

**RESTRUCTURING IN HIGHER EDUCATION
INSTITUTIONS: A CASE STUDY OF CENTRALISED
CLEANING SERVICES AT RHODES UNIVERSITY**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Social Science in Industrial and Economic
Sociology

By

Ziyanda Ntlokwana
(611n1776)

Supervisor: Prof. Gilton Klerck

ABSTRACT

The centralization of cleaners at Rhodes University has been the university's response to the pressures put on higher education. This form of restructuring is the university's attempt at dealing with the government's cuts in funding despite the increasing demands placed on higher education institutions. The demands on universities necessitates that they compete on a global scale ,which sometimes sees many universities adopting a 'neoliberal logic' and as a result cutting labour costs to survive and compete. The aim of this study was to examine the nature and form of restructuring at Rhodes University and its impact on the workers' lives. This research made use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods: namely, a quantitative survey that focused on the cleaners and in-depth interviews with trade union representatives. This research discovered that the restructuring programme at Rhodes University is different from that at other universities through its avoidance of outsourcing and the retrenchment of workers. Despite this tricky balance, however, the effects of this form of restructuring largely embody outsourcing characteristics and as a result disadvantage the cleaners.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my family for their continued support and words of encouragement throughout this journey. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank my supervisor, Professor Gilton Klerck, for his invaluable guidance and challenging comments throughout this journey. I would like to thank the TROJAN bursary for their financial support. The opinions expressed and the conclusions arrived at, however, are those of the author.

Contents

ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 Background to the Cleaning Industry and Work.....	3
1.3 Goals of the Research	7
1.4 Outline of the Chapters.....	7
CHAPTER 2	10
NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION AND RESTRUCTURING IN HIGHER EDUCATION	10
2.1 Introduction	10
2.2 Neoliberalism, Globalization and Higher Education	10
2.3 The Rise of the Entrepreneurial University: The International Context	15
2.4 Changing Nature of Work within Higher Education.....	16
2.5 Restructuring of Higher Education Institutions in South Africa.....	19
2.5.2 The impact of apartheid on South Africa’s higher education institutions.....	19
2.5.3 The restructuring of higher education institutions in post-apartheid South Africa	21
2.5.4 Implications of restructuring for workers.....	23
2.6 Trade Union Responses to Restructuring in Higher Education.....	24
2.7 Labour Process Theory.....	25
2.7.1 Labour process in South Africa	26
2.7.2 The labour process in the cleaning industry	26
2.8 Background to the Centralisation of Cleaning Services at Rhodes University.....	27
2.9 Socio-Economic Context of Grahamstown	30
2.10 Conclusion.....	32
CHAPTER 3	34
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	34
3.1 Introduction	34
3.2 Methodology.....	34
3.3 Sampling.....	36
3.4. Trust and Accessibility.....	37
3.7 Ethical Appraisal.....	37
CHAPTER 4	39

THE CENTRALISATION OF CLEANING SERVICES	39
4.1 Introduction	39
4.2 Workers’ Perceptions of the Centralisation Process	39
4.2.1 The centralisation process	42
4.2.2 Workers’ Experience of the Centralisation of Cleaning Services.....	44
4.3 Changes in Day-to-Day Work	45
4.3.1 Wages and working hours.....	46
4.3.2 Quality of work.....	46
4.3.3 Supervision.....	48
4.4 Upward Mobility and Personal Development before and after Centralisation.....	51
4.5 Alienation of the Cleaner from the ‘Family’.....	53
4.6 Conclusion.....	55
CHAPTER 5	56
IMPACTS OF CENTRALISATION BEYOND RHODES UNIVERSITY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF RHODES CLEANERS.....	56
5.1 Introduction	56
5.2 Sex, Race and the Age of the Workers.....	56
5.3 Educational Levels of the Cleaners	58
5.4 Household Income, Dependents and their Education Level.....	61
5.5 Transportation to and from Work	63
5.6 Conclusion.....	66
CHAPTER 6	67
NEHAWU’S RESPONSE TO THE CENTRALISATION OF CLEANING SERVICES.....	67
6.1 Introduction	67
6.2 NEHAWU’s Role in the Processes of Centralising Cleaning Services	67
6.3 NEHAWU’s Response to the Centralisation of Cleaning Services.....	68
6.4 Relations between Workers and Union Leaders	69
6.5 Conclusion.....	71
CHAPTER 7	72
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	72
7.1 Introduction	72
7.2 Centralisation: a management programme to make workers work harder.....	72
7.3 The disposable segment	73
7.4 Expanding Trade Union Roles within the Workplace	74
Reference List.....	75

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1: Workers' understanding of the reasons behind centralisation	45
Table 4.2: Workers' feelings about the manner in which centralisation took place	50
Table 5.1: Racial composition of cleaners	63
Table 5.2: Sex of respondents	64
Table 5.3: Sexual and racial composition of respondents	64
Table 5.4: Age of the cleaners	65
Table 5.5: Highest level of education	66
Table 5.6: Level of education by gender	67
Table 5.7: Level of education by race and gender	67
Table 5.8: Gross monthly income of household before deductions	68
Table 5.9: Education level of family members	70
Table 5.10: Time it takes to travel to work	71
Table 5.11: Type of transportation used by cleaners	72

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the rise of neoliberalism in the late 1970s, the nature of work has changed drastically (Crompton, 1998:10; Edwards and Wajcman, 2005:25). With neoliberalism, the ideals of the market have become an influential force on economic and social development strategies. State policies changed from being aligned with social protection and became more aligned with economic liberalisation (Shattock, 2009:3; Vaira, 2004:485). These changes resulted in many organisations moving away from ‘traditional’ models of work and ‘standard’ forms of employment by introducing lean forms of organisation and non-standard forms of employment (Brown, 2009:201; Bosch, 2005:78). For public sector entities, such as higher education institutions (HEIs), these changes are linked to the restructuring of the state and the emulation of private sector policies and strategies (Miraftab, 2004:875).

In line with these changes, the higher education sector has seen a drastic transformation in its orientation and operations. Traditionally, higher education institutions were primarily responsible for the production of knowledge and teaching. This was sustained by state funding allocated to the sector. The neoliberal policies that were adopted advocated for governments to introduce tighter fiscal policies in an effort to cut back on government spending. This change in the role of the state is a central source of changes within the sector (Olssen and Peters, 2007:317).

A growing demand for higher education combined with a decrease in state funding put HEIs in a position of trying to create alternative, long-term sources of income. This stimulated the introduction of new management practices in universities in order to meet these changing demands (Gumport, 2000:68; Baker, 2008:10). Management practices from the private sector – exemplified by, among others, flexible employment and lean organisational models – were increasingly adopted in the higher education sector, often under the rubric of New Public Management (Basset, 2006:98; Bousquet, 2008:38). This led to drastic changes in the ways in which university activities are organised, the ways in which universities are managed, and the ways in which universities provide services (Eggin, 2003:4). While the dominant neoliberal argument is that restructuring is beneficial because it cuts wastage and generates income, it has often had deleterious implications for workers in HEIs.

The educational landscape in South Africa has largely been shaped by apartheid (Assie-Lumumba, 2006:32). This means that besides global pressures to transform along neoliberal lines, the South African government also faces the challenge of addressing the vast social inequalities left by the previous system. The introduction of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Policy (GEAR) in 1996 made evident the influence of neoliberalism in the South African government's policy framework. Key aspects of subsequent macro-economic policies encouraged the extension of market-based regulation and commodification processes into previously relatively insulated aspects of social life.

For HEIs, the introduction of GEAR meant reductions in subsidies and a greater emphasis on private sector involvement. This means that, like their counterparts elsewhere in the world, the 21 public universities in South Africa increasingly adopted corporate managerial models of governance and more stringent financial practices (Higher Education Merger Study Group, 2010:10). With government placing an emphasis on the need for systematic restructuring of HEIs, universities in South Africa were faced with pressures of transforming the composition of their staff and students as well as increasing their outputs (Department of Education, 1996:15).

Significantly, a key feature of the restructuring of HEIs is characterised by sustained attempts at differentiating between 'core' and 'peripheral' institutional functions (Van der Walt et al., 2003:5; Johnson, 2001:8). A dominant characteristic of restructuring within HEIs in South Africa has been the use of management consultant companies, which in most cases have advised institutions to take the outsourcing route (Van der Walt et al., 2003:5; Johnson, 2001:8). While most universities have similar motivators for restructuring, the restructuring plans adopted vary because of the different historical conditions at each university. Van der Walt et al. (2003:25) note that most historically disadvantaged universities find it difficult to adapt to the new corporate university primarily because of a lack of financial and human resources.

In light of these developments, the newly implemented centralisation of cleaning services at Rhodes University raises questions about the impact of this form of restructuring on work and employment relations. Although Rhodes University has only taken the outsourcing route to a limited degree (e.g. security), it is one of only two major employers in Grahamstown. This means that any significant change in the nature of employment within the university is likely to affect the wider Grahamstown community. The centralisation of cleaning services also

raises questions concerning the alienation of cleaning staff from the institution itself. The centralisation process means that cleaners do not belong to any specific department, thereby potentially losing any sense of 'belonging'. This research seeks (among others) to explore changes in the working and employment conditions of staff members affected by the processes of centralisation of cleaning services at Rhodes University.

The research draws on labour process theory (LPT), which focuses on the organisation of work and employment under capitalism and argues that the actions of managers are primarily motivated by the need constantly to expand capital (Adler, 2004:5; O'Doherty and Willmott 1999:10; Spencer, 2000:224; Thompson, 1983:78; Thompson, 1990:100). Labour process theory seeks to make sense of the ways in which people work, the skills needed for work, and who has control over work (Staples, 2000:228). In his seminal book on labour and monopoly capitalism, Braverman (1974:26) argued that the expansion of capital is dependent on decreasing workers' control over the labour process. Labour process theory proves advantageous for this research in that it highlights the inherently antagonistic relationship between management and labour (Burawoy, 1982:30; Staples, 2000:228). Crucially, it suggests that, in order to make sense of the impact of restructuring on the workers, social scientists must first understand the underlying features of work under capitalism.

This research made use of a quantitative survey conducted by the Neil Aggett Labour Studies Unit (NALSU). All employees directly involved in centralisation were interviewed (i.e., grades 1-5) in order to increase the validity and reliability of the data. An additional rationale behind including the entire population was that it allows for the detailed exploration of the largely unique concerns, interests and conditions of the affected workers and evades any accusation of not being inclusive. An interview was conducted with the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) representatives to gain insights into the history of trade union engagement with the process of centralisation. This research also made use of document analysis and archival research in order to gain more insights into the general trends around restructuring at HEIs.

1.2 Background to the Cleaning Industry and Work

Cleaning is considered a typical low-skilled occupation. Besides some specialised tasks like disinfection in hospitals, cleaning requires no specific skills (Herod and Aguiar, 2006:102). According to Herod and Aguiar (2006:102), about 80 per cent of all employees in this occupation are involved in the standard cleaning of hotels, offices and public buildings. The

standard form of training within this occupation is [basic training; including how to use cleaning materials, how to clean certain spaces and the role of the cleaner within the organisation (Herod and Aguiar, 2006:102).

The cleaning industry has seen various changes with the rise of neoliberalism: firstly, to the standard employment relationship and secondly to the organisation of work (Seifert and Messing, 2006:129). Rooted in a classical political economy theory, neoliberalism encourages free markets; free markets in the sense of government not ‘interfering’ in the market. Neoliberalism thus promotes ‘free’ competition and ‘free’ enterprise as the only way an economy can grow, at a national level, neoliberalism has changed the way in which states operate. The emphasis on a market-based economy has encouraged the drive for efficiency and brought about completion. Within the cleaning sector, this has resulted in the deregulation of labour more especially with the advocacy of limited government intervention (Herod and Aguiar, 2006:102). While the effect of deregulation of labour markets differ from one place to the next mainly because the unique character of each country and historical era. This means that neoliberalism is not going to be homogeneous across space and time. While mindful of this, one important trend of neoliberalism and labour markets globally has been the changing nature of the standard employment relationship (Howard, 2010:2). The standard employment relationship is defined as permanent (full time) employment, where the workers work on the employer’s premises. The standard employment relationship is thus characterised by standard working hours, worker benefits and a long-term contract (Howard, 2010:2). Where previously these relationships were internal and determined by the structures of each organisation and nation, currently the neoliberal policies implemented in countries have resulted in these relationships being externalised (Kalleberg, 2000:324). As Howard (2010:2) explains:

The employment relationship is being transformed by various economic and organizational pressures not under the control of any one employer. These pressures arise from financial markets that incentivize corporations to shed all but their core business to contractors. Fierce competition in the globalized world of commerce pressures employers to structure work in the most efficient or leanest way possible. Today’s workplace operates very differently from the workplace of yesterday.

Thus, the rise of neoliberalism has been associated with organisations moving away from Fordist forms of work organisation (Howard, 2010:3). Under Fordism, organisations had

permanent employees for support services like cleaning, catering, and security. Since the introduction of neoliberalism, however, there has been an increased tendency to outsource and/or hire people on short-term contracts for these support services. Milestone (2010:32) explains outsourcing as one organisation hiring another organisation to provide some or all of its support services.

The relaxation of trade barriers, associated with neoliberal globalization, compelled companies to compete on a global scale in order to maintain their bottom line. This led to increased pressure being placed on organisations to show results in the short term, resulting in organisational restructuring to cut costs and to increase revenue flow (Kalleberg, 2000:324). In order to improve their immediate bottom line, organisations have introduced various forms of flexibility in their operations, including numerical flexibility. This entails an organisation being able to increase/decrease its workforce in order to meet current market demands. This form of flexibility relies on casual forms of work, like temporary workers, who are hired for a limited period, and outsourced workers, who are hired through an external company. Numerical flexibility is often said to reduce labour costs for organisations through outsourcing administrative and other support services (Kalleberg, 2000:325). Within the South African cleaning industry, outsourcing and the use of part-time contracts have become the dominant form of employment. While the government has tried to give these workers some form of protection through the introduction of interventions like the minimum wage and broadening the definition of 'employee' in labour legislation, employers still find ways around this in an effort to decrease labour costs and reduce managerial responsibilities towards workers.

While the cleaning industry represents an important segment of the service sector, employment within this industry is characterised by the use of flexible forms of work (Bosch, 2005:174; Burchell, 2002:61; Noon, 2002:201). The motivation behind the introduction of flexible forms of work is the reduction of labour costs and eliminating worker benefits such as pension fund contributions from the employer. This restructuring of the organisation of work in most cases results in the intensification of work, deleterious working conditions and as Seifert and Messing, (2006:130) note, increased chances of getting injured at work because workers are put under pressure to finish their task in a certain timeframe. The cleaning industry has thus responded to globalization and the increased competition through introducing new employment practices (Scherzer et al. 2005; Seifert and Messing: 2006:130).

While this proves advantageous for employers because it allows them to hire and fire employees based on prevailing market demands without having to bear the extra labour and benefits, it is clearly disadvantageous to workers. This is mainly because the low wage rates, the lack of job security and, in many cases, no extra-wage benefits (Bosch, 2005:174; Burchell, 2002:61; Noon, 2002:201).

The dominance of flexibility within the cleaning industry has also made cleaners “invisible, vulnerable and unprotected” (Seifert and Messing: 2006: 130). This is because in general most of the jobs within the service sector are associated with ‘female characteristics’ (Herod and Aguiar, 2006:114; Orr, 1998:5). There is thus a link between the jobs that women are in and the prevalence of flexible forms of work organisation. The cleaning industry is a good example because it is generally described as a female-dominated industry with a prevalence of part-time contracts (Orr, 1998:5). Males within this sector are normally employed in ‘heavy cleaning’ (Orr, 1998:6). While these males perform the same tasks as women, they are in most cases not referred to as cleaners but rather general labourers (Orr, 1998:4). These distinct titles separate male cleaners from female cleaners thus ensuring males get better grading and better pay. Women are often employed for what is considered light cleaning [for example cleaning of offices, hotels and schools, thus, typical ‘women’s work’ is connected to a very low status. Orr (1998:4) argues that “there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between the subordinate status of women, which influences how their work is regarded, and the fact that lower-status occupations are reserved for lower-status workers, i.e. women”.

Orr (1998:4) notes that in most cases women who work as cleaners are usually a “trapped section of the workforce”. This means these women are from minority ethnic groups (blacks and immigrants) or women with children and other dependents, who have little to no skill and as a result have limited job opportunities. In the South African case, the cleaning industry is dominated by black Africans, more especially black females. This is attributed to apartheid’s racial division of labour, which ensured black people mostly occupied low-skilled manual jobs (this will be discussed further below).

According to Seifert and Messing (2006:129), in most countries the cleaning industry draws its workforce from the most vulnerable segments of the labour market. In a study conducted on hotel cleaners in San Francisco and Las Vegas, Lee and Krause (2002) found that all the cleaners were immigrant women. Similarly, a study done in France by Muqa et al. (1996) found that the majority of cleaners were immigrants. Glenn (2001:73) notes that “this growth

in reliance upon immigrant workers has been” concomitant with globalization” as economic restructuring has forced” women from the periphery to migrate to metropolitan centres to fill demands for both private and public reproductive services” This is why in most developed countries women, immigrants and black people dominate low-level manual labour. What becomes evident is that while this might differ from one country to the next, the marginalized groups in a society dominate the cleaning industry and as a result feel the negative effects of restructuring more.

The above discussion shows that there has been a change in the organisation of work for cleaners globally. It also brought to light how the cleaning sector in most organisations is usually affected negatively by restructuring within organisations. While the higher education sector is different from private businesses, the discussion of the cleaning industry is helpful insofar as it highlights the dominant trends of restructuring in cleaning work: namely, flexible forms of employment like outsourcing and casual work. Furthermore, it also highlighted how restructuring affects the workload of cleaners, their working conditions and wages, thereby providing a framework to investigate restructuring of cleaning services at HEIs.

1.3 Goals of the Research

The main aim of this research was to investigate the impact of the centralisation of cleaning services on the lives of cleaners. It did this by addressing the following questions:

- What is the motivation for centralisation within Rhodes University?
- How has centralisation of cleaning services changed the work of cleaners?
- How is the changing nature of work within the university affecting the lives of workers?
- What are the mechanisms employed by trade unions within the university in dealing with centralisation?

1.4 Outline of the Chapters

Chapter 2 of this thesis discusses the literature on the restructuring of higher education and work organisation within higher education. This chapter is divided into two broad sections: the first outlines the challenges facing higher education in the global context, the strategies adopted to deal with these challenges and the implications of this for workers. The second

part looks at the challenges facing South African HEIs, the strategies adopted and the implications for workers. The chapter also explores trade union responses to restructuring in South African universities. This chapter further outlines the theoretical framework that the thesis will adopt: namely, labour process theory. Lastly, it seeks to contextualise Grahamstown by outlining its socio-economic conditions in relation to the wider Eastern Cape to get a better understanding of the realities faced by Rhodes University's cleaners.

Chapter 3 outline the research design and methodology of this research. It starts of by outlining the research techniques that were used in this research, which covers the rationale behind the use of both qualitative and quantitative research techniques and how they help in achieving the research goals. It further explains the sampling population of the study and the rationale behind including all the centralised cleaners in the study. Lastly, this section talks about the ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 investigates the cleaners' experience of centralisation. It investigates the impact of centralisation on the cleaners within the workplace. It seeks to highlight the changes and the things that have remained the same since the introduction of centralisation. This chapter examines the rationale behind the centralisation and its intended effects as stipulated in a document published by the university in 2013 (centralisation document: 2013:1). It compares this 'theoretical' side of centralisation with the worker's experiences of the centralisation process and work life under centralisation. The main aim of this chapter is to bring to light workers' voices and to determine whether the stated reasons behind centralisation have been realised from the perspective of the workers.

Chapter 5 outlines the socio-economic status of the cleaners. This is done to understand the impact of centralisation on the workers' lives beyond the workplace. This chapter examines the cleaners' basic demographic information, the number of dependents they have, families' gross monthly income and education level of the family members. The rationale behind this is getting a holistic picture of a 'normal' Rhodes cleaner and determine if like most service sector entities, this segment of Rhodes cleaners is made up of the most vulnerable and in most cases 'trapped' workers. An examination of these stated factors will provide better understanding as to the position of workers in relation to centralisation, in other words since these workers are limited in terms of job opportunities, they had to go along with the implementation of centralisation. Furthermore, this chapter will also highlight how the added pressure to work harder, because of centralisation, put stress on the worker's family lives and

as an indirect consequence disrupts the reproductive space for these workers. The centralisation process for workers does not only stop within the bounds of Rhodes university but also goes into their private space, thus a holistic analysis of the centralisation process requires an exploration of the stated factors.

Chapter 6 investigates NEHAWU's responses to the processes of centralisation. This chapter explores the various strategies and tactics that the trade union adopted when centralisation was implemented. It also explores the impact of centralisation on the relationship between the trade union leaders and the cleaners. Chapter 7 discusses and summaries the main findings of the research. This chapter makes conclusions, based on the research, about the impact of centralisation on the cleaners at Rhodes University.

CHAPTER 2

NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION AND RESTRUCTURING IN HIGHER EDUCATION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contextualizes the higher education system within neoliberalism in two ways. (1) It discusses the pressures put on higher education as result of neoliberal policies globally, and (2) discusses these pressures within the South African context. The restructuring of higher education on a global scale is the result of the privatization and commodification of public goods. This has resulted in the creation of competitive markets for these educational institutions. These educational markets, like any other markets within the neoliberal system, are grounded on the growth of inequalities and disadvantaging the already marginalised groups in society. Thus in order to understand how the restructuring in higher education affects cleaners it is of equal importance firstly to discuss the context of this restructuring. This section seeks to explore what is the driving force behind restructuring in higher education. Literature within this field suggests that neoliberal globalization, market-orientated policies, reduced government subsidies, and an increased demand for higher education are the dominant forces (Shattock, 2009:3; Vaira, 2004:485; Lemmer, 2001: 23).

2.2 Neoliberalism, Globalization and Higher Education

The term globalization is used widely and there is no universal definition of it (Bloom, 2005: 21). For example, Robertson (1992:8) defines globalization as “a concept that refers to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole”. Some scholars (Held, 1991; Wiseman, 1998) see globalization as the intensification of the relations between the local and the global while other scholars focus on the political and economic aspects of globalization (Hirst and Thompson, 1996; Soros, 1998; Wallerstein, 1991). Globalization is considered the vehicle of neoliberalism, which in turn has shaped the character of globalization (Rhoades and Torres, 2006:119). From a neoliberal perspective, globalization is:

A discourse about progress and a rising tide that lifts all boats, a discourse that takes advantage of the historical processes of globalization in order to valorize particular economic prescriptions about how to operate the economy (through free trade,

deregulation, and so on) and by implication, prescriptions about how to transform education, politics, and culture. (Burbules and Torres, 2000 13)

This study focuses on the political and economic aspects of globalisation and its impact on higher education. According to Slaughter and Leslie (1997:48), there are three dominant political economic theories of globalization: the neoliberal, liberal and radical (Morrow and Torres, 2003). Neoliberal theories focus on the role of the market on the reduction of the social welfare state (Altbach, 2004; Marginson and Considine, 2000; 2001; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). The inclusion of education in the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) through the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has changed higher education from a public service and placed it into the private sphere (Kishun, 2002). In the past the missions of higher education were aligned with the goals of educating, producing research and most importantly playing a crucial role in the development of society at large (Baker and Wiseman, 2008:228; Hughes, 2005:28). Universities were considered the “custodians of knowledge” (Gibbs, 2001: 91). UNESCO (1998) explains this as follows:

higher education has acquired an unprecedented role in present-day society, as a vital component of cultural, social, economic and political development and as a pillar of endogenous capacity building, the consolidation of human rights, sustainable development, democracy and peace, in a context of justice.

The role and operations of universities have thus changed because of globalisation and neoliberal policies (Shattock, 2000; Cherwitz, 2002) in that making higher education a “tradable commodity”, it not only plays the role of being the custodians of knowledge but also becomes “an arm of economic policy and part of the social process of commodity production”. The implications of neoliberalism are thus seen in higher education. Neoliberalism is leading to decreased funding for public services in general globally; for education, this is done to decrease public control over education through encouraging privatization of the educational service and greater reliance on market forces (Berman, 2003:253; Altbach, 2007:28; Moja, 2007:338; Rolfe, 2003:112; Alexander, 2000:19; Olssen and Peters, 2005). Since neoliberalism argues that the market is more efficient than the state, it makes more sense for public goods to be privatized (Berman, 2003:253). According to Atkinson (2002:72),

It seems that the policy of privatizing public science and its institutions has proceeded ideologically rather than by rational calculation. Such policies are assumed to fuel

innovation and maximize wealth creation, but that is a highly contested assumption”. Neoliberal policies set out to decrease state intervention, thus taking away the state’s role as the provider’.

Neoliberalism also encouraged governments to decrease their welfare spending, thus advocating for a tightened fiscal policy in states (Cloete, 2006:7, Walker, 2003:13; Varghese, 2009:8; Rich, 2006:18). This has meant a decrease of government subsidies allocated for public goods. For higher education, this has meant having to adjust and start looking for ‘new’ ways to organise the university in order to sustain itself. This also pushed universities to have a wider funding base, including funding from private sources (Austin, 2009:20; Olssen and Peters, 2007:317). Olssen and Peters (2007:313) note that:

Higher education institutions have been encouraged to develop links with industry and business in a series of new venture partnerships. The recognition of the economic importance of higher education and the necessity for economic viability has seen initiatives to produce greater entrepreneurial skills as well as the development of new performance measures to enhance output and to establish and achieve targets.

As a result, governments across the world have introduced many barriers to ensure that there is an effective use of public funds. They have also implemented monitoring systems to oversee the administration and operation of universities to ensure that HEIs adhere to the government agenda. There is thus a dominant trend within funding processes of higher education, which is a cost-sharing mechanism that places much more responsibility on the individual student (Johnstone, 2004; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades, 1990). Varghese (2009:15) notes that this strategy is a form of privatization in the form of cost sharing. He notes:

This relates more to academic programmes. Cost sharing could take two forms – cost recovery and delayed payment. Cost recovery is affected mainly through levying fees from direct beneficiaries. The issue of delayed payment comes when students are supported through loan scholarship schemes, which they have to repay at a later stage.

According to Slaughter and Leslie (1997:11), this is also similar to what they refer to as “academic capitalism”, where universities try to restructure in a manner that secures external funding. The university or faculties within the universities adopt “market-like behaviours”. Mendoza and Berger (2005) note that, on the part of universities, this is a response “to external forces of globalization by maintaining and expanding revenues critical for the

organization through market-like behaviors in times when state funding is more and more scarce". This is why many countries like Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa encouraged the use of student loans as a way to pay for studies (Mohamedbhai, 2008:9; Altbach, 2007:220; Marginson, 2007:20). This, in turn, shifts the costs of fees to the individual consumer, bringing to light the influence of the human capital theory, which argues individuals who invest in their education will have better jobs and better wages. (Marginson, 1993:21). As a result, universities have taken a market approach where the main goal is not only on producing quality research but also on increasing the quantity of research to ensure it not only produces knowledge but also generates revenue. Arnut (2010:135) sums this up as follows:

There has been a movement away from a system that was at one time nearly total central or regional public funding, to a situation where a growing proportion of finance has to be sought from non-direct public sources including fees, research grants, local development monies, alumni, industry and social enterprise, contract research and philanthropy. While government remains a key player in most countries, it has moved its disbursement stance into a more directive mode.

According to Prowle and Morgan (2004:8), generally 60 per cent of funding for higher education comes from government subsidies, while the rest is covered by student fees and other sources. Showing that while government subsidies have decreased since the late 1970s, government still provides a significant percentage of HEIs' incomes. This is mainly because these institutions are seen as promoting social development, thus funding is a social investment (Schomburg and Teichler, 2006).

The above institutional challenges relating to decreased government funding were intertwined with the demand for well-educated individuals within the global economy thus increasing enrolment in higher education. Prondzynski (as cited in Varghese, 2009:8) explains that

One of the constant themes of higher education in most countries over recent decades has been its continuing expansion. After World War 2 a degree was still the expectation or aspiration of only a very small proportion of the population in western societies, usually those coming from a privileged background. Then, as one of the later consequences of the welfare state, came the so-called 'massification' of the sector, with higher education opening up to people and groups who had previously largely been excluded.

Globally, there has been an increased demand for higher education, which began in the early 1970s. Scott (1995:20) describes this as the massification of higher education. Gibb, Haskins, Hannon and Robertson (2012:4) note that

It is difficult, if not impossible for this growth in 'demand' to be wholly funded by the state in a situation where there is a global financial crisis impacting massively upon the availability of public finance. The emphasis, therefore, is being placed on other sources of funding, particularly fees.

In developing countries, this was in part a result of an increasing population (AAU, 2004:3; Mohamedbhai, 2008:9). For example, African countries saw an improvement in their health and economic situations thus resulting in decreased mortality rates. This meant an increasing number of people were enrolling for basic education and secondary education, which later resulted in increased higher education enrolments. The Association of African Universities also noted that this was in part due to better educational programmes on the continent. It noted:

Africa has experience a dramatic escalation in the demand for higher education, beginning in the 1960s and continuing today. This is partly in response to the relative success of the Education for All programmes implemented by many African countries, which resulted in very considerable expansions in primary and secondary enrolment and output (AAU, 2004:1).

Since neoliberalism encouraged competitiveness within the labour market, this meant that having a qualification such as a degree or diploma became increasingly desirable when entering the labour market, which in turn increased the demand for higher education. This was further encouraged by the human capital theory (Becker, 1993:386; Marginson, 1993:21), which argues the more we invest in ourselves, the higher chances we have of success in the labour market. From this perspective, students and government are seen as only considering economic factors when it comes to making decisions about participation and investment in education (Marginson, 1993: 21). Getting a higher education qualification was increasingly connected to obtaining a desirable lifestyle (Walker and Nixon, 2004:15). The increasing demand for higher education has also been encouraged by government and organisations such as the World Bank and UNESCO. Globally, higher education is seen as a way in which one could access a 'better life'.

2.3 Rise of the Entrepreneurial University: International Context

The above-mentioned factors have led to the restructuring of the university into a market that 'sells' knowledge; higher education has now become a site where knowledge is seen as a commodity (Bauman, 1997; Deem, 1998; Miller, 1995). This inevitably creates competition amongst universities. Walker and Nixon, 2004:15; Mendoza and Berger, 2005; Olssen and Peters, 2007, argue that this competition encourages the commodification of higher education. According to Tsiu (2002:29), "globalisation represents market-related economy ideology and its material strategies that aim to increase profits. These strategies have struck consonance with some governments which apply them to public sector agencies, including higher education, to make them more competitive in both national and international markets".

It is important to note that not every university is able to change fully from the traditional university to this market-driven university because of institutional resources, management's ability and public image. However, the strong advocacy by neoliberal policies of fiscal austerity encourages the process of restructuring within HEIs. Universities try to become what Clark (1998:221) refers to as entrepreneurial universities, where the focus is not only on producing knowledge but also on generating income: "Entrepreneurial universities redefine the traditional roles of a university in the community as a knowledge creator through basic and applied research, technology and knowledge transfer agent, innovator, and supporter of economic development".

Deem (1998:38) argues that an important characteristic of entrepreneurial universities is the idea of bringing the "bottom line" economic rationale and "centralized decision-making" of corporations into the public sector (Clarke and Newman, 1994). In this process of restructuring, New Public Management (NPM) has become one of the dominant mechanisms that were used to re-align the political economy of the state and of public institutions. Deem (1998:39) defines NPM as:

The techniques highlighted by 'new managerialism' theorists include the use of internal cost centres, the fostering of competition between employees, the marketization of public sector services and the monitoring of efficiency and effectiveness through measurement of outcomes and individual staff performances. Other features include attempting to change the regimes and cultures of organisations and to alter the values of public sector employees to more closely resemble those found in the private 'for profit' sector.

It becomes evident that NPM rests on the neoliberal assumption that the market is the primary producer of cultural logic. Lynch (2013:4) explains that NPM “involves the inculcation of market values and practices into the regulation and organisation of public services in particular”. The introduction of NPM within institutions has brought private sector ‘language’ of efficiency, accountability, responsibility and transparency (Farrell and Morris 2003). This encouraged emphasis on efficiency within universities in terms of producing more output with less input, making evident the drive for the ‘ideal bureaucracy’ within HEIs as in all other service sector organisations (Austin, 2009:15). In this context, the goal is producing more graduates and research with fewer resources.

In theory, this restructuring of higher education is simply the commercialisation of the HEI and turning it into a market university, wherein the principles and ideals of the market rule supreme. This has resulted in the downsizing of staff, closing down of departments, merging institutions, shifting from the traditional class-based learning to online ways of learning, outsourcing secondary tasks, attracting students that are able to afford fees, decreasing the reliance of universities on state funding, and encouraging the procurement of private funding (Ministry of Education, 2002:4).

Consequently, with its implementation within HEIs, new managerialism has focused universities more on measured outputs in terms of performance indicators and rankings. Within HEIs one of the main goals of NPM was doing away with the ‘traditional public administration model’ and replace it with a managerial or ‘post-bureaucratic’ type of management. This changes the priorities and orientation of universities. While criticisms have been raised about universities becoming largely ‘profit-driven’, the introduction of private sector practices is increasingly turning universities into profit-making institutions.

As a result of this, some of the strategies introduced by universities under NPM include: cost-sharing measures (for example, increasing the cost of education); cost-saving measures (for example, freezing a job vacancy once someone retires or gets fired); and efficiency-enhancing measures (for example changing the distribution of resources so as to produce more with less) (Bezuidenhout and Fakier, 2006:264; Austin, 2009:20).

2.4 Changing Nature of Work within Higher Education

The ‘entrepreneurial/corporatist’ university thus requires “flexible organisational arrangements” that give institutions more room to respond to problems within this now

competitive environment for universities (Castells, 1996). The traditional university arrangements of work (that being most standard forms of employment) and organisation of activities in some instances prove irrelevant within this new “workplace” (Kimber, 2003:2). Since the corporatisation of the university was simply an adaptation of private sector practices, the implications these practices had for workers within the private sector become the reality for the academic labour process within universities. As a result, there are greater demands and pressures on academic staff to generate revenue for the institutions because now their job security depended on whether they can raise this revenue.

The job market within higher education contains two broad segments: one being for academics and top management and the other being for support staff. The academic labour market was further segmented, as there was now a demand for academics that would be employed on flexible, short-term contracts that were based on demand. Kimber (2003:1) notes that in Australian universities:

The managerial agenda has had a significant impact on the nature of academic work and the composition of the academic workforce. One such change has been that of casualization, which now threatens to divide the academic profession in two with casual workers being relegated to an ‘underclass’ that experiences a high level of job insecurity, low wages and poor working conditions.

Thatcher (2013:25) states that in the United Kingdom there was an estimated 77,000 lecturers who worked on hourly contracts for the period of 2009-2010. According to Gupta, Herath and Mikouiza (2005:399), linked to this downward social mobility of academic labour is the “Understanding that support services or offices may be contracted out rather than operated in-house employees in higher education institutions make their best efforts to achieve high levels of efficiencies creating competitive advantages”.

According to Millstone (2010:4), outsourcing within higher education started in the early 1980s in the United States. The rationale behind it being that firstly outsourcing is cheaper and more efficient than insourcing and secondly as a result it generates savings and allows the university to focus on its core functions. Outsourced functions within universities have varied from IT and legal services to manual jobs like cleaning, catering, transport and security.

A study done on outsourcing in HEIs in Oklahoma in the United States found that institutions introduced outsourcing in order to bring in competitive market forces to in-house services.

Universities now award contracts based on the least expensive service company, forcing companies to compete on the basis of who offer the cheapest can deal (Milestone, 2010:3). It is however important to note that the internal structures and resources of the institutions in most cases determine if the institution will outsource. Generally, outsourcing has become a dominant trend globally. Milestone (2010:3) notes that a survey conducted at United States colleges found that only four out of the 456 institutions have not outsourced at least one function. A survey that looked at outsourcing practices at over 1000 colleges in America noted that 94 per cent of colleges and universities outsourced a minimum of one service, 34 per cent outsourced more than five services, and 37 per cent anticipated an increase in their use of outsourced companies.

The impacts of outsourcing on employees in most cases depend on the occupational grade of that employee. Tasks that are high performance like legal services, IT, etc. may provide the workers with a flexible workday, and give them the chance to do other services at other organisations. However, outsourced manual tasks like cleaning in most cases lead to poor working conditions, a decrease in wages, little to no benefits, increased job insecurity and declining union protection. A study done by Nicklin (cited in Gupta et al., 2005:401) at Tufts University illustrates some of the above trends. The university first outsourced its custodial activities in 1974 through consultants from the university. The rationale being that outsourcing could save money and the institution could focus more on its core activities of teaching and research. The outsourced company employed 71 university workers. When the contract expired, the university went with a new service provider. The outsourced employees were given the opportunity to join the new company, but with reduced pay and more work. This resulted in a strike by the workers with students as well as faculty members joining.

Similarly, a study done by the Harvard Committee on Employment and Contracting Policies (HCECP) at Harvard University also verified the above trends (HCECP, 2001:7). The study found that there had been an increase in outsourcing, more especially of security services on campus. The study noted that the number of insourced security guards fell from 90 to 24 since outsourcing. The study also found that outsourced workers earned below the \$10.68 per hour, which was considered the living wage at that time. The study also showed that the outsourced workers received fewer benefits (HCECP, 2001:8).

Another important trend showed by the above study is that the introduction of an outsourced company forces trade unions to bring down wage rates for insourced workers in order to stay

competitive. The HCECP thus found that outsourcing has also been used to decrease wage rates agreed upon in collective bargaining at Harvard.

In sum, the above has showed how within the global context restructuring with HEIs has changed the nature of work for support staff, mostly through the introduction of outsourcing. While the socio-economic characteristic of South Africa may provide different findings, this section has helped highlight the dominant trends around restructuring of support functions such as cleaning.

2.5 Restructuring of Higher Education Institutions in South Africa

This section provides a background to South Africa's higher education context by briefly discussing what the shift from a racially divided higher education sector to one entrenched in the ideology of democracy has meant for HEIs. It will also discuss the pressures the ANC government faced not only locally but also internationally: namely, the need to follow the global trend of neoliberal policies. The aim of this section is to highlight how South African HEIs responded to both local and international challenges and how these responses affected cleaners within these institutions.

2.5.2 The impact of apartheid on South Africa's higher education institutions

The South African education system was historically divided into universities, technikons and colleges, they were further divided along racial lines. Nineteen HEIs in South Africa were used exclusively by whites, two were reserved for coloureds, two for Indians, and six to be used by black South Africans. Van der Walt et al. (2003:14) further explain that:

An immediate distinction must be made between HAIs [historically advantaged institutions] and HDIs [historically disadvantaged institutions], designated for different racial groups under apartheid; further distinctions must also be made within each category along ethnic lines. Among HAIs, further distinctions must be drawn between the traditionally more vocationally-oriented, and government-aligned, Afrikaans-medium institutions, and the "liberal" English-medium universities; amongst HDIs, an important distinction must be drawn between the better-resourced University of Durban-Westville (UDW), catering to Indians, and the University of the Western Cape (UWC), for Coloureds, and HDIs designated for Africans. The latter in the main established by the apartheid government after 1948 for specific African ethnic homelands, with the exception of the University of Fort Hare, founded in 1916 (but later incorporated into the Ciskei).

The distribution of funding, staff capacity and student intake within these institutions was also based on these racial divisions. This meant that historically advantaged institutions (HAIs) received more funding and had better resources in terms of staff capacity (NCHE finance team, 1996:36; Van der Walt et al, 2003:12). Because of this, there was a huge gap in terms of the level of publications and recognition of these institutions both nationally and internationally. Funding allocation for HEIs in South Africa was decided upon based on the South African Post-Secondary Education (SAPSE) formulae (NCHE Finance Team, 1996:36). This formula allocated funds based on inputs (i.e. student enrolment, the level of enrolment as well as the faculty) and outputs (i.e. students graduating and research published). In 1985, the SAPSE formula was used to allocate funds for all institutions (NCHE Finance Team, 1996:36). One of the consequences of this was that it benefited HAUs more because they had more resources to publish and had more enrolments in scarce skills facilities. The NCHE Finance Team (1996:36) noted that “because the SAPSE formulae was originally formulated for the historically white universities only, it assumed that access to higher education in South Africa was fair, hence that no provision should be made by the government for the improvement of equity through for example the provision of funds for financial aid and for preparatory or remedial instructions”.

Unlike HAIs who had alternative funding sources, historically disadvantaged institutions (HDIs) were mostