamstown it's a problematic name because it's named after someone who, who didn't do anything for the indigenous people here, who basically took advantage of them candidly. Like, a lot of the names in the Eastern Cape, there's two names, so here Grahamstown/eRhini, Port Elizabeth/eBhayi and I think we need to go back to the names of these places originally had because they were named those names for significance that they carry for the people because that's their history.

I think uh.....changing the names of places or reverting back to the original names is something that's important and that needs to be done. I mean obviously just changing names is not gonna...magically improve everything. There's still a lot of uh... structures that need to be dismantled after that and then improved or transformed. So, I don't think just changing the name will be enough. Yeah. I don't think changing the name is gonna fix, you know, years and years of oppression that people have been under but I think it's a start of people being able to retain their identities because then they can start being empowered and being able to say 'okay I'm so and so from this place' and people recognize their history and recognize uhm.....recognize that. I think that that lack of recognition is the problem.

Quaz:

Uhhh.... you know what, I think when we see..when I see most of this stuff, to me even though there is a story behind each and every one of them..at the end of the day they are just features (chuckle)..you know. I don't really... -of course I'll be amazed, you know, just like the hands thing by the Union, I was so amazed but I didn't actually take time to sit and investigate 'why would they....what's the story behind that.. and I think that most of eh...I think it's like that for most of us, we see and it ends there we don't want to dig deep into....uh why the specific feature here, why this specific name here? So, yah....they are just features... until you actually notice them or someone actually tells you the history behind them.

(Chuckle) It would depend on what we mean by white, you know. Does it have a lot of white students more than black students, uh.....because if it's in that case then Rhodes is not white. because there are many of us HERE than there are white students, you know. Then if it's in terms of the way in which things are done at Rhodes or the Rhodes culture itself

then.....I don't think it should be called Rhodes is so white, coz even in terms of how people socialise and how people do things. Then there are some people who are not necessarily white who do things that may be associated with being.....WHITE, you know (chuckle). And, yeah...if then it is in terms of what we are taught then hey, until we find African examples or..things that we can put into our own context, then I guess we can say that Rhodes is White.

Not really. But (heavy breathe).....if we're gonna say Rhodes is white when referring to the environment, then what kind of not-white would we then incorporate to make the environment eh...not so white...not be white? Do we then change some of our buildings or infrastructure, and start building rondavels? (chuckle). Do we.....what do we do? How do we...change the environment?

But then the question becomes that if we're going to say that Rhodes is so white mainly because uh there is no African decoration..... then, wouldn't having.....African decorations make Rhodes black?

I don't get it like..in our building... do we then....are there certain buildings that are white and certain that are Africans? Or certain..paints..that uh....define a structure as not being white or...you know. I don't know -maybe it's because I don't get this whole concept of whiteness, you know..that is why I can't really answer this question but...I don't think that infrastructure should push us to the point of saying that a place is so white simply because there is no trace of Africanism on it. But that...that's just my.....my thought (chuckle).

Do I actually feel at home? No..... (heavy exhale)....look, Rhodes.....(lowered voice)I would,..I don't have such displays at home, you get it? So it wouldn'tno they don't they don't make me feel at home, but at the same time they don't make me feel excluded. Uh, mainly because uh.....at home where I come from...uh....we'd never decorate with a fountain I mean come on. (chuckle). We don't have, we do have paintings on the walls here and there. In my room, I would have maybe one newspaper article that is memorable -but that is as far as I would go. You don't want to be out there making your mother's wall dirty with all your... because when you remove them then the wall is somehow. But, at the same time, time I think those features are what uh.... make Rhodes, Rhodes. Although they are not something I am accustomed to or would associate with...they also don't make me feel excluded.

Gift:

Abone like it's... also people were referring to the fact that we don't have statues abo –like Mandela I think like he is the first statue of like a black person we don't have statues of aboShaka, aboMakana, we don't have statues of African heroes, wabona? But we have statues of white boys, which is a bit unjust in a sense because like.. we were colonised -like I-route yami le, so I walk past this thing like every day...uh, it's just a fucking statue. It's just a statue I don't care...it doesn't affect my life.

Yah, it doesn't shame. But they brought it down in Cape Town claiming that ukuthi it's uh.... yah like... the thing that I've said before ukuthi it represents colonialism what-not and what-not. I understand where they're coming from. I understand that ukuthi yah...I have a problem saying ukuthi "no, as Africans we are not being embraced. We don't have our own statues," "the buildings are not African, they don't embrace the fact that we are multiracial university". Like paint it... like paint it Ndebele, man. Or what not, just go the extra mile to accommodate everyone.

Experience quotes:

Jamie:

Hmmm. Ummm. I mean I don't know. I think I've said..... I can't think of anything really. I think, I think maybe there's something which have which we haven't really, which I wasn't really thinking about is also the visual, the visual in terms of the people that we see as well, I haven't, I actually don't know exactly what I would say for that, but I think that probably uhhh...Yeah, I haven't, haven't really thought about it and I think I don't know and I wouldn't want to be... I don't want to change it into some kind of sort of a race thing, that's not exactly what I mean, what I mean is there is people, people look or people visually demonstrate things too, you know, which maybe we don't always realize and I mean this is more uncomfortable to talk by even as I'm talking about I'm trying to think, you know, and I don't want to say anything that sounds, you know, because I am not, because you know, you can see from people different things, different visual cues all the time. Maybe, maybe that's something to kind of think about as well. I'm not sure how I really think about that..

No, I mean, I'm just this is all just like nothing but I mean that there is essentially these people, you see people around campus you can most of the time almost immediately identify who they are, you know. You can see students here, you can see lecturers, you can see all of, you know, ground staff -obviously they will be in uniform. But a lot of the time it is not even the uniform. And then they'll be, you know, sometimes more ambiguous kinds of people where, you know, you see someone, I mean, I saw an old sort of white lady jogging through the other day, you know. I'm like 'I don't know where she is from'. You sort of can't place her within the kind of, you know, the roles of the...-so she is probably a Grahamstown native jogging through campus I'm sure. But uh...you notice. It's a visual thing because, you know, you... it is actually visual in a way and I'm sure, yeah, you know, you know and I think that there are some... I mean from a more academic like perspective there was this - which actually you might find interesting, I think Lewis Gordon uh...yah, you know Lewis Gordon, he has this kind of, he writes about illicit appearance which is basically kind of people who are, their actual presence in a certain space is almost like illegal in a way. It's not, it's not illegal but it's, it's like they don't know. Yeah, so, so I mean and then you know the conversation we had one of the, the classes he was saying that there's a sense in which people even, even, you know, even in place we are sitting in right now, the guys who sweep the leaves and stuff like that, there's a sense in which they, they are there in a social capacity which is to, to do their job and to not really engage with people, like you know what I mean? There's a sense in which, you know, there is a kind of, you know, this is there, the way that they are in this space is quite different to the way I'm in this space. I can be very loud, I can jump around, because I am a student and that's what students do. But they, they necessarily, they don't necessarily have the space in that kind of way and I

think that probably one of the, one of the street kids from...-I don't think that the right term to use, you know, but if they were in this space sitting here right now their appearance would be even more sort of illegal in a way and probably it would actually be illegal and they would be told to leave by security guards. So, yeah I don't know. There is something weird there, I am not sure how to think about.

Nir:

Yeah, uhm....I was thinking a little bit about what, you know, I was having a read through your Informed Consent Form and I was thinking about physical structures as a space of oppression or as a symbol of oppression. And it got me, me thinking quite a lot –it's not something I had thought about a great deal but I was thinking about how I once lived in this, in this one kind of flat in Joburg, and from the time that I first started renting that place to the time that I left, I was pretty much with the same person -I had started dating her pretty much as I was moved into that flat and we broke up about two weeks after, two weeks before I moved out of that flat. And it just made me realize, I mean at the time when I got back to my flat because I ended up living with her quite a long time, when I got back to my flat I found it an incredibly painful space to be in because it reminded me of her so much because all of my association with that space was, were with her and I, I guess maybe that's the closest I can get to in terms of thinking of a physical space as being emotionally significant, just in terms of my own ability to empathize with that kind of claim, right. But I don't, I don't really know.....I guess, I guess it's a question; it boils down to a question: do we as people define our space or do the space define us as people?

And I think that if you think that, I mean obviously I take it that, that spaces carry within the weight of history. But...but how much weight do we let them give us? Do we....it's a genuine question. Do we, do we get upset about the fact that that some of our, that some of our buildings were just built at, at, at a time when, when there was deep, deep racial politically-mandated segregation? And do we treat our places like our campuses..... as being representative of those, of those governments and decisions?

So uhm...so uhm...this sort of stuff, this kind of architecture with the old stones and then, you know, I mean this is, this is think is very reminiscent of how the kind of Oxford, Cambridge kind of thing and I, and I wonder whether or not that that was precisely the image they had, trying to make it as kind of close to the British space of learning. I mean I, yeah you'd have to ask a Historian this. But my, my understanding is that uh Cecil John Rhodes was very proud of being British. And so, those are values he would very much like to have instilled on, on the other places of learning and that, you know, things that he left behind. Yep. (...) And yeah, again I mean, I think, and this is me speaking from a place of privilege, so let me be very clear about that; I do come from a place where, you know, I haven't had hundreds of years of oppression levelled at me or my forebears because my skin colour is different, you know, it's not white or whatever you call my skin colour nowadays. But I.....uh.....as much as Rhodes would have wanted to have this kind of very British feel about campus. I also take it there's just a whole bunch of things Rhodes would have been really unhappy about which are things that Rhodes the university completely excels at. You know, I take it that Rhodes was probably not only racist but probably also deeply misogynist. And if that's true and the fact that, you know, Rhodes as a campus educates so many excellent young women who are now leaders in

our society. I mean he would probably have hated that; the fact that Rhodes is so liberal with regards to sexual politics, in my experience certainly, more so I think in places like Wits or UCT I think, he would have hated that too. So, I mean, we can, can acknowledge that those were his intentions without accepting that, that we have to start again. It's about how we reframe the space for ourselves.

That's right; that's right. They can, that's exactly... I think, I think that's a really, I think that's a really good point to make. So, during the protest your physical structures are exactly the same; they are the same physical structures that were there the day before; the campus is a totally different place and that really highlights the importance we give that space rather than the, the emotions of the things that space gives us.

Uh...yah. I mean, again this is going to be an answer that's kind of in keeping with other things. I feel uncomfortable in spaces where there may be an assumption that my lived experience is universal. So, so I have these really -as you can tell from what I have said -but it's really kind of - almost idealistic views about Rhodes as a campus and, and the culture of Rhodes students, and the culture of Rhodes and, and, and, and then I have people tell me experiences that are just COMPLETELY not like that and that makes Rhodes an uncomfortable space where there is a disconnect between my reality at Rhodes and somebody else's deeply frightful reality.

Some people find Rhodes really oppressive, uncomfortable, upsetting space. And then it makes me wonder whether I, I just find it a nice space because I'm white because I'm, you know. Is this only a space that white men can, can be, you know, relaxed and comfortable or is it, is it the place that I'm saying, claiming that it is because it would be deeply ironic for me to say, you know, it's egalitarian, it is open, blah blah blah when actually only white male can....I mean that would be that would be exactly the opposite of what I'm claiming. And so the....when I feel uncomfortable is when, is when I feel that maybe other people just aren't having that experience because it makes me question with how...I obviously accept that there are always going to -in any space - again Rhodes isn't a utopia - it's not Nirvana, it's not heaven; it's none of these things, right -and so, so obviously I accept that there will be people who have really shitty experiences at Rhodes. But it makes me feel uncomfortable, I feel uncomfortable at Rhodes when I feel like that space is being subverted by authoritarian norms. So when I hear things about, you know, the Rhodes or higher powers at Rhodes are kind of, you know, stalking people or monitoring people, those things....that makes me feel very uncomfortable, when I feel like, when I feel like Rhodes isn't a libertary space or a liberal space then I get very, then that makes, then that makes Rhodes feel very uncomfortable -the campus feel very uncomfortable. My lecture theatre during protests felt like a very uncomfortable space because there was always the chance of disruption and there was never any knowledge about what form that disruption might take. Would it be people coming in and asking us to leave or would it be people throwing, you know, throwing things or trying to hit people or what was it going to be like?

And so that made Rhodes an uncomfortable space and then I think that Rhodes is an uncomfortable space for me when I -again and this is just saying this first point in a slightly,

but with a slightly different kind of thing in mind is, if the very buildings carry with them the historical weight of oppression.....that would make me feel very uncomfortable about this place. So imagine if, if Auschwitz was a kind of former kind of Holocaust camp turned into a university, I can imagine Jewish folk wouldn't be super excited about studying in this space, right. And I just wonder whether or not there's a kind of parity or similarity between Rhodes as an institution and these buildings and, and that kind of feeling amongst the majority of our student population and if that's the case that is going to make this a deeply uncomfortable space for me.

I mean I, I hope that people come to Rhodes.....I hope that people go to just about anywhere with this idea that that it's how, it's how they value the space rather than how the space is. That's important. That's what, that's what I'm hoping is that when, is that when people arrive at Rhodes or at any university, no matter what their background that they're there because they want to learn and even if they want to challenge the system, I think, you know, it's a fascinating thing one of the.....I mean, Philosophy is one of the big, big areas where people go, you know, your curriculum is so fuckin colonial and it's all old dead white men and yaddy, yaddy, yadda. And then I look at the people who graduated from Rhodes, my peers, right; people who I was in Honors and Masters with -either above me or below me, you know, and I look at the work that they're interested in and look at the stuff that they do and it's a minority that have stuck to the kind of classical tradition of Philosophy. So, so...how do I explain that? Do I explain that in virtue of the fact that to some extent it doesn't matter what we teach, it's what you use that teaching for, that, that's important. Do we, do we have to teach -and this is a question and it's, it's, it's not a rhetorical question, right, maybe it is a rhetorical question but the point is that for me it's it should be something that you should think about a little bit carefully it is; do we have to teach African philosophy for people to have an interest in African philosophy? You know, in undergraduate level and I'm not, I do think we should include African philosophy but the point is that I'm looking at someone like Lindsay Kenneth who's doing a lot of work in gender -she's a Rhodes university graduate. Riana Orrifson, Jason Van Niekerk -Rhodes University graduate who are doing work in Critical Race Theory and you know, these are... Eusibeus Kaiser, Political Commentator, Rhodes graduate. These are people who didn't study those things here but they became interested in those things and that department never said 'no you can't do them because, you know' it is dead white men that we're looking at...and you need to, you know. So, you know, I just, again I think that, I think we need to be very careful about what doing, what the causal influence of this year; are the spaces really so oppressive or do we think that they are oppressive and therefore they become oppressive?

Sol:

Well, for me I'm one person I can adapt to any, any situation or environment I find myself in. I want to be quite frank and honest; I am more comfortable this side because like it is more spacious, it's not like really concentrated, and you.. you don't get to see people you see daily unlike that side where you see people, people that you study with daily and you see your lectures criss-crossing with the building, in and out of, of the building. So, this side you get to see different people, get to interact and get to be social at the same time while continuing with your academic programme. Yah.

I mean you...you cannot uh.....-okay, let me put it like this -I think it's wrong to, to try and define, contextualise people's experiences because experience is something that you feel yourself, you know. There is no one who can feel it for you, you know. So, when people feel out of place and people feel that this place is white, it is within their right. And I am also of that view, actually to say....to say, it's a bit white. There's white culture; there's Rhodes culture. In a way it impacts upon how students from uh.....poor backgrounds experience the place. So, uh...it is correct, I mean, they are expressing their views of which it, it has bases coz uh.....(inaudible from wind blowing)...it's so windy (chuckle), coz uh...when you arrive here in O-Week, people will be spending thousands of Rands drinking in the local pubs, and now if you're from a disadvantaged background you're in a situation whereby people are displaying their culture and you are feeling left out. So, uh...I think it does disadvantage people.

With the environment it is not necessarily changing the environment but it's the issue of.....making those who are not well off to feel welcome. It's an issue of having those who, who, who, who feel ostracised or who feel outside of the system to be accommodated. Yeah.

Changing the name is of significant importance because uh as much as Rhodes in his own right did good but uhm...the good that he did was to serve a particular group -a particular race, at the expense of a particular group, a particular race. So, now...the pain that our people suffered cannot continue being celebrated. It cannot continue being celebrated because uhm...I mean....this place is built upon the blood...sweat and blood of the mineworkers who were underpaid, who died as paupers, you know, who were not uh viewed as human beings.

Gift:

No. Like to be honest, to say ukuthi being okanye walking through the arch makes me feel da da da I would rather like go enter like pha by the drama department than here because it reminds me of how my forefathers were oppressed and what-not ubone, nooooo. Not at all. In terms of like people; people are people. You're going to have a bastard and you're gonna have a nice guy. If a bastard is a bastard, you can also be a bastard; if you're being nice I will also be nice qha.

Okwakhe:

And you know like...when you're from the rural areas, it's quite apparent if you come to a space like this because you don't usually want to fit in, which is something I like from people from like deep rural areas. You don't necessarily want to fit in; you don't...you just wanna keep being you like...doing the things you used to do. And when you're from the township like me, you kinda have both like rural and urban fused together. So you get here...it's not hard for you to like adjust and assimilate, unlike someone from the rurals -they are like...if you're from the rurals its hard for your accent to change, it hard for your behaviour to change and all. So for them..you get like white people or privileged kids calling them ratchet and like 'Oh, but that is so ratchet'. But you're like 'That's just how they are'. 'That's their lifestyle; that's how they live on the daily basis'. So, you cant be calling them ratchet because maybe, maybe because they don't have money, they are not quite advanced as others are. But those are the kind of remarks

that they make and stuff like 'you are too pretty for a black person' or 'You're too handsome for a black person'. That's the kind of statements that they say, and it's like (chuckle) 'Oh, wow!' What are you saying; So black people are not supposed to be pretty?' Coz I have this friend of mine, so she...she...also was called like 'Pretty for a black girl'. So she was kinda offended by it. So she was like 'Can you believe this. Someone said I'm too pretty for a black girl'. It's like 'Ah, sorry'. But that's the kind of thing that you, that you do...or like when you're like chilling at Friars, coz like it's a white space, most of my friends do not go so I go with my white friends. So, when you're chilling you get this one random person saying 'Uh, for a black person, you have a really nice smile'. And you're like 'Geez! Am I supposed to say thank you for the compliment? But...no. That's the space in Rhodes.

Yoli:

Definitely again, I think the most important thing is that it needs to be an inclusive space and I, I can't then speak for everyone because I'm not aware of the different challenges that different people are facing. So, I would just say that it needs to be inclusive, be that inclusive in terms of the different financial brackets that people come from, you know, should...there is some students who are on NSFAS, and there's students who are not on NSFAS, but then there's also that NSFAS shouldn't be used as a measurement of, of, you know, your economic standing because some students unfortunately don't get NSFAS even though they can't afford the fees or... you know, so inclusive in terms of that and finances, inclusive in terms of uhm...uh.... racially. I think this idea of creating a non-racial society is very problematic because it erases people's identities. I don't think uh... our environment, our society needs to be non-racial. I think it leads to uhm.....being racist, you know. It needs to stop being racist structurally and in, in terms of HOW...uh, the percentage of black lecturers within the institution, it needs to uh... in terms of changing, you know, the sexist aspects how uh.... female lecturers would earn less than their male counterparts even though they probably have the same, you know, uhm qualifications. I think -and there's obviously like a ton of other things that we need to start improving.... but I guess that's, that's countrywide and worldwide things are being, start changing and improving about how societies are going.

Eden:

Hmmm. No. I think as a person when you come into a new environment you also have to adapt to the system of the new place coz if you're.....if you're just a straight-back person and you don't try to accommodate and adapt to the environment and the people and the system then you kinda (moving head side to side)...make your own experience of Rhodes really difficult. Which is not something that actually uhm...I don't know... give to you on a golden plate...Yeah.

Gaby:

Yeah. When they see...well, it's very hard for me to say that because I haven't lived their experience, you know. Uhm, so I mean, if somebody..... I don't know like, I can't say, I can't speak on behalf of someone else, you know. But I definitely have a different experience than other people that would make....for me to see a European building it makes me think of when

I went for holiday last year to Europe which for me is a reality and it's something that's very positive memories. But for other people it's, you know, something completely different. So, I can't really say the same, you know. It's something that I -what's the word -I can IDENTIFY with, which is like quite weird, you know. My like colonial heritage -which is something that like my grandparents and stuff all very much have around them, and which I've never really EVEN noticed until I came to Rhodes -isn't that funny? And only now people are making...raising awareness about it. I think it's, very, very interesting to actually have your mind opened like that, you know. (.....)

People and Socialising:

Yoli:

Um yeah I think I'm friends with uh.... with people who are very uhm.... uh -ooh, what's the word -uhm, people who you can feed off their energy and like are inspiring so we often have debates and we talk about political issues or social issues or what's going on. So, when I'm around my friends I know then we're creating our own kind of wherever we are, we start creating our own uh, our own inclusive space, and we start trying to DECOLONISE and make it more inclusive and like all these things that are...quite problematic.

I think again it's, it's very up and down -depending on your day, hey, and why I say that it's important when I'm around my friends because then that's when I get that sense of comfort and ease and being at home because you know it's very hard to feel at home in a place where uhm...this, the statistics on rape is so high and we see nothing being, nothing uhm happening, no change being made it's very hard to be at home when you know right down the road a couple of months ago a friend of mine was arrested during protests, you know, it's it's how do you feel at home in such a discouraging environment, you know, because it's VERY HARD BEING HERE at Rhodes sometimes just the culture and the people I think Rhodes is known for..... having this, I guess, drinking culture or whatever, and it's very known for, you know, stuff like uh during Great Field, people go out and wear overalls and they, they don't understand the significance of overalls like why people wear overalls and who are the people that wear overalls, what kind of jobs they doing when they wearing those overalls, what kind of uh social and economic classes they come from? To wear those overalls and, you know, people going out wearing overalls just so you can drink and not get your clothes dirty during the, the great field weekend or whatever. So, yeah.

Uh, again I think all those aspects are, are so important to me and I can't choose just one place because in the what -this is my second year -so the two years that I've spent here it's been, there's been a lot of like learning and unlearning kind of thing going on where, you know, outside

and inside of the classroom I, I know just for instance with the rape culture protests uh one thing that they started doing was.....lecturers from certain departments started having their own talks on different things related to rape culture so then again that was learning but outside of classroom which I think is as important as learning inside, so I think what I learned in those

impromptu lectures it was as important to me as what I'm learning when I go to Barrett and I have my politics two lectures, you know, and uh..and I think it also....Rhodes is quite...-depending on the circles you move in- it's quite a political place. So I think you can choose to not be aware of these things or you can in terms of where you're moving and the people you interact with you, you can be very interested -not really interesting - you be very aware of these things. so I think, you know, as, as uh... as someone who is a feminist I, I look up to so many people within the Rhodes space; be it lecturers such as Lindsay Kennenth or even just other students, other years, you know, I think it all, it all comes together. There's, there's a certain..... uhm..... a COMMUNITY maybe(?) or communities or, or a certain people or sectors where the student or the uhm...-I can't even find the words to describe it -like certain people or things that you can go to that uhm.....uh..... help you and uh..... -sorry, I'm just...I can't find the words

Nir:

Uh...I think uh..... when, when you were telling me about your project and when I was reading about your project and I was thinking quite a lot about what my experiences of campus and how I view campus, what I see and I think the first thing that I've seen and, and I think this is -I think this might be true from the first time I've set foot on campus -the first thing I think that hits you is actually the people. So in terms of the structures at Rhodes, what I'm kind of, tend to be focused on is the people at Rhodes and I think about the mood -one of the nice things and, and sometimes one of the detrimental things about Rhodes is that it's a very small place and so...it's not only the place you work but it's also the place you live. And you tend to be able to pick up the mood of campus pretty quickly and it's just from the way that people are; by how quiet or how busy campus is, you almost know what kind of day you're going to have just by the way that people are as you, as you enter campus. I think it was probably most starkly highlighted during the recent protests where campus had a very, very... strange and and difficult feeling even when, even when people weren't protesting; the feeling surrounding the protest, the anger, the fear, the aggression, the uncertainty, the.....not sure about whether to be on campus or whether to be away from campus, All of that was something you could feel and you could tell from the way that...the way that people walk, the way that people spoke, the way that people just existed in their space here. Uhm..... I think that Rhodes has also been one of those places where...uhm one of the things that you, you're gonna ask me is whether or not it's a place where I feel at home?

I think I've never felt more at home -anywhere on the planet that I've visited - than I do at Rhodes.

Yeah and again it's got to do with the people. Uh..... for all Rhodes' problems, and there are some (head motion).. for all of its colonial and you know historically prejudicial background It is also one of THE most liberated spaces in terms of the way that people treat one another. It it's,.....it's a space where if you compare it to places like Cape Town or Johannesburg or Durban all of the...Port Elizabeth to some extent, all of which are places that I've spent a fair bit of time in, Rhodes is by far the most accepting of difference -particularly with regards to gender, with regards to sexuality, with regards to race. It hasn't always been as accepting, certainly in the late 90s, early 2000s -It was a place that was still learning how to transform. Uhm, but at the

moment -and again it's about how you experience your world in the way that people sit with one another and the way that people talk to one another and the way that they walk. People walk with each other, so I've never, it's never felt like it did in the late nineties where people walked apart; we had different racial groups in clumps. So everybody was on campus but everybody walked in their own groups and, you know. And by their own groups I just mean kind of racially segregated. I just don't, don't see that happening as much and I'm not saying that there isn't, there isn't an underlying tension -not at all, but I'm saying that if I look at the way that people just casually engage it's far more integrated than uh..than it was.

That's a really good question. I mean, I, I think any space that demands that we think carefully about beliefs and our prejudice is a valuable space. And one of the one of the big fights in academia more broadly, right –and it's not, it's not just in Rhodes but more broadly, it's about what value the humanities and the social sciences provide? And an increasingly neocapitalist world there's been a greater push by governments to, to cut the liberal arts, to increase funding for things like the STEM subjects, right; Science, technology, engineering, maths. And I, and I've argued that, that if we do that, we're, we're, there's a very big danger that we're going to face a very real humanitarian crisis because one of the things that the liberal arts do is they make you question your beliefs; they force you to empathize, they force you to look at history and to look at whether or not that history is just. And, and one of the, and I think that one of the reasons why Rhodes is a liberal space - well that's certainly my experience on it - and again they are going to be people on campus who don't experience it that way at all, right. But for me, I think at the reason why it's a liberal space or the reason why I've experienced it as a liberal space is that (a) it is an essence still a liberal arts college, so yes we have a excellent Comp Sci department; yes we have a B. Comm; yes we have all these things but at the same time that the weight of this university is still very much a liberal art one, alright. And so this deep questioning of our core beliefs and our prejudices is still part of what makes up Rhodes. (2) As I mentioned earlier, Rhodes is not just our place of work, it's also our homes. So we live so close to the campus that you can't escape the influence of the university on, on you as a person. And so when you go out to the pub or whatever where you go out to have dinner or whatever, you're engaging with people who you saw earlier that day in your lectures. And I think that that means that you're hoping that those people are, are gaining the same value and insight into their own beliefs that you did. Uhm.....yah.

That's right. And that's what I want to do, that's the space I want to be in. I uh.....so when I left Rhodes at the beginning of 2004 to go up to Joburg, I became very quickly disillusioned; one of the things that I loved about Rhodes -and I think it's still true - but it, it is a place where being smart is seen as being cool. Your Master's students are looked up at; your PhD students are looked up at; Honour's students are people who have gone past the undergrad and so and the majority of the student population thinks that this is something that is noteworthy and exciting. It's also a place -less so now perhaps; more so back in my day -where, where there was just far less interest in wealth. No one, no one gave a shit if you had a car when you were, you know, in fact it was a rarity to have a car in my undergrad days. I think in my entire res, I think one or two people had cars in a res of about 40. So we're talking 1 in 20 people had a car. I'm not sure what the statistic is now but I would imagine it's more and I like the fact that people

were less interested in the material and far more interested in the intellectual. When I went up to Joburg it was exactly the opposite: people were far more interested in the material and far less interested in the intellectual. And I found that very disconcerting -to be in a space that values a thing that I don't think is valuable so much.

That's a really good question. It's obviously a negative in the sense that I don't think I would like to see more of the world be more interested in, in the intellectual unless interested in the material. But it's a positive that Rhodes, that Rhodes nurtures this or used to nurture this type of culture. Uhm..... I think..... I think I need to be quite careful here that the last thing I want to claim is that Rhodes is a some sort of utopia free from problems, you know; no racial segregation; no gender segregation; no sexual preference segregation, etc. etc. NO. I'm not claiming that it's not a (inaudible) colonial space beset by the problems that have beset our country for a really long time. I am not claiming that at all. But I am saying that...it's a place where challenging the status quo is a given. And in the past that challenging the status quo has always meant rigorous and vigorous debate amongst different parties without it being....-what's the right word? - without it being a kind of physical confrontation. Without, without people resorting to violence and-and-and-and-and I'm, I'm hoping that those values are going to remain; that uhm decolonizing the curriculum -and I still am not sure what that means -but I hope that we won't lose the liberal-ness, the challenging-ness of this space.

Quaz:

I think.....It goes both ways. Rhodes within itself is uh.....a separate planet, you know. It's as though it is not in Grahamstown or in South Africa per se. So, with that being said...the moment students come into Rhodes..you know, they start behaving like they also NOT part of South Africa or...they adapt, you know, when you go to Mars you do what people in Mars do. And what the people in Mars do is determined by the kind of planet that Mars is. So, I think that's just that...I think that Rhodes is very secluded, it's just a world on its own and the moment students come in here they become just that: people living in a separate world. so in terms of culture -of the Rhodes culture, it goes both ways. Uh, Rhodes ALLOWS for that kind of..... or uh...it initiates that kind of behaviour, and students just adapt to it. and go on with it.

I think the infrastructure itself, right.. has no effect on how you would feel....about it as a person, but the moment people come in then that particular place, you know, can have an EFFECT on you as a person. Like for instance, I can be in a seminar room, alone, and I wouldn't feel out of place. But the moment people start coming in...then, tension..like, a bit of tension arises a bit of awkwardness, the moment people start speaking uh.....we think differently as people uh... then you can start feeling out of place, you know...and all those kinds of things. Otherwise I don't think the environment itself can illicit such feelings from, from a person uh until people start coming in. For instances, the library is so chilled, when you go in there and you sit alone....but...but the more people start coming in, the more people start PAGING, and you begin to feel out of place, you know...in tutorials, in seminars, you know...and it also depends on the kind of person that you are. If you are..if you're a person who is very talkative, who would engage with any conversation I doubt you would feel out of place. But if you are...

reserved, and you don't like talking, the moment people start talking, you begin to feel tense and when they now turn the question to you, it now becomes even more awkward, you know. So, I'd say that uh...the environment per se: No. But put people in that environment then yes.

Sol:

Well, for me I'm one person I can adapt to any, any situation or environment I find myself in. I want to be quite frank and honest; I am more comfortable this side because like it is more spacious, it's not like really concentrated, and you.. you don't get to see people you see daily unlike that side where you see people, people that you study with daily and you see your lectures criss-crossing with the building, in and out of, of the building. So, this side you get to see different people, get to interact and get to be social at the same time while continuing with your academic programme. Yah.

Nah. No, no, no. I don't have such. You must understand that also

socialization and how you grew up, the environment within which you grew up in, also shapes how a person sees the environment, you know. So for me I do not have a place here in Grahamstown wherein I am not comfortable to chill. I just enjoy uh....I do not mind going to the township, just go chill with the guys and enjoy SOFT DRINKS (chuckle) Ey yahhhhh. Uh, and not that I haven't been to the Bot Gardens. I have been there, but it's not the place where you would find me by chance. Yes, I do go but you will not necessarily bump into me there. When you find me there -actually its where you could find me by chance -but aaaiii it's a case of once in a semester.

I mean you...you cannot uh.....-okay, let me put it like this -I think it's wrong to, to try and define, contextualise people's experiences because experience is something that you feel yourself, you know. There is no one who can feel it for you, you know. So, when people feel out of place and people feel that this place is white, it is within their right. And I am also of that view, actually to say....to say, it's a bit white. There's white culture; there's Rhodes culture. In a way it impacts upon how students from uh.....poor backgrounds experience the place. So, uh...it is correct, I mean, they are expressing their views of which it, it has bases coz uh.....(inaudible from wind blowing)...it's so windy (chuckle), coz uh...when you arrive here in O-Week, people will be spending thousands of Rands drinking in the local pubs, and now if you're from a disadvantaged background you're in a situation whereby people are displaying their culture and you are feeling left out. So, uh...I think it does disadvantage people.

Okwakhe:

(chuckle). Well, when I first came here, I changed a lot. I think I assimilated a lot because it was like coming here and I was trying to have a good time. So, I would not have a good time being the same person, so I tried assimilating and all. But then I realised that assimilating is also not quite a good idea, so I just decided to just be me. But when I first came here it was all church, church, church. And all like 'study, study, study'. And then when I came here the people

were like having fun and like 'party hard and study harder'. So, yah...I got into the party lifestyle...kind of. But then it was like after I had joined the radio.

I think it is a good idea to come to this place. Coz like I realised so many things. I grew; I kinda grew. I learnt things that I wouldnt learn like if I was in Cape Town or Joburg or Durban. Yah, it's a small town but like in terms of demographics, if I came here, I never like....okay people are always talking about racism and all of those things and I only like experienced racism when I was in grade 8 and I was like ...we were going to a camp and then we stopped by in Pretoria -because Pretoria is like an Afrikaans place as well -so we stopped in Pretoria for snacks and all. And then this one guy -he was in a wheelchair and he...I think his life was quite miserable as well.....he was white and Afrikaans, and he was like....driving around like his automatic wheelchair in the store, and then...because we were kids, when we left we were like waiting, we were walking as a group..my high school group...we were going on a leadership camp, so I...me and my other friends we were two black, we chilled by the door of the store waiting for the others to come. And this guy was like driving around and he did not find what he was looking for...he was quite miserable like 'Ohhhh' all grumpy, so he comes by the door and we're not facing his direction, so we don't see that he is coming. So, he gets to the door and he hoots on us and is like 'you, you, you kaffir; you kaffirs you have to move out of my way'. And we were like so taken aback like 'Wow'. So, that was the first time someone called me a kaffir. And I was like 'whatever', I was a kid. I had never experienced racism at that time. So being in that space where everything is HUGE like, you're not exposed to racism and all , so you're thinking maybe it doesnt exist and you like believe in this 'Oh, democratic South Africa; Oh, Rainbow Nation, we all love each other'. Because you are not like constantly chatting to each other with different racism. And like maybe just at school, maybe just your teachers and fellow kids because kids are kids, they always interact.

And then you come here and it's so prevalent. You come to a space like Rhodes where like this -not-majority are white, but there's like lots of white people here compared to, I think, other institutions, one gets to interact with lots and lots of white people, so when you do get to interact with them you get to learn about like what they like and whatever and you see like things that they say about other black people and you be like 'Geez! Is this what they think of us?' Although they never say it to your face. Or you get to instances where white people are like more nicer to you than black people. So you end up hanging with white people instead. Because, because that was like the case for me when I came here. I coul not speak Xhosa, right? But because like I had lived around Joburg a bit I could understand Zulu, whatever. But the students here..if you don't understand Xhosa, they just like push you away. Like we had field trips, right? So at our field trips there would be like groups of people during like leisure time, when we're not doing anything. So, you would try and chill with the black people, but then they'd be all like conversing in Xhosa and you don't understand coz it's kinda hard. So you end up chilling with white people because they speaking English and you understand English. So it's more like sometimes they push you to that extent. But also you do learn that 'okay, white people are kinda racist sometimes'. Not all of them. And you're like, and I just don't wanna be in such a space where it's just so apparent. But...one thing that I had to learn here was like...just because racism has never happened to me, it does not mean it's not there. So, that's what I realise because some of them were nice to me but they were not necessarily nice to other people.

Yah, like there were passing remarks like 'Oh, that is so ratchet' on someone who is from the rural areas.

Eden:

Yeah. The weather is really drastic, which is probably why I always have cough because my body is not used to this weather-it gets really cold here. But well....how people dress and how they present themselves mhm I don't think there's like a specific dress code for Rhodents because literally.... someone can wear like a -what's it called? -an overall -like those working suits and some people.....go crazy for their outfits. You meet very different people, it's very culturally integrated, yeah. Socially.....I think there isn't much racism. People are very nice to each other uhm...we've got a lot of skateboarders here, so they usually just go around these uh....mountains. You find that Rhodes isn't like uh.....uni-surfaced uh.....uh....campus. Like uh....I think it was built on a mountain of some sort. Because the terrain it's like...it's not uniform. It's got a few humps and bumps, slopes everywhere. I think it's pretty cool. Pretty cool. And one thing I notice about Rhodes.....there are a lot of Zimbabweans here. A LOT. I would probably say that the largest percentage of foreigners are Zimbabweans here; the largest percentage of students here at Rhodes are Zimbabweans. It came as a surprise to me because I was like "oh no I'm going to foreign country. I'm probably not gonna find my people, my home..." It's (blowing lips)...I was surprised. Surprised.

I think the biggest part of the university would be, the people...because visually, yes you can have beautiful architecture, beautiful landscape but...people,..make, you, feel, make you feel at home, because I live in a small res and we're kinda like a little family, so....my experience is very intimate because you get to know the people you've living with uhhh Rhodents are very vocal; we express ourselves in various ways, and because of that when there are problems such as the rape culture at Rhodes, it might take time for people to acknowledge it and to realize that it's a problem that needs to be fought for...but uh...when people actually come together -even if it's just a hundred people -they can make a lot of noise and make things happen -like with the rape protest, I believe here at Rhodes we are like 7000 students, so the people who were protesting were like less than a thousand, but the noise that was made was so renowned that, you know...it was uhm....it got media attention, it was aired on SABC, all around the world, and people got to know what was going on uhm...again, the essence of the people here at Rhodes is,... we teach each other uhm about social inequality; we teach each other about privilege; we teach each other about uhm all the other uhm problems we face and we help each other around out when we face difficulty, coz I remember uhm walking into the library toilet one day there was a little,..there was a bag with pads in it, and it said okay 'take one for whoever needs it'. And there has been talks of 'condoms are freely available yet pads are not freely available'. It's kinda like a disparity in the gender uhm inequality, argument so I think that's something that needs to be addressed, and I gather that someone actually took the initiative to do a small thing that helps a large number of people, also.....(cough).....uhm.....yeah....yeah that's basically it....I think I have spoken.

Gaby:

I don't think I ever feel out of place on campus unless I'm like, if I'm...you know, when I'm up the hill like I don't live there so obviously I feel out of place coz like (inaudible). Uhm.... the only time I've ever felt out of place was during the protest coz uhm (deep exhale/exasperation) fuck... (mumble)where do you guys want me... yeah but otherwise I've never like –on the actual architecture- oh no. I've felt very much at home like Rhodes people are very accepting and, you know.....maybe I feel out of place when I sit on the concrete of the Kaif coz it's like -I don't know –concrete and I hate it. Uh...Yeah. But I suppose no one really likes it when people fight and stuff, you know.

The Visual and What I LIKE:

Jamie:

Yeah. And I mean you'll...yeah, and I think it's kind of weird especially after you know like what happened last year the protests and all that is that, yeah as much as I do I, I like the, the way the old buildings and that looks but then you have to remember as well that kind of, you know, what looks like the pretty building was a prison barracks or was a, you know, this kind of center of colonial.. Yeah, so I mean so yeah it makes you almost a little bit uncomfortable in a way because it's.....Yeah..... I mean, if you understand South Africa.....just talking, hmmm (inaudible).

Gift:

Yah, go the extra mile to make everyone feel comfortable. well i'm not saying like hone in or zoom in on the fact that ukuthi sise-Africa, Africa and kufuneka everything ibe-Africa, African....no. no. I mean in the sense of uhm obviously white people have their own style of building houses; we also have our own African style of like building houses like I said with the hut and the paintings like the Ndebele paintings are like why people also have their own style like was building houses their own -what's the word - own identity, their own thing that fumaniseke they find comfortable. Yeah I would say like lento efumaniseka bona ibenza happy, makes them appreciate there's s...their surroundings and feel safe and comfortable and feel love and feel that ukuthi you know, you know what....this university like went the extra mile for me ukuthi ngibe comfortable. Yeah, well even though I may not notice, notice that every day but yah like it went the extra mile. That's what I'm like it should be like ubone...kufuneka ibe like accommodating for everyone. (Comes across friend -a minor exchange).

But you asked me a question ukuthi do I feel more comfortable at home or here: aaaah....to me; school is school, man. To me school is school. Its where I learn. its not where I like....I wouldn't say like people here.... okay, to be blunt... we are, we are...this is a multiracial university. We are not sociable we are...we just tolerate each other. Its like "Hi" "Hi" That's all. It's not like....fumaniseke....another one that's fumaniseke interested to know where you come from or what not or interested about you. No. We just "Hi" "Hi". That is all. We don't even speak sometimes. Even when uhleli apha ecaleni kwami awuzothetha nix; nami andizothetha nix. Hhayi it is who I am and nawe it is who you are. I'm not blaming you; nawe don't blame me. Maybe it is how we were brought up. It is how we were brought up, you know,

post-apartheid our mind sets or what-not. And we shun upon those who befriend like white people uthi "ahh, uyazidala...awumjonge...." ahhh. Ay, I am sick and tired of uh...black people don't want to fucken evolve. They don't wanna evolve. No, from square one siyabuyela. We are returning to square one.

Okwakhe:

Yah, there's so many renovations around. But Rhodes is pretty cool like...some of the buildings and features I have never seen anywhere else but here like 'oh, okay, this is pretty cool'. But it's different from what I expected when I first came. I was like expecting a normal university setup like maybe Wits or something like that. Coz like I'm from Rustenburg which is close to Joburg so like I'm always around Joburg, so I thought it was like that environment where you're like going to different campuses and you don't get to see people. But then once you get here you realise that a lot is in your face, even if you're guys are doing a different degree, ALL like in your face. You see each other all the time. So, yah.

My lecture is like somewhere in this building. I think my lecture is in the fourth window up there. Yah, it's like Geography 10. It's Ecos mixed with Geography. So, the first part of the building is Geography and then towards the end it's like Management and Ecos. So, that's my first lecture. So, we're gonna go to the Bot Gardens -where I chill.

So, this is like the route I use to the Bot Gardens because I do Entymology so I constantly have to be there. I go with my net. It's quite difficult being black and doing Entymology because people look at you like 'Ah, you're black. So why are you doing this subject? You're holding a net and stuff'. Yah, I really didn't think it would be that bad in Rhodes for that course, because it's like Entymology so it would go well with my degree. And then I go there and there's a lot of white people than black people. (chuckle). But then I was not bothered by it any way. So, when you walk around campus and people ask you what course you're doing, what degree you're doing and you're like 'Entymology', people are like 'Oh, that's a first. A black person doing Entymology?' But I SWEAR I am not the only one. There are some black people doing it. Actually most of my demonstrators are black, so...I don't know how they go there but within the undergraduate class there are like a few black people. Literally in the third year class there's zero. There isn't anyone doing Entymology who is black. And then for second year there's just like three of us. Yah, out of 15. So, twelve is like white people and then there's three of us. But we're used to it.

Eden:

So, I guess the....visually its very calming and relaxed, it's not....the buildings aren't -what it's called? -uhmmm they aren't uhmmm overpowering, so they kinda.....they're noticeable but yet they, they....they are kind of silent visually because they don't really jump out and grab your attention and most of the buildings are painted in cream to kinda just blend into the environment so as to bring out the nature. They have really made a point of having.....(hand clap)....line out the university and uh...make it....far much more appealing. So, instead of taking you to the main entrance I am going to take you towards the back entrance because there is like this really cool wall that I really think would add, it would really add some character to your

documentary.....one of the things I have noticed about Rhodes -because we live in this small town -most people drive small cars, so it's kinda like our own little mini village, this part of town.....so, this part of town is the affluent part of Grahamstown,..so, uh.....if you literally go up the Monument and just take a.....and just stare, and just stare at the environment, you'll see that there's a clear demarcation between the affluent part of town and (inaudible) part of town, which is one of the things that when you come to Rhodes that you really don't realise that...uh...not everyone is privileged and literally if you just go up the mountain you can see the shacks and the low.. the low cost houses that most of the workers at Rhodes live in. Yeah...private parking, private parking. So this is literally like the back of the library. That's a res -as you can see, it's not really that outstanding. You can't really tell the difference between a res and just another building at Rhodes. So, they've got this uniform architecture going on..which is ...all around campus. So this is the route I would take to a lecture on Industrial and Economic Psychology. We have a lecture by the gym.

Aya:

Well, I grew up in a house that's we have quite a big garden so it's always kind of being like an integral part of my life. But in high school, wasn't a good time for me so I sought comfort in nature so suppose nature became that much more important, yeah.

I like it. I like, I like face brick. Oh yeah I think it's really cool style and it's just like a quaint part of campus like I feel like upper campus is more modern and this is more like traditional old-fashioned all. So I guess I like old-fashioned.

Yeah, I just, I like the design, and it's crazy, it's comforting, it's really pretty. yeah it's not (pointing) THAT pretty. I mean, I like that big window in the library. Yeah, I really like that. But otherwise I mean I like the library, the interior.

Gaby:

Yeah, well, I like the old buildings better. I don't know why but I just feel like they just like have so much more character than a block, you know. (chuckle) But I suppose like, they don't serve the same functions like you couldn't have a res as a lecture room or maybe-like lecture hall, because they're like so differently designed. (.....). Phew! It's hot.

YEAH! It's so sad coz it's so beautiful. Like we just spend the whole life looking at our feet or at our phones and if you actually just like....my friend and I, we wait for it to like be raining and then we'll go and walk around just to see like coz it even looks older and like all the kind of creepy, you know, and look at the old architecture but I hadn't for so long and it's actually so nice, to like not all the little things, like I didn't appreciate it, so I am glad that you asked me to do the interview, so I would know that 'ah, I live in such a beautiful place' coz I forgot..coz uh, you arrive and you're like 'Oh, this is so nice' and then you just forget. Like, it's already

fourth term so I'm used to it. I actually arrived to Grahamstown and was like 'ah, Grahamstown is not looking so great' coz it's like -I don't know, but it's actually looking very nice.

No, it's quite amazing. I travel quite a lot. So, I like to go and see museums and stuff and to think that there's been like a building here for like 200 years or something, you know. And like, 'who built that?' It was probably s...-I don't know, like slaves and stuff, you know. And they actually sat there and built it. And someone sat there and designed it. Everything has a meaning almost, you know. Like it's so -I don't know-it's not just a block that's been built for an office.

I just uh..... I like it. I like to be surrounded by pretty things. (chuckle). I like everything to be -I don't know - detailed and unique kind of..like..it's so nice..... it's just really nice when you go and you walk into campus and then you walk through here and there's all these lovely flowers.....much better than walking here and there is rubbish or something, you know. Like it makes me feel so positive and if the place is like cared for, you care for it more. Like if you're in a rubbish dump, like obviously you don't care if you like drop a piece of rubbish on the floor.

Visual Culture and Identity:

Nir:

This, this place as a space has got a very kind of old-world charm to it. And, and I think maybe one person's charm is another person's..... deeply unpleasant kind of experience. But coming from, from a place like Joburg where everything is modern and aiming to be modern all the time, to come to a place that believes in things like quads and fish ponds, and old architecture, pot plants; that is pretty cool.

I guess so. I think, I think, that what Rhodes, what people, what the architects were trying to do was create a similar kind of look and feel to somewhere like Oxford or Cambridge or something like that, you know. I think it's highly possible that that was the kind of vibe they were going for. Uhm...yah. There's no way uh...this is pure speculation. Do not write that down as a fact. (chuckle).

Jamie:

Oh! Yeah, yeah, yeah. We can go down on this bit. I'm ..yeah I, what do I think about this kind of thing, because Student Bureau building, I have heard it is one of the newer buildings like it wasn't here 20 years ago so yeah I mean I think that's the thing with Rhodes that there's such a mixture between the old kind of colonial, you know, stuff and you can see the vistas of it all like blockhouse and the coffees, the Provost. Yeah, and then all these new kind of shiny buildings as well..so I suppose....Yeah. And I mean you'll...yeah, and I think it's kind of weird especially after you know like what happened last year the protests and all that is that, yeah as much as I do I, I like the, the way the old buildings and that looks but then you have to

remember as well that kind of, you know, what looks like the pretty building was a prison barracks or was a, you know, this kind of center of colonial.. Yeah, so I mean so yeah it makes you almost a little bit uncomfortable in a way because it's.....Yeah..... I mean, if you understand South Africa.....just talking, hmmm (inaudible).

Yeah, I mean that's always been a thing for me actually. I mean this is a good kind of point like I was born in England and I grew up there till I was sort of 12 or so and I lived in a town actually called, well right next to a town called Truro, so Truro was where, where we used to go for like outings for the day, you know, and uh...one of the things I always liked about Grahamstown was that it kind of reminded me of England a bit, you know. Yeah, I mean because, you know, the, you know, it's pretty green; it's often very wintery here so, you know, I mean a day like this you might as well be walking through some little English town, you know, which is sort of nice and nostalgic for me because it kind of reminds me of, you know, being a kid again. But then at the same time it's like this is not England it's South Africa. And I think Rhodes -and probably Grahamstown itself -tries very hard to be this sort of little piece of Europe, you know, they used to call it 'Oxford in the bush,' you know which is, which is uh...I don't know, problematic. It is not very genuine I suppose...uhm...but I suppose that's the other thing, and we think...the one thing about this place is that as soon as you start thinking about it you...it makes you feel uncomfortable, so you know uh..... Yeah.

And about Rhodes' history and about you know the kind of coloniality of the space very theoretical before last year, you know. Yeah, I knew it was a pretty, yeah I knew that it was a, you know, a barracks or whatever, you know. And you knew that it has this kind of history but it was in a very kind of academic theoretical way. I think because for me I was experiencing in a kind of academic and theoretical way, for me the history was very much the history, you know. But I think when the protest happened when people started saying that like you know those things for a lot of people here aren't just academic issues or theoretical issues they're actually lived you know they, they still live that space in a very different way, you know, then it changes the way that you kind of inhabit the spaces but because you know I think just by kind of osmosis...and yeah and-and-and obviously, you know, in terms of the kind of discomfort I think that the kind of the events of last year were discomfoting for everyone and including white people and I think white people in it, in a, in a slightly different way you know and I'm not saying that in any kind of, you know, 'but the poor white people felt so uncomfortable'. I'm saying it in like that, 'yeah, you know, they should have because that's what this whole project is about,' is about kind of making people kind of uncomfortable with the way things are right now because some people live that discomfort every day and some people don't because they don't have to, you know. So, I think it's important that people like me experience that discomfort and take stock of it and think about it and, you know, I'm not, I'm not saying that you, like you need to kind of walk around apologizing or you to walk around kind of feeling like an outsider. I don't think that, you know, because that's obviously not right either but I mean... Yeah, I think it's like, it's important to have to, to, to, to try at least and ex... or to..you know, empathise with how other people experience space or to, you know, to, to think about that and I think that will change how you experience this place you know if you empathize with it.. I mean, yeah I think that would be a way of I think it's like, you know, like

that empathy thing. It is quite interesting; I think of my little brother, he hated school, was bullied and hated it and walking into that school which otherwise would have just been a school but if I walked in there actually I could feel like what he felt in that was like this horrible pic know if I pick them up from school like you can actually the place looked oppressive, it felt oppressive to me because of what I knew he was experiencing there, you know....anyway, I think it maybe works a bit like that if you, you know what I mean? Yeah, yeah, yeah. If you have a sense of that then that changes because I mean I'm like, I'm not even saying that it changes the space in a theoretical way like it doesn't, it's not me saying I understand that other people find this place oppressive, it's almost like I actually find this place oppressive because I understand that other people find it oppressive. So, like it changes your own way of being in it so of...sort of in the first sense and indirectly it's like you experience through other people's eyes. But I think that indirect experience actually change for you as well.

Quaz:

I think.....It goes both ways. Rhodes within itself is uh.....a separate planet, you know. It's as though it is not in Grahamstown or in South Africa per se. So, with that being said...the moment students come into Rhodes..you know, they start behaving like they also NOT part of South Africa or...they adapt, you know, when you go to Mars you do what people in Mars do. And what the people in Mars do is determined by the kind of planet that Mars is. So, I think that's just that...I think that Rhodes is very secluded, it's just a world on its own and the moment students come in here they become just that: people living in a separate world. so in terms of culture -of the Rhodes culture, it goes both ways. Uh, Rhodes ALLOWS for that kind of..... or uh...it initiates that kind of behaviour, and students just adapt to it. and go on with it.

Not really. But (heavy breathe).....if we're gonna say Rhodes is white when referring to the environment, then what kind of not-white would we then incorporate to make the environment eh...not so white...not be white? Do we then change some of our buildings or infrastructure, and start building rondavels? (chuckle). Do we.....what do we do? How do we...change the environment?

Gift:

But I got a great idea like what I was thinking like in terms of like preparing for the interview yakho when you said that uhm..ukuthi, wouldn't maybe like.... when you said like the interview is to be about like the whole structure of the University like how the buildings and whatnot it would be like really great , I think personally, maybe next time when they like build a building or like i-res perhaps build like more like African things, African like u-rondo -a hut like a res. obviously it would have to be like you know like maybe three stories high or I don't know or whatever but like the shape of like ibe-round.

Yah, go the extra mile to make everyone feel comfortable. well i'm not saying like hone in or zoom in on the fact that ukuthi sise-Africa, Africa and kufuneka everything ibe-Africa,

African...no. no. I mean in the sense of uhm obviously white people have their own style of building houses; we also have our own African style of like building houses like I said with the hut and the paintings like the Ndebele paintings are like why people also have their own style like was building houses their own -what's the word - own identity, their own thing that fumaniseke they find comfortable. Yeah I would say like lento efumaniseka bona ibenza happy, makes them appreciate there's s...their surroundings and feel safe and comfortable and feel love and feel that ukuthi you know, you know what...this university like went the extra mile for me ukuthi ngibe comfortable. Yeah, well even though I may not notice, notice that every day but yah like it went the extra mile. That's what I'm like it should be like ubone...kufuneka ibe like accommodating for everyone. (Comes across friend -a minor exchange).

Abone like it's... also people were referring to the fact that we don't have statues abo –like Mandela I think like he is the first statue of like a black person we don't have statues of aboShaka, aboMakana, we don't have statues of African heroes, wabona? But we have statues of white boys, which is a bit unjust in a sense because like.. we were colonised -like I-route yami le, so I walk past this thing like every day...uh, it's just a fucking statue. It's just a statue I don't care...it doesn't affect my life.

Yah, it doesn't shame. But they brought it down in Cape Town claiming that ukuthi it's uh.... yah like... the thing that I've said before ukuthi it represents colonialism what-not and what-not. I understand where they're coming from. I understand that ukuthi yah...I have a problem saying ukuthi "no, as Africans we are not being embraced. We don't have our own statues," "the buildings are not African, they don't embrace the fact that we are multiracial university". Like paint it... like paint it Ndebele, man. Or what not, just go the extra mile to accommodate everyone.

(.....) some undercover-nyana thing? I think like overthinking is also something. Yeah, indlela like oyi-viewer ngakhona into and also like with like overthinking, what I mean by over thinking about the name change, yabo? yeah they have a point ukuthi you know what, African heroes are not being remembered or being commemorated enough so we need to like name more towns name more places in order to like comma....comme... commam-....whats the word? Yeah, commemorate them more, yabo? and also like to reflect on also the majority the society also like the change of time, yabo? Because like, you can't have an Afrikaner street name during Apartheid and then you claim ukuthi "no, it's the rainbow nation; it's the what-not" but still you haven't changed that name. It's still apartheid, so apartheid in a sense still exists, yabo? So I think like it is also good to like change it. But to, to be practical, South Africa is not a rich country.

Yoli:

That's what it's like name is correctly; the Africa media matrix. Okay if you go inside uhm.... we'll see a lot of the decor is quite african-inspired, especially inspired by South Africa. So,

there's uhm...uh.....just the artworks on the walls, there's a lot of artworks of the continent uhm just uh.. I don't know how to describe it, you just have to go in there, it's quite Africa-infused if that makes sense. Even the bathrooms, there's like quotes all over the walls, the seminar rooms are named after important journalistic dates in Africa. Uhm.... I wouldn't say it's representative of Africa, I mean, just because you have African décor doesn't mean it's representative of Africa. I think uh... obviously it's trying. It's better than a lot of the departments on campus but you can't just say its representative of Africa just because it's got African patterns and artworks.

You know, despite the fact that -I assume majority of the students are black middle class students -it's still a white space in a very white environment and it's just.. that's, that's evident in the structures of the place and the way things are run just the names of buildings, the fact that we're in an institution that's called Rhodes or the fact that there's still a Jan Smuts Hall, a Jan Smuts res. These things, those are very white spaces.

Names do mean a lot. What he was doing like, like it, it's not even like a question because I know just culturally as umuntu ongumXhosa when I get a name that name signifies something and in spite of the aspirations or the history or or..it's a reflection of the times and often now names often uhm..names carry power and meaning and, you know, just even the name Grahamstown it's a problematic name because it's named after someone who, who didn't do anything for the indigenous people here, who basically took advantage of them candidly. Like, a lot of the names in the Eastern Cape, there's two names, so here Grahamstown/eRhini, Port Elizabeth/eBhayi and I think we need to go back to the names of these places originally had because they were named those names for significance that they carry for the people because that's their history.

I think uh.....changing the names of places or reverting back to the original names is something that's important and that needs to be done. I mean obviously just changing names is not gonna...magically improve everything. There's still a lot of uh... structures that need to be dismantled after that and then improved or transformed. So, I don't think just changing the name will be enough. Yeah. I don't think changing the name is gonna fix, you know, years and years of oppression that people have been under but I think it's a start of people being able to retain their identities because then they can start being empowered and being able to say 'okay I'm so and so from this place' and people recognize their history and recognize uhm....recognize that. I think that that lack of recognition is the problem.

Dannie:

The difference is the buildings. For me it's the buildings. I mean, buildings sort of give you that...if you enter a house obviously you're like, or if you were to enter a village, the houses would tell you something about that place, right? So, when you come from (pointing) this side it sort of a message of 'Oh, Rhodes...it's not' it sort of lowers your expectations if you were sort of expecting 'Wow, Rhodes'. It's sort of like 'Oh, okay, this is Rhodes'. But when you come through that side it give you like a beautiful picture, it is like 'wow, this place is amazing'. You

sort of get the excitement unlike when you come through this side, so you're like 'oh, okay, is this what this place has?'. But generally yeah, this place is very small. Other than Rhodes University, the other side is uhm...it's beautiful. Like I said, I like the, I like the architecture. You get these cathedrals, and when you're standing, when you're standing there by Hill Street looking that side, it is sort of like this (arm gesture) sloping, it's like...it's so beautiful. You see the cathedral from that side and, and...it's different, man. I don't know if it's because I am used to the big city and all that stuff but it is so different and it's pretty, it's chilled. So, yah.

Yeah, I have been there but by passing nje, nothing too....It's a fountain. (chuckle). There were fishes in there -cool, yeah. For me uh...it doesn't mean anything. But to be honest though, in most of the buildings here at Rhodes, you feel like, you feel like -especially with me, if you're coming from another town, a city, whatever, you come in here to Rhodes it feels like you're in some small European...home...European area or whatever. Like I don't know if you've googled 'Munich' -yah, it's in Germany, it sort of looks like -okay, I don't know if it's just the internet making it look more nicer, but for me it's like Rhodes University; a bit of Rhodes University there, you know, I can..the buildings and all that. So, like I said, there's a lot of history and then, and somehow I would like to find out, you know, WHY?

Gaby:

Yeah. I like this one and like obviously the clock tower. Like, you know, obviously the Clock Tower. I feel like I'm at Harvard or something when I walk past it because it looks so fancy and then uhm they always put those flowers like in the front.

But I guess I think it's kind of ironic that I love looking at old colonial architecture because of like it's colonial, you know. But I really appreciate art and I find like they're just so...everything was hand-made back in the day, even jewellery and stuff. So, that's, that's kind of my reasoning like I really like like, as things get more modern they get more and more artificial and fake and not as well made, you know, not as much care and detail.

Uhm...what would I do? I think I'd like incorporate more... it's not, I mean it's very western university. There's not many, many African. I suppose there's like...I don't know...(raises voice)..So if I DECIDED THAT I WOULD CHANGE WHAT IT LOOKS LIKE....what would I do? Okay, personally I would add more gardens because I like gardens. Uhm....I'd I'd preserve the architecture just coz of what it means to me. I would probably change some of the reses names though.

Yeah I wouldn't actually change anything. Maybe just some of the names yeah and then obviously whenever I'd like if I would build new buildings I would build it more like obviously it must match the rest of the university but I would build it a little bit more South African than European, if you know what I mean?

Walking a lot:

Quaz:

Yeah, they are very different....Hence they are (chuckle) FAR away from each other. You can't...if you have a lecture at the politics department uh you can't necessarily leave uh five minutes before your tut at the Ecos department coz then chances are you will be late no matter how fast you walk, even if you driving....coz you might still have to park your car on the OTHER side then start walking towards your lecture. But they are very different the economics department is confusing.

Okwakhe:

The whole environment is quite different from down campus. Yah, and...if you dont have a car it's quite a struggle but yeah, it's a plus. Coz literally you have to leave like 15 minutes before your lecture. You can't live 5 minutes because you know you will be late. So, that's uphill life. But it's pretty cool.

GABY:

Yeah. You walk so much around here especially if you live up the hill. And I didn't have a car when I first came here so I also walked so much like to go get water and to get my groceries at Pick and Pay and like it's so hot and a lot of people all the time.

I think I lost weight -just from walking. (chuckle). And I even live on the third floor so I have to climb like three floors of stairs every time I go to my room.

Yeah. It's quite nice though that you can walk everywhere. Like if you're in Wits or something like it makes you feel so safe because like it's uh...all the residences and stuff make it a student town, you know. So like if I wanna go to my friend's house, if we want to go out we just walk -which is so cool. Whereas like... because I'm from Joburg if you're at Wits or whatever uhm, you're not just gonna like bump into your friends at the shops and start...because like people come from all over the area, you know what I mean? And people who like come to Rhodes only come from Grahamstown. So I feel like you're almost more likely to make friends because of it's like so small. (.....).

Oh really? I don't actually know where they have the lectures. I think they have it far. That's quite.... I know my friends are like very irritated because apparently like where you have the lectures and then where you have to go to work for art is pretty far away. So like I'm so lucky because my residence is so close everything. I mean did you see how far I walked? I didn't even walk far. Like some people -my one friend lives at the top of the hill, she has to walk all the way down here, then for lunch, and then she has to walk all the way to somewhere else for like another lecture.

Walking and Seeing:

Nir:

Uh...I think uh..... when, when you were telling me about your project and when I was reading about your project and I was thinking quite a lot about what my experiences of campus and how I view campus, what I see and I think the first thing that I've seen and, and I think this is -I think this might be true from the first time I've set foot on campus -the first thing I think that hits you is actually the people. So in terms of the structures at Rhodes, what I'm kind of, tend to be focused on is the people at Rhodes and I think about the mood -one of the nice things and, and sometimes one of the detrimental things about Rhodes is that it's a very small place and so...it's not only the place you work but it's also the place you live. And you tend to be able to pick up the mood of campus pretty quickly and it's just from the way that people are; by how quiet or how busy campus is, you almost know what kind of day you're going to have just by the way that people are as you, as you enter campus. I think it was probably most starkly highlighted during the recent protests where campus had a very, very... strange and and difficult feeling even when, even when people weren't protesting; the feeling surrounding the protest, the anger, the fear, the aggression, the uncertainty, the.....not sure about whether to be on campus or whether to be away from campus, All of that was something you could feel and you could tell from the way that...the way that people walk, the way that people spoke, the way that people just existed in their space here. Uhm..... I think that Rhodes has also been one of those places where...uhm one of the things that you, you're gonna ask me is whether or not it's a place where I feel at home?

I think I've never felt more at home -anywhere on the planet that I've visited - than I do at Rhodes.

Yeah and again it's got to do with the people. Uh..... for all Rhodes' problems, and there are some (head motion).. for all of its colonial and you know historically prejudicial background It is also one of THE most liberated spaces in terms of the way that people treat one another. It it's,.....it's a space where if you compare it to places like Cape Town or Johannesburg or Durban all of the...Port Elizabeth to some extent, all of which are places that I've spent a fair bit of time in, Rhodes is by far the most accepting of difference -particularly with regards to gender, with regards to sexuality, with regards to race. It hasn't always been as accepting, certainly in the late 90s, early 2000s -It was a place that was still learning how to transform. Uhm, but at the moment -and again it's about how you experience your world in the way that people sit with one another and the way that people talk to one another and the way that they walk. People walk with each other, so I've never, it's never felt like it did in the late nineties where people walked apart; we had different racial groups in clumps. So everybody was on campus but everybody walked in their own groups and, you know. And by their own groups I just mean kind of racially segregated. I just don't, don't see that happening as much and I'm not saying that there isn't, there isn't an underlying tension -not at all, but I'm saying that if I look at the way that people just casually engage it's far more integrated than uh..than it was.

Jamie:

Yeah, I mean that's always been a thing for me actually. I mean this is a good kind of point like I was born in England and I grew up there till I was sort of 12 or so and I lived in a town

actually called, well right next to a town called Truro, so Truro was where, where we used to go for like outings for the day, you know, and uh...one of the things I always liked about Grahamstown was that it kind of reminded me of England a bit, you know. Yeah, I mean because, you know, the, you know, it's pretty green; it's often very wintery here so, you know, I mean a day like this you might as well be walking through some little English town, you know, which is sort of nice and nostalgic for me because it kind of reminds me of, you know, being a kid again. But then at the same time it's like this is not England it's South Africa. And I think Rhodes -and probably Grahamstown itself -tries very hard to be this sort of little piece of Europe, you know, they used to call it 'Oxford in the bush,' you know which is, which is uh...I don't know, problematic. It is not very genuine I suppose...uhm...but I suppose that's the other thing, and we think...the one thing about this place is that as soon as you start thinking about it you...it makes you feel uncomfortable, so you know uh..... Yeah.

Yeah, I mean I think it's quite difficult to dislocate the visual from the social in a way if I'm trying to think of what is..yah... I mean I think this...yeah I don't know, I don't know how I could answer that. I think that my initial response would be like the social is more informative to me kind of thing. But I mean there is something actually about walking around with a camera and kind of looking at the visual stuff which makes you think that maybe, maybe it actually affects me more than I realize in way because there are all these social I mean not social but visual kind of cues that you're picking up all the time, all the time subconsciously too so I think that looking, I think that the two are definitely enmeshed in a way I'm going to be..no, I'm going to be pretty much more conscious of what I'm seeing after this... yeah I think, you know, it's like the social is all the stuff that happens maybe the meatier stuff but it all happened against the backdrop, you know. So it is interesting how that backdrop influences yeah.....

Like, for instance -like I said -the Politics department is a department on its own -it is very secluded, you get it? They can put whatever they want coz you know that the moment you walk in there there's...you'll find no other department but everything that has to do with Politics, you know...you find your offices, you find your seminars, everything in there is Politics whereas for the Ecos department, it's not just the Ecos department, you have, have other places -like we said....the management people are there, Statistics are there, Accounting are there, you know...it would become a challenge now for them in terms of what do you put on the wall? Do you display things that have to do with Economics, do you to display things that have to do with Accounting, you get it? Like I said, in that department, all they have are small rooms and offices just so that students can be able to...CONSULT, you know. So, it would, I think it would be very hard for them to now start DISPLAYING what their departments are about, hence they decided to put nice paintings that will show you nothing more but, NO ART.

You know, when you start looking at it and...you know, when you start looking at Rhodes infrastructure, there are somethings that you notice that are quite INTRIGUING. I know that by the Nelson Mandela Dining Hall, we have something like a waterfall. But because the water is not always, you know, flowing, you don't notice it until the day the water flows and you actually notice it and 'oh, this is a waterfall'. You know, its uh....it really has nice features but

if you perhaps.... take time to observe and not just walk past everything then you get to see that..... though Rhodes is not really decorated, it has some intriguing stuff.

Uhhh.... you know what, I think when we see..when I see most of this stuff, to me even though there is a story behind each and every one of them..at the end of the day they are just features (chuckle)..you know. I don't really... -of course I'll be amazed, you know, just like the hands thing by the Union, I was so amazed but I didn't actually take time to sit and investigate 'why would they....what's the story behind that.. and I think that most of eh...I think it's like that for most of us, we see and it ends there we don't want to dig deep into....uh why the specific feature here, why this specific name here? So, yah....they are just features... until you actually notice them or someone actually tells you the history behind them.

Gift:

Yah, it's a bit bland. Iyabhora, shame. I mean the, the, the architecture of the buildings. Now that I've like paid attention to it, hhayi, iyabhora. Like look at that. What's interesting about that shit? ai, iyabhora. So as a politician I think I would hone in on the fact that the university needs to take a bit more initiative and responsibility in terms of like making surroundings more reflective on its students.

(.....) some undercover-nyana thing? I think like overthinking is also something. Yeah, indlela like oyi-viewer ngakhona into and also like with like overthinking, what I mean by over thinking about the name change, yabo? yeah they have a point ukuthi you know what, African heroes are not being remembered or being commemorated enough so we need to like name more towns name more places in order to like comma....comme... commam-....whats the word? Yeah, commemorate them more, yabo? and also like to reflect on also the majority the society also like the change of time, yabo? Because like, you can't have an Afrikaner street name during Apartheid and then you claim ukuthi "no, it's the rainbow nation; it's the what-not" but still you haven't changed that name. It's still apartheid, so apartheid in a sense still exists, yabo? So I think like it is also good to like change it. But to, to be practical, South Africa is not a rich country.

Eden:

So, I guess the....visually its very calming and relaxed, it's not....the buildings aren't -what it's called? -uhmmm they aren't uhmmm overpowering, so they kinda.....they're noticeable but yet they, they....they are kind of silent visually because they don't really jump out and grab your attention and most of the buildings are painted in cream to kinda just blend into the environment so as to bring out the nature. They have really made a point of having.....(hand clap)...line out the university and uh...make it....far much more appealing. So, instead of taking you to the main entrance I am going to take you towards the back entrance because there is like this really cool wall that I really think would add, it would really add some character to your documentary.....one of the things I have noticed about Rhodes -because we live in this small town -most people drive small cars, so it's kinda like our own little mini village, this part of town.....so, this part of town is the affluent part of Grahamstown,..so, uh....if you literally go

up the Monument and just take a.....and just stare, and just stare at the environment, you'll see that there's a clear demarcation between the affluent part of town and (inaudible) part of town, which is one of the things that when you come to Rhodes that you really don't realise that...uh...not everyone is privileged and literally if you just go up the mountain you can see the shacks and the low.. the low cost houses that most of the workers at Rhodes live in. Yeah...private parking, private parking. So this is literally like the back of the library. That's a res -as you can see, it's not really that outstanding. You can't really tell the difference between a res and just another building at Rhodes. So, they've got this uniform architecture going on..which is ...all around campus. So this is the route I would take to a lecture on Industrial and Economic Psychology. We have a lecture by the gym.

Yeah. yeah. Actually, taking a walk around campus and just looking at the buildings and the nature around it's, it's quite eye-opening. I actually don't get time to appreciate it.

Gaby:

Beautiful. It's quite interesting coz you can tell like the different eras that everything was built in according to its architecture so like you can see the old ones and then you can see like the ones that were built in the seventies and stuff because they all look so different, you know.

It's beautiful, hey. I've never actually looked at campus for a while, like I love to look at old buildings and new buildings, like I really like looking at architecture and all different places, you know. and I haven't actually looked at Rhodes architecture for a while and it's so beautiful but I think it's also more beautiful because it's sunny and it's becoming green now. Coz like in the Winter it was quite depressing. Everything was brown and nobody was like chilling outside because it was so cold, you know. And then you feel quite lonely. (.....)

YEAH! It's so sad coz it's so beautiful. Like we just spend the whole life looking at our feet or at our phones and if you actually just like....my friend and I, we wait for it to like be raining and then we'll go and walk around just to see like coz it even looks older and like all the kind of creepy, you know, and look at the old architecture but I hadn't for so long and it's actually so nice, to like not all the little things, like I didn't appreciate it, so I am glad that you asked me to do the interview, so I would know that 'ah, I live in such a beautiful place' coz I forgot..coz uh, you arrive and you're like 'Oh, this is so nice' and then you just forget. Like, it's already fourth term so I'm used to it. I actually arrived to Grahamstown and was like 'ah, Grahamstown is not looking so great' coz it's like -I don't know, but it's actually looking very nice.

I just uh..... I like it. I like to be surrounded by pretty things. (chuckle). I like everything to be -I don't know - detailed and unique kind of..like..it's so nice..... it's just really nice when you go and you walk into campus and then you walk through here and there's all these lovely flowers.....much better than walking here and there is rubbish or something, you know. Like it

makes me feel so positive and if the place is like cared for, you care for it more. Like if you're in a rubbish dump, like obviously you don't care if you like drop a piece of rubbish on the floor.

Appendix G: Chapter skeletons

Chapter Being within the design:

Dannie:

For me it's the buildings. I mean, buildings sort of give you that...if you enter a house obviously you're like, or if you were to enter a village, the houses would tell you something about that place, right? So, when you come from (pointing) this side it sort of a message of 'Oh, Rhodes...it's not' it sort of lowers your expectations if you were sort of expecting 'Wow, Rhodes'. It's sort of like 'Oh, okay, this is Rhodes'. But when you come through that side it give you like a beautiful picture, it is like 'wow, this place is amazing'. You sort of get the excitement unlike when you come through this side, so you're like 'oh, okay, is this what this place has?'. But generally yeah, this place is very small. Other than Rhodes University, the other side is uhm...it's beautiful. Like I said, I like the, I like the architecture. You get these cathedrals, and when you're standing, when you're standing there by Hill Street looking that side, it is sort of like this (arm gesture) sloping, it's like...it's so beautiful. You see the cathedral from that side and, and...it's different, man. I dont know if it's because I am used to the big city and all that stuff but it is so different and it's pretty, it's chilled. So, yah.

Okwakhe:

But Rhodes is pretty cool like...some of the buildings and features I have never seen anywhere else but here like 'oh, okay, this is pretty cool'. But it's different from what I expected when I first came. I was like expecting a normal university setup like maybe Wits or something like that. Coz like I'm from Rustenburg which is close to Joburg so like I'm always around Joburg, so I thought it was like that environment where you're like going to different campuses and you don't get to see people. But then once you get here you realise that a lot is in your face, even if you're guys are doing a different degree, ALL like in your face. You see each other all the time. So, yah.

Quaz:

(long pause with finger on chin) (Hmm sound with mouth) I think it's quite INTRIGUING, given the fact that uhm.....the buildings at Rhodes do not follow a similar structure they are not the same, you know... you have places like the Journalism Department -which is completely different from all the other departments at Rhodes, you know...inside and outside. You have the IT and information systems department, it's also different, the Hamilton building, they are very different -they are very, BOURGIE! They, they....different and they do G you know they, they have quite a lot of things that certain departments don't have, you know.....and you look at the apartments like the.....uh.... the politics department, it's so different I haven't seen any other department that looks like that (chuckle)...then you have your Law Department, your education department, it's, it's really amazing how they managed to differentiate the ways in which uh... all these buildings are, you know...they are very different, including the reses; they are very..... different.

Eden:

So, I guess the....visually its very calming and relaxed, it's not....the buildings aren't -what it's called? –uhmmm they aren't uhmmm overpowering, so they kinda.....they're noticeable but yet they, they....they are kind of silent visually because they don't really jump out and grab your attention and most of the buildings are painted in cream to kinda just blend into the environment so as to bring out the nature. They have really made a point of having.....(hand clap)....line out the university and uh...make it...far much more appealing.

Gaby:

Yeah, well, I like the old buildings better. I don't know why but I just feel like they just like have so much more character than a block, you know. (chuckle)

Eden:

I suppose it's like medieval in a way.....this school is like what? A hundred years old....I guess in Victorian times it was popular, and when the school was built they just genuinely used the same type of architecture that was uhm....popular at the time, but uhm...this brick pathway... this is more of a modern type of landscaping that it brought into the mix, with the times are changing, but I think the architecture is.....it's quite interesting. It's not really in your face but yeah.....

Gift:

Yah, it's a bit bland. Iyabhora, shame. I mean the, the, the architecture of the buildings. Now that I've like paid attention to it, hhayi, iyabhora. Like look at that. What's interesting about that shit? ai, iyabhora.

Gaby:

YEAH! It's so sad coz it's so beautiful. Like we just spend the whole life looking at our feet or at our phones and if you actually just like...my friend and I, we wait for it to like be raining and then we'll go and walk around just to see like coz it even looks older and like all the kind of creepy, you know, and look at the old architecture but I hadn't for so long and it's actually so nice, to like not all the little things, like I didn't appreciate it, so I am glad that you asked me to do the interview, so I would know that 'ah, I live in such a beautiful place' coz I forgot..coz uh, you arrive and you're like 'Oh, this is so nice' and then you just forget. Like, it's already fourth term so I'm used to it. I actually arrived to Grahamstown and was like 'ah, Grahamstown is not looking so great' coz it's like -I don't know, but it's actually looking very nice.

Eden:

Yeah. yeah. Actually, taking a walk around campus and just looking at the buildings and the nature around it's, it's quite eye-opening. I actually don't get time to appreciate it.

Quaz:

You know, when you start looking at it and...you know, when you start looking at Rhodes infrastructure, there are some things that you notice that are quite INTRIGUING. I know that by the Nelson Mandela Dining Hall, we have something like a waterfall. But because the water is not always, you know, flowing, you don't notice it until the day the water flows and you actually notice it and 'oh, this is a waterfall'. You know, its uh....it really has nice features but if you perhaps.... take time to observe and not just walk past everything then you get to see that..... though Rhodes is not really decorated, it has some intriguing stuff.

Aya:

I like it. I like, I like face brick. Oh yeah I think it's really cool style and it's just like a quaint part of campus like I feel like upper campus is more modern and this is more like traditional old-fashioned all. So I guess I like old-fashioned.

Sol:

Well, well...it's a, it's a, it's a...it's an OLD campus and the building that tell you that uh 'they are old,' memories were created here. I mean, look at this temple -it says a lot, and uh, I mean, also, the environment itself -when you're having a river, a river stream passing right across the campus uh, so...it's quite beautiful, you know. The environment it's green, it's friendly, it's quite friendly, yah.

Nir:

This, this place as a space has got a very kind of old-world charm to it. And, and I think maybe one person's charm is another person's..... deeply unpleasant kind of experience. But coming from, from a place like Joburg where everything is modern and aiming to be modern all the time, to come to a place that believes in things like quads and fish ponds, and old architecture, pot plants; that is pretty cool.

I guess so. I think, I think, that what Rhodes, what people, what the architects were trying to do was create a similar kind of look and feel to somewhere like Oxford or Cambridge or something like that, you know. I think it's highly possible that that was the kind of vibe they were going for. Uhm...yah. There's no way uh...this is pure speculation. Do not write that down as a fact. (chuckle).

Jammie:

Yeah, I mean that's always been a thing for me actually. I mean this is a good kind of point like I was born in England and I grew up there till I was sort of 12 or so and I lived in a town actually called, well right next to a town called Truro, so Truro was where, where we used to go for like outings for the day, you know, and uh...one of the things I always liked about Grahamstown was that it kind of reminded me of England a bit, you know. Yeah, I mean

because, you know, the, you know, it's pretty green; it's often very wintery here so, you know, I mean a day like this you might as well be walking through some little English town, you know, which is sort of nice and nostalgic for me because it kind of reminds me of, you know, being a kid again. But then at the same time it's like this is not England it's South Africa. And I think Rhodes -and probably Grahamstown itself -tries very hard to be this sort of little piece of Europe, you know, they used to call it 'Oxford in the bush,' you know which is, which is uh...I don't know, problematic. It is not very genuine I suppose...uhm...but I suppose that's the other thing, and we think...the one thing about this place is that as soon as you start thinking about it you...it makes you feel uncomfortable, so you know uh..... Yeah.

Dannie:

But to be honest though, in most of the buildings here at Rhodes, you feel like, you feel like - especially with me, if you're coming from another town, a city, whatever, you come in here to Rhodes it feels like you're in some small European...home...European area or whatever. Like I don't know if you've googled 'Munich' -yah, it's in Germany, it sort of looks like -okay, I don't know if it's just the internet making it look more nicer, but for me it's like Rhodes University; a bit of Rhodes University there, you know, I can..the buildings and all that. So, like I said, there's a lot of history and then, and somehow I would like to find out, you know, WHY?

Gaby:

No, it's quite amazing. I travel quite a lot. So, I like to go and see museums and stuff and to think that there's been like a building here for like 200 years or something, you know. And like, 'who built that?' It was probably s...-I don't know, like slaves and stuff, you know. And they actually sat there and built it. And someone sat there and designed it. Everything has a meaning almost, you know. Like it's so -I don't know-it's not just a block that's been built for an office.

Yoli:

You know, despite the fact that -I assume majority of the students are black middle class students -it's still a white space in a very white environment and it's just.. that's, that's evident in the structures of the place and the way things are run just the names of buildings, the fact that we're in an institution that's called Rhodes or the fact that there's still a Jan Smuts Hall, a Jan Smuts res. These things, those are very white spaces.

Jamie:

Yeah. And I mean you'll...yeah, and I think it's kind of weird especially after you know like what happened last year the protests and all that is that, yeah as much as I do I, I like the, the way the old buildings and that looks but then you have to remember as well that kind of, you know, what looks like the pretty building was a prison barracks or was a, you know, this kind of center of colonial.. Yeah, so I mean so yeah it makes you almost a little bit uncomfortable in a way because it's.....Yeah..... I mean, if you understand South Africa....just talking, hmmm (inaudible).

Quaz:

But (heavy breathe).....if we're gonna say Rhodes is white when referring to the environment, then what kind of not-white would we then incorporate to make the environment eh...not so white...not be white? Do we then change some of our buildings or infrastructure, and start building rondavels? (chuckle). Do we.....what do we do? How do we...change the environment?

Gift:

But I got a great idea like what I was thinking like in terms of like preparing for the interview yakho when you said that uhm..ukuthi, wouldn't maybe like.... when you said like the interview is to be about like the whole structure of the University like how the buildings and whatnot it would be like really great, I think personally, maybe next time when they like build a building or like i-res perhaps build like more like African things, African like u-rondo -a hut like a res. obviously it would have to be like you know like maybe three stories high or I don't know or whatever but like the shape of like ibe-round.

I think that would be like, that would make people appreciate like the architecture of the place and also like the University as a whole sense, in terms of like accepting everyone, everyone's backgrounds and cultures and what not and also embracing the fact that it's in Grahamstown. It's not only in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, but Africa. So like...embrace the whole African-ness and the fact that it is accepting of everyone and what-not. Yeah, I got that crazy idea.

Nir:

Uh....I think uh..... when, when you were telling me about your project and when I was reading about your project and I was thinking quite a lot about what my experiences of campus and how I view campus, what I see and I think the first thing that I've seen and, and I think this is -I think this might be true from the first time I've set foot on campus -the first thing I think that hits you is actually the people. So in terms of the structures at Rhodes, what I'm kind of, tend to be focused on is the people at Rhodes and I think about the mood -one of the nice things and, and sometimes one of the detrimental things about Rhodes is that it's a very small place and so...it's not only the place you work but it's also the place you live. And you tend to be able to pick up the mood of campus pretty quickly and it's just from the way that people are; by how quiet or how busy campus is, you almost know what kind of day you're going to have just by the way that people are as you, as you enter campus. I think it was probably most starkly highlighted during the recent protests where campus had a very, very... strange and and difficult feeling even when, even when people weren't protesting; the feeling surrounding the protest, the anger, the fear, the aggression, the uncertainty, the.....not sure about whether to be on campus or whether to be away from campus, All of that was something you could feel and you

could tell from the way that...the way that people walk, the way that people spoke, the way that people just existed in their space here.

Gift:

Yah, go the extra mile to make everyone feel comfortable. well i'm not saying like hone in or zoom in on the fact that ukuthi sise-Africa, Africa and kufuneka everything ibe-Africa, African....no. no. I mean in the sense of uhm obviously white people have their own style of building houses; we also have our own African style of like building houses like I said with the hut and the paintings like the Ndebele paintings are like why people also have their own style like was building houses their own -what's the word - own identity, their own thing that fumaniseke they find comfortable. Yeah I would say like lento efumaniseka bona ibenza happy, makes them appreciate there's s...their surroundings and feel safe and comfortable and feel love and feel that ukuthi you know, you know what...this university like went the extra mile for me ukuthi ngibe comfortable. Yeah, well even though I may not notice, notice that every day but yah like it went the extra mile. That's what I'm like it should be like ubone...kufuneka ibe like accommodating for everyone. (Comes across friend -a minor exchange).

Quaz:

But then the question becomes that if we're going to say that Rhodes is so white mainly because uh there is no African decoration..... then, wouldn't having.....African decorations make Rhodes black?

I don't get it like..in our building... do we then...are there certain buildings that are white and certain that are Africans? Or certain..paints..that uh....define a structure as not being white or...you know. I don't know -maybe it's because I don't get this whole concept of whiteness, you know..that is why I can't really answer this question but....I don't think that infrastructure should push us to the point of saying that a place is so white simply because there is no trace of Africanism on it. But that...that's just my.....my thought (chuckle).

Chapter The people who walk between the buildings:

Jamie:

Yeah, I mean I think it's quite difficult to dislocate the visual from the social in a way if I'm trying to think of what is..yah... I mean I think this...yeah I don't know, I don't know how I could answer that. I think that my initial response would be like the social is more informative to me kind of thing. But I mean there is something actually about walking around with a camera and kind of looking at the visual stuff which makes you think that maybe, maybe it actually affects me more than I realize in way because there are all these social I mean not social but visual kind of cues that you're picking up all the time, all the time subconsciously too so I think that looking, I think that the two are definitely enmeshed in a way I'm going to be..no, I'm going to be pretty much more conscious of what I'm seeing after this... yeah I think, you know, it's like the social is all the stuff that

happens maybe the meatier stuff but it all happened against the backdrop, you know. So it is interesting how that backdrop influences yeah.....

Nir:

Yeah and again it's got to do with the people. Uh..... for all Rhodes' problems, and there are some (head motion).. for all of its colonial and you know historically prejudicial background It is also one of THE most liberated spaces in terms of the way that people treat one another. It it's,.....it's a space where if you compare it to places like Cape Town or Johannesburg or Durban all of the...Port Elizabeth to some extent, all of which are places that I've spent a fair bit of time in, Rhodes is by far the most accepting of difference –particularly with regards to gender, with regards to sexuality, with regards to race. It hasn't always been as accepting, certainly in the late 90s, early 2000s -It was a place that was still learning how to transform. Uhm, but at the moment -and again it's about how you experience your world in the way that people sit with one another and the way that people talk to one another and the way that they walk. People walk with each other, so I've never, it's never felt like it did in the late nineties where people walked apart; we had different racial groups in clumps. So everybody was on campus but everybody walked in their own groups and, you know. And by their own groups I just mean kind of racially segregated. I just don't, don't see that happening as much and I'm not saying that there isn't, there isn't an underlying tension -not at all, but I'm saying that if I look at the way that people just casually engage it's far more integrated than uh..than it was.

Quaz:

Rhodes within itself is uh.....a separate planet, you know. It's as though it is not in Grahamstown or in South Africa per se. So, with that being said...the moment students come into Rhodes..you know, they start behaving like they also NOT part of South Africa or...they adapt, you know, when you go to Mars you do what people in Mars do. And what the people in Mars do is determined by the kind of planet that Mars is. So, I think that's just that...I think that Rhodes is very secluded, it's just a world on its own and the moment students come in here they become just that: people living in a separate world. so in terms of culture -of the Rhodes culture, it goes both ways. Uh, Rhodes ALLOWS for that kind of..... or uh...it initiates that kind of behaviour, and students just adapt to it. and go on with it.

Okwakhe:

Also like the culture of Rhodes, It's like when you come here, it's like the university or like the general people they throw you in a culture where you feel like you're supposed to know certain things. And then like...if you do not know them you sort of feel out of place. Like in terms of the drinking culture, it's quite prevalent here. So, if you're not like a heavy drinker like some of them, you tend to feel Aa bit out of place coz like that's what they call HAVING FUN, going to town; it's always like Prime! Prime! Prime! Oldies, the Rat. And some people come here and drink for the very first time because of these cultures where people are just assuming that you.....you're just supposed to know all of this. You're supposed to know the culture and the drill and like pre-drinks in res and then party-party and get all worked up. But yah, those are

like one of the culture that people are just assuming that you need to like understand and all. So like, it's like the places that pen for people from like different backgrounds to influence each other -it's like we're all from different backgrounds, but like there's one culture that's set, and we all come here and just comply to the culture and we become part of that culture. It take like yoh! big people. I don't know. It takes people with courage to like establish themselves and like follow their own culture and stuff. It takes such people to dig through. Coz I know people who've been here but have not changed EVER SINCE. They've just like stayed the same. And you're like 'HOW DO YOU EVEN DO THAT?' (chuckle). But that's pretty much it.

Sol:

You get lecturers giving examples of uh...experiences you need to be rich in order to experience you need to be well off in order to experience. I remember in one of our, in one of, in one of the lectures we had a lecturer asking how many people have gone shark-diving. And some of us, we've only seen it on TV; a number of white students actually said they'd seen, had done shark-diving. So, it is one of those things.

Eden:

I think the biggest part of the university would be, the people...because visually, yes you can have beautiful architecture, beautiful landscape but...people,..make, you, feel, make you feel at home, because I live in a small res and we're kinda like a little family, so....my experience is very intimate because you get to know the people you've living with uhhh Rhodents are very vocal; we express ourselves in various ways, and because of that when there are problems such as the rape culture at Rhodes, it might take time for people to acknowledge it and to realize that it's a problem that needs to be fought for...but uh...when people actually come together -even if it's just a hundred people -they can make a lot of noise and make things happen -like with the rape protest, I believe here at Rhodes we are like 7000 students, so the people who were protesting were like less than a thousand, but the noise that was made was so renowned that, you know...it was uhm....it got media attention, it was aired on SABC, all around the world, and people got to know what was going on uhm...again, the essence of the people here at Rhodes is,... we teach each other uhm about social inequality; we teach each other about privilege; we teach each other about uhm all the other uhm problems we face and we help each other around out when we face difficulty, coz I remember uhm walking into the library toilet one day there was a little,..there was a bag with pads in it, and it said okay 'take one for whoever needs it'. And there has been talks of 'condoms are freely available yet pads are not freely available'. It's kinda like a disparity in the gender uhm inequality, argument so I think that's something that needs to be addressed, and I gather that someone actually took the initiative to do a small thing that helps a large number of people, also.....(cough).....uhm.....yeah....yeah that's basically it.....I think I have spoken.

Yoli:

There's been a lot of like learning and unlearning kind of thing going on where, you know, outside and inside of the classroom I, I know just for instance with the rape culture protests uh

one thing that they started doing was.....lecturers from certain departments started having their own talks on different things related to rape culture so then again that was learning but outside of classroom which I think is as important as learning inside, so I think what I learned in those impromptu lectures it was as important to me as what I'm learning when I go to Barrett and I have my politics two lectures, you know, and uh..and I think it also....Rhodes is quite...-depending on the circles you move in- it's quite a political place. So I think you can choose to not be aware of these things or you can in terms of where you're moving and the people you interact with you, you can be very interested -not really interesting - you be very aware of these things. so I think, you know, as, as uh... as someone who is a feminist I, I look up to so many people within the Rhodes space; be it lecturers such as Lindsay Kenneth or even just other students, other years, you know, I think it all, it all comes together. There's, there's a certain..... uhm..... a COMMUNITY maybe(?) or communities or, or a certain people or sectors where the student or the uhm...-I can't even find the words to describe it -like certain people or things that you can go to that uhm.....uh..... help you and uh..... -sorry, I'm just...I can't find the words.

Okwakhe:

You come to a space like Rhodes where like this -not-majority are white, but there's like lots of white people here compared to, I think, other institutions, one gets to interact with lots and lots of white people, so when you do get to interact with them you get to learn about like what they like and whatever and you see like things that they say about other black people and you be like 'Geez! Is this what they think of us?' Although they never say it to your face. Or you get to instances where white people are like more nicer to you than black people. So you end up hanging with white people instead. Because, because that was like the case for me when I came here. I coul not speak Xhosa, right? But because like I had lived around Joburg a bit I could understand Zulu, whatever. But the students here..if you don't understand Xhosa, they just like push you away. Like we had field trips, right? So at our field trips there would be like groups of people during like leisure time, when we're not doing anything. So, you would try and chill with the black people, but then they'd be all like conversing in Xhosa and you don't understand coz it's kinda hard. So you end up chilling with white people because they speaking English and you understand English. So it's more like sometimes they push you to that extent. But also you do learn that 'okay, white people are kinda racist sometimes'. Not all of them. And you're like, and I just don't wanna be in such a space where it's just so apparent. But...one thing that I had to learn here was like...just because racism has never happened to me, it does not mean it's not there. So, that's what I realise because some of them were nice to me but they were not necessarily nice to other people. Yah, like there were passing remarks like 'Oh, that is so ratchet' on someone who is from the rural areas.

Quaz:

Uh, you know....if you....if adapting emancipates you in a certain way then obviously it is a good thing. But if you....if adapting means having to CHOP down some of your traits, a bit of your character just so that you can fit it, then adapting becomes somewhat negative. And I believe that that's what you find here. You will remember how in our first interview I mention how a student coming from Joza has to transition each and every time they enter into a taxi just

so they can fit into Rhodes...that kind of adaptation according to me isn't a good type of adaptation.

Uhhhh....I can't really remember any instance when I can say I had to adapt or tried adapting, you know.... I have always avoided like adapting to whatever is happening here. Uh....I've just lived my life the way I know how to live it..and....you know.....walked around just the way I know how to. I wouldn't say I've found myself in a situation where I had to adapt and actually ATTEMPTED to. If there was ever a situation, then I guess I would maybe...(chuckle)...kill myself; shot myself.

Okwakhe:

(chuckle). Well, when I first came here, I changed a lot. I think I assimilated a lot because it was like coming here and I was trying to have a good time. So, I would not have a good time being the same person, so I tried assimilating and all. But then I realised that assimilating is also not quite a good idea, so I just decided to just be me. But when I first came here it was all church, church, church. And all like 'study, study, study'. And then when I came here the people were like having fun and like 'party hard and study harder'. So, yah...I got into the party lifestyle...kind of. But then it was like after I had joined the radio.

Yoli:

Um yeah I think I'm friends with uh.... with people who are very uhm.... uh -ooh, what's the word -uhm, people who you can feed off their energy and like are inspiring so we often have debates and we talk about political issues or social issues or what's going on. So, when I'm around my friends I know then we're creating our own kind of wherever we are, we start creating our own uh, our own inclusive space, and we start trying to DECOLONISE and make it more inclusive and like all these things that are...quite problematic.

Gift:

But uh one would think ukuthi ..uh the fact that the university is so colonial, colonial the buildings, the statues, people would like...bazoba with that mind-set yok'ba you know what? "We're like superior; you people like came into our..-the University, you know. what's the name of university? its Rhodes, it's not what-what its Rhodes. It's an English....ubone, people would think that mind set but you know what some people are racist and what-not. But no not at all.

Yoli:

I think again it's, it's very up and down -depending on your day, hey, and why I say that it's important when I'm around my friends because then that's when I get that sense of comfort and ease and being at home because you know it's very hard to feel at home in a place where uhm...this, the statistics on rape is so high and we see nothing being, nothing uhm happening,

no change being made it's very hard to be at home when you know right down the road a couple of months ago a friend of mine was arrested during protests, you know, it's it's how do you feel at home in such a discouraging environment, you know, because it's VERY HARD BEING HERE at Rhodes sometimes just the culture and the people I think Rhodes is known for..... having this, I guess, drinking culture or whatever, and it's very known for, you know, stuff like uh during Great Field, people go out and wear overalls and they, they don't understand the significance of overalls like why people wear overalls and who are the people that wear overalls, what kind of jobs they doing when they wearing those overalls, what kind of uh social and economic classes they come from? To wear those overalls and, you know, people going out wearing overalls just so you can drink and not get your clothes dirty during the, the great field weekend or whatever. So, yeah.

Nir:

I think I've never felt more at home -anywhere on the planet that I've visited - than I do at Rhodes. Yeah, That's right. This is my home, and when I teach; it's the thing that I'm the most passionate about really, it's teaching and uh when I give a good lecture and I feel like I've done a good job, I walk out of Zoo Major and, you know, walk down the road, I feel like I'm at home, I feel like I'm doing the right thing and I'm in the right place to do the right thing, I'm doing all of those things and that's a really rewarding feeling.

Ace:

Apart from thinking about work, it's kinda like a part of this is home, I guess. That's why I enjoy Rhodes so much. Because a lot of it feels like a different kind of home, another home in a sense.

Sol:

Well, well that, that, that question would differ from individual to individual -let's just go to the stairs - it differs from individual to individual because uhm one question that you must answer is uh....what makes me to feel at home? When do I feel at home? What is the definition of a home, you know? Some say that home is where the heart is. So, in my case home is where I find happiness, home is where I'm at a time where I'm just at peace with myself at the time. So I am at peace with myself right now here at Rhodes, so, I CAN SAY I DO FEEL AT HOME. -I'm not sure if you mind if I just sit here. Yeah I'm saying that home is where you feel at...its where your heart is, where you are at peace with yourself. So the environment is quite conducive for study, it's socialable, it's not necessarily exclu...exclusionary -I am not sure if there's such a term -uh, I'm not sure you can see me there coz the sun is actually behind me.

Yoli:

YEAH. A lot of the time. It's something I, I feel all the time, very like out of place with uh what's going on, you know, anywhere. It'll just be I guess in the dining hall and conversations people are having sometimes you feel very out of place because you just like I, I. you can't relate to that or, or just in lectures or just the general, the general environment, you know. I

think in some instances I do feel uh....at ease being here. I know when I'm back at home then I always want to be back here because I think also uhm... I'm at a stage in my life where I've kind of outgrown being at home so I've outgrown my parents and being in that room that I grew up in and, and that uhm that way of life, you know. I think when you go home your parents still see you as this as, you know, little girl or whatever the thing is and I think I've outgrown it, so I miss the freedom that I would have when I'm here and I can do -not like as I please like go crazy -but just that thing of if I want to just sit in my room and be quiet and not talk, I can...I've got that freedom or if I just want to go outside and have a walk somewhere I've got that freedom, you know, uhm growing up in in the city there is very few spaces where I can go out with a friend at half past six at night; let's go to just sit outside and talk; because friends have been like so many different places around the city and there's not enough like green spaces back home, so, you know, it's I think it, its, it's juxtaposed, I guess.

Okwakhe:

Yeah, if you're not comfortable around here it's hard for you to kinda call it home because you can't really do the things you'd normally do in a home. So, for some people it's always like; res, dining hall, lectures; dining hall for lunch, res, tuts, so whenever they have free time they just chill in their rooms; it's confined and at least that's like the space they feel comfortable in. But yeah. (...) Obviously like it's only people who are really comfortable who would come here. Like if I wasn't into entymology and all, I don't think....okay, I would come because of my friends, because they love this place. But on my own I don't think I would just decide on being like 'Okay, let me just go to the Bot Gardens and just chill' (chuckle).

Quaz:

Do I actually feel at home? No..... (heavy exhale)....look, Rhodes.....(lowered voice)I would,..I don't have such displays at home, you get it? So it wouldn'tno they don't they don't make me feel at home, but at the same time they don't make me feel excluded. Uh, mainly because uh....at home where I come from...uh....we'd never decorate with a fountain I mean come on. (chuckle). We don't have, we do have paintings on the walls here and there. In my room, I would have maybe one newspaper article that is memorable -but that is as far as I would go. You don't want to be out there making your mother's wall dirty with all your... because when you remove them then the wall is somehow. But, at the same time, time I think those features are what uh.... make Rhodes, Rhodes. Although they are not something I am accustomed to or would associate with...they also don't make me feel excluded.

Eden:

Yeah. Yeah, because when I go back home, I actually miss being at Rhodes, uhmmm...I think it's it's a very integr....integrated and accommodating space. Uhm, I haven't been a..victim of any sort of VIOLENCE -domestic violence, sexual abuse, uhm xenophobic attacks or racism.... so to me it's been quite a.....uhm.....a good experience, in that perspective, yeah, so....it's, it's... it's kinda like a home away from home -though I hate that statement. Hmmm.

Gaby:

I don't think I ever feel out of place on campus unless I'm like, if I'm...you know, when I'm up the hill like I don't live there so obviously I feel out of place coz like (inaudible). Uhm.... the only time I've ever felt out of place was during the protest coz uhm (deep exhale/exasperation) fuck... (mumble)where do you guys want me... yeah but otherwise I've never like –on the actual architecture- oh no. I've felt very much at home like Rhodes people are very accepting and, you know.....maybe I feel out of place when I sit on the concrete of the Kaif coz it's like -I don't know –concrete and I hate it. Uh...Yeah. But I suppose no one really likes it when people fight and stuff, you know.

Jamie:

And about Rhodes' history and about you know the kind of coloniality of the space very theoretical before last year, you know. Yeah, I knew it was a pretty, yeah I knew that it was a, you know, a barracks or whatever, you know. And you knew that it has this kind of history but it was in a very kind of academic theoretical way. I think because for me I was experiencing in a kind of academic and theoretical way, for me the history was very much the history, you know. But I think when the protest happened when people started saying that like you know those things for a lot of people here aren't just academic issues or theoretical issues they're actually lived you know they, they still live that space in a very different way, you know, then it changes the way that you kind of inhabit the spaces but because you know I think just by kind of osmosis....and yeah and-and-and obviously, you know, in terms of the kind of discomfort I think that the kind of the events of last year were discomfoting for everyone and including white people and I think white people in it, in a, in a slightly different way you know and I'm not saying that in any kind of, you know, 'but the poor white people felt so uncomfortable'. I'm saying it in like that, 'yeah, you know, they should have because that's what this whole project is about,' is about kind of making people kind of uncomfortable with the way things are right now because some people live that discomfort every day and some people don't because they don't have to, you know. So, I think it's important that people like me experience that discomfort and take stock of it and think about it and, you know, I'm not, I'm not saying that you, like you need to kind of walk around apologizing or you to walk around kind of feeling like an outsider. I don't think that, you know, because that's obviously not right either but I mean... Yeah, I think it's like, it's important to have to, to, to, to try at least and ex... or to..you know, empathise with how other people experience space or to, you know, to, to think about that and I think that will change how you experience this place you know if you empathize with it.. I mean, yeah I think that would be a way of I think it's like, you know, like that empathy thing. It is quite interesting; I think of my little brother, he hated school, was bullied and hated it and walking into that school which otherwise would have just been a school but if I walked in there actually I could feel like what he felt in that was like this horrible pic know if I pick them up from school like you can actually the place looked oppressive, it felt oppressive to me because of what I knew he was experiencing there, you know....anyway, I think it maybe works a bit like that if you, you know what I mean? Yeah, yeah, yeah. If you have a sense of that then that changes because I mean I'm like, I'm not even saying that it changes the space in a theoretical way like it doesn't, it's not me saying I understand that other people find this place oppressive, it's almost like I actually find this place oppressive because

I understand that other people find it oppressive. So, like it changes your own way of being in it so of...sort of in the first sense and indirectly it's like you experience through other people's eyes. But I think that indirect experience actually change for you as well.

Gaby:

uh...it's such a difficult debate, you know. Like it's something that's so.. it's hard, like no one, I don't know the right answer, you know. All I know is my experiences and like.....I don't know the answer. I do think that it would just be a waste if you've already got buildings to take them down but I do, I do understand the reasoning as to why people would want to do that but at the same time you can't erase history. So by like monuments and things....especially like, let's say if you rename it like I think it's kind of beautiful to have a new name on a colonial building. I don't know it's like, you know, it's like integrative almost. But I suppose people don't want that, they want it... but you can't get rid of history so it's...I don't know, like people.. you still got the flippen Auschwitz Concentration Museum, like people didn't pretend that it didn't happen, you know. And it just seems like a waste to...if you've got the facilities there. But I understand. So, it's, it's....I don't know how I feel like...I don't know. Coz it's hard, you know. Like if obviously people could like go back in history and demolish like all the unfairness and stuff. Uhm, and there's a lot of things that symbolize how unfair life is, you know. But I don't think getting rid of a building is gonna fix anything. I don't think you can reconstruct the past, you know. I think that you could rather spend that money on building more universities that represent THIS heritage in this new AND ADDING ON TO WHATEVER WE HAVE and like that's more symbolic of the kind of life that we want to live, you know, instead of demolishing which just doesn't make sense to me, you know. It's just like a....I understand changing names and stuff but then do it and like make other differences; build other universities, we don't have enough universities here in South Africa, you know. Uhm....I don't know why. Why haven't they built... why haven't there been any more built? Do you know?

Nir:

That's a really good question. I mean, I, I think any space that demands that we think carefully about beliefs and our prejudice is a valuable space. And one of the one of the big fights in academia more broadly, right –and it's not, it's not just in Rhodes but more broadly, it's about what value the humanities and the social sciences provide? And in an increasingly neocapitalist world there's been a greater push by governments to, to cut the liberal arts, to increase funding for things like the STEM subjects, right; Science, Technology, Engineering, Maths. And I, and I've argued that, that if we do that, we're, we're, there's a very big danger that we're going to face a very real humanitarian crisis because one of the things that the liberal arts do is they make you question your beliefs; they force you to empathize, they force you to look at history and to look at whether or not that history is just. And, and one of the, and I think that one of the reasons why Rhodes is a liberal space - well that's certainly my experience on it - and again they are going to be people on campus who don't experience it that way at all, right. But for me, I think at the reason why it's a liberal space or the reason why I've experienced it as a liberal space is that (a) it is an essence still a liberal arts college, so yes we have an excellent Comp Sci department; yes we have a B. Comm; yes we have all these things but at the same time that

the weight of this university is still very much a liberal art one, alright. And so this deep questioning of our core beliefs and our prejudices is still part of what makes up Rhodes. (2) As I mentioned earlier, Rhodes is not just our place of work, it's also our homes. So we live so close to the campus that you can't escape the influence of the university on, on you as a person. And so when you go out to the pub or whatever where you go out to have dinner or whatever, you're engaging with people who you saw earlier that day in your lectures. And I think that that means that you're hoping that those people are, are gaining the same value and insight into their own beliefs that you did. Uhm.....yah.

Jamie:

Hmmm. Uhm. I mean I don't know. I think I've said..... I can't think of anything really. I think, I think maybe there's something which have which we haven't really, which I wasn't really thinking about is also the visual, the visual in terms of the people that we see as well, I haven't, I actually don't know exactly what I would say for that, but I think that probably uhhh... Yeah, I haven't, haven't really thought about it and I think I don't know and I wouldn't want to be... I don't want to change it into some kind of sort of a race thing, that's not exactly what I mean, what I mean is there is people, people look or people visually demonstrate things too, you know, which maybe we don't always realize and I mean this is more uncomfortable to talk by even as I'm talking about I'm trying to think, you know, and I don't want to say anything that sounds, you know, because I am not, because you know, you can see from people different things, different visual cues all the time. Maybe, maybe that's something to kind of think about as well. I'm not sure how I really think about that..

No, I mean, I'm just this is all just like nothing but I mean that there is essentially these people, you see people around campus you can most of the time almost immediately identify who they are, you know. You can see students here, you can see lecturers, you can see all of, you know, ground staff -obviously they will be in uniform. But a lot of the time it is not even the uniform. And then they'll be, you know, sometimes more ambiguous kinds of people where, you know, you see someone, I mean, I saw an old sort of white lady jogging through the other day, you know. I'm like 'I don't know where she is from'. You sort of can't place her within the kind of, you know, the roles of the...-so she is probably a Grahamstown native jogging through campus I'm sure. But uh...you notice. It's a visual thing because, you know, you... it is actually visual in a way and I'm sure, yeah, you know, you know and I think that there are some... I mean from a more academic like perspective there was this - which actually you might find interesting, I think Lewis Gordon uh...yah, you know Lewis Gordon, he has this kind of, he writes about illicit appearance which is basically kind of people who are, their actual presence in a certain space is almost like illegal in a way. It's not, it's not illegal but it's, it's like they don't know. Yeah, so, so I mean and then you know the conversation we had one of the, the classes he was saying that there's a sense in which people even, even, you know, even in place we are sitting in right now, the guys who sweep the leaves and stuff like that, there's a sense in which they, they are there in a social capacity which is to, to do their job and to not really engage with people, like you know what I mean? There's a sense in which, you know, there is a kind of, you know, this is there, the way that they are in this space is quite different to the way I'm in this space. I can be very loud, I can jump around, because I am a student and that's what students do. But they, they necessarily, they don't necessarily have the space in that kind of way and I

think that probably one of the, one of the street kids from...-I don't think that the right term to use, you know, but if they were in this space sitting here right now their appearance would be even more sort of illegal in a way and probably it would actually be illegal and they would be told to leave by security guards. So, yeah I don't know. There is something weird there, I am not sure how to think about.

Chapter Subjectivity:

Nir:

Some people find Rhodes really oppressive, uncomfortable, upsetting space. And then it makes me wonder whether I, I just find it a nice space because I'm white because I'm, you know. Is this only a space that white men can, can be, you know, relaxed and comfortable or is it, is it the place that I'm saying, claiming that it is because it would be deeply ironic for me to say, you know, it's egalitarian, it is open, blah blah blah when actually only white male can.....I mean that would be that would be exactly the opposite of what I'm claiming. And so the.....when I feel uncomfortable is when, is when I feel that maybe other people just aren't having that experience because it makes me question with how...I obviously accept that there are always going to -in any space - again Rhodes isn't a utopia - it's not Nirvana, it's not heaven; it's none of these things, right -and so, so obviously I accept that there will be people who have really shitty experiences at Rhodes.

Sol:

I mean you...you cannot uh.....-okay, let me put it like this -I think it's wrong to, to try and define, contextualise people's experiences because experience is something that you feel yourself, you know. There is no one who can feel it for you, you know. So, when people feel out of place and people feel that this place is white, it is within their right. And I am also of that view, actually to say....to say, it's a bit white. There's white culture; there's Rhodes culture.

Okwakhe:

And you know like...when you're from the rural areas, it's quite apparent if you come to a space like this because you don't usually want to fit in, which is something I like from people from like deep rural areas. You don't necessarily want to fit in; you don't...you just wanna keep being you like...doing the things you used to do. And when you're from the township like me, you kinda have both like rural and urban fused together. So you get here...it's not hard for you to like adjust and assimilate, unlike someone from the rurals -they are like...if you're from the rurals its hard for your accent to change, it hard for your behaviour to change and all. So for them..you get like white people or privileged kids calling them ratchet and like 'Oh, but that is so ratchet'. But you're like 'That's just how they are'. 'That's their lifestyle; that's how they live on the daily basis'. So, you cant be calling them ratchet because maybe, maybe because they don't have money, they are not quite advanced as others are.

Yoli:

Definitely again, I think the most important thing is that it needs to be an inclusive space and I, I can't then speak for everyone because I'm not aware of the different challenges that different people are facing.

Nir:

Yeah, uhm.....I was thinking a little bit about what, you know, I was having a read through your Informed Consent Form and I was thinking about physical structures as a space of oppression or as a symbol of oppression. And it got me, me thinking quite a lot –it's not something I had thought about a great deal but I was thinking about how I once lived in this, in this one kind of flat in Joburg, and from the time that I first started renting that place to the time that I left, I was pretty much with the same person -I had started dating her pretty much as I was moved into that flat and we broke up about two weeks after, two weeks before I moved out of that flat. And it just made me realize, I mean at the time when I got back to my flat because I ended up living with her quite a long time, when I got back to my flat I found it an incredibly painful space to be in because it reminded me of her so much because all of my association with that space was, were with her and I, I guess maybe that's the closest I can get to in terms of thinking of a physical space as being emotionally significant, just in terms of my own ability to empathize with that kind of claim, right. But I don't, I don't really know.....I guess, I guess it's a question; it boils down to a question: do we as people define our space or do the space define us as people?

Eden:

Hmmm. No. I think as a person when you come into a new environment you also have to adapt to the system of the new place coz if you're.....if you're just a straight-back person and you don't try to accommodate and adapt to the environment and the people and the system then you kinda (moving head side to side)...make your own experience of Rhodes really difficult. Which is not something that actually uhm...I don't know... give to you on a golden plate...Yeah.

Gift:

No. Like to be honest, to say ukuthi being okanye walking through the arch makes me feel da da da I would rather like go enter like pha by the drama department than here because it reminds me of how my forefathers were oppressed and what-not ubone, nooooo. Not at all. In terms of like people; people are people. You're going to have a bastard and you're gonna have a nice guy. If a bastard is a bastard, you can also be a bastard; if you're being nice I will also be nice qha.

Gaby:

Yeah. When they see....well, it's very hard for me to say that because I haven't lived their experience, you know. Uhm, so I mean, if somebody..... I don't know like, I can't say, I can't speak on behalf of someone else, you know. But I definitely have a different experience than

other people that would make...for me to see a European building it makes me think of when I went for holiday last year to Europe which for me is a reality and it's something that's very positive memories. But for other people it's, you know, something completely different. So, I can't really say the same, you know. It's something that I -what's the word -I can IDENTIFY with, which is like quite weird, you know. My like colonial heritage -which is something that like my grandparents and stuff all very much have around them, and which I've never really EVEN noticed until I came to Rhodes -isn't that funny? And only now people are making...raising awareness about it. I think it's, very, very interesting to actually have your mind opened like that, you know. (.....)

Quaz:

Uhhh.... you know what, I think when we see..when I see most of this stuff, to me even though there is a story behind each and every one of them..at the end of the day they are just features (chuckle)..you know. I don't really... -of course I'll be amazed, you know, just like the hands thing by the Union, I was so amazed but I didn't actually take time to sit and investigate 'why would they....what's the story behind that.. and I think that most of eh...I think it's like that for most of us, we see and it ends there we don't want to dig deep into....uh why the specific feature here, why this specific name here? So, yah....they are just features... until you actually notice them or someone actually tells you the history behind them.

Gift:

Yah, it doesn't shame. But they brought it down in Cape Town claiming that ukuthi it's uh.... yah like... the thing that I've said before ukuthi it represents colonialism what-not and what-not. I understand where they're coming from. I understand that ukuthi yah...I have a problem saying ukuthi "no, as Africans we are not being embraced. We don't have our own statues," "the buildings are not African, they don't embrace the fact that we are multiracial university". Like paint it... like paint it Ndebele, man. Or what not, just go the extra mile to accommodate everyone.

Yoli:

Names do mean a lot. What he was doing like, like it, it's not even like a question because I know just culturally as umuntu ongumXhosa when I get a name that name signifies something and in spite of the aspirations or the history or or..it's a reflection of the times and often now names often uhm..names carry power and meaning and, you know, just even the name Grahamstown it's a problematic name because it's named after someone who, who didn't do anything for the indigenous people here, who basically took advantage of them candidly. Like, a lot of the names in the Eastern Cape, there's two names, so here Grahamstown/eRhini, Port Elizabeth/eBhayi and I think we need to go back to the names of these places originally had because they were named those names for significance that they carry for the people because that's their history.

I think uh.....changing the names of places or reverting back to the original names is something that's important and that needs to be done. I mean obviously just changing names is not gonna...magically improve everything. There's still a lot of uh... structures that need to be dismantled after that and then improved or transformed. So, I don't think just changing the name will be enough. Yeah. I don't think changing the name is gonna fix, you know, years and years of oppression that people have been under but I think it's a start of people being able to retain their identities because then they can start being empowered and being able to say 'okay I'm so and so from this place' and people recognize their history and recognize uhm....recognize that. I think that that lack of recognition is the problem.

Nir:

That's right; that's right. They can, that's exactly... I think, I think that's a really, I think that's a really good point to make. So, during the protest your physical structures are exactly the same; they are the same physical structures that were there the day before; the campus is a totally different place and that really highlights the importance we give that space rather than the, the emotions of the things that space gives us.

Gift:

Abone like it's... also people were referring to the fact that we don't have statues abo –like Mandela I think like he is the first statue of like a black person we don't have statues of aboShaka, aboMakana, we don't have statues of African heroes, wabona? But we have statues of white boys, which is a bit unjust in a sense because like.. we were colonised -like I-route yami le, so I walk past this thing like every day...uh, it's just a fucking statue. It's just a statue I don't care...it doesn't affect my life.

Nir:

And so that made Rhodes an uncomfortable space and then I think that Rhodes is an uncomfortable space for me when I -again and this is just saying this first point in a slightly, but with a slightly different kind of thing in mind is, if the very buildings carry with them the historical weight of oppression.....that would make me feel very uncomfortable about this place. So imagine if, if Auschwitz was a kind of former kind of Holocaust camp turned into a university, I can imagine Jewish folk wouldn't be super excited about studying in this space, right. And I just wonder whether or not there's a kind of parity or similarity between Rhodes as an institution and these buildings and, and that kind of feeling amongst the majority of our student population and if that's the case that is going to make this a deeply uncomfortable space for me.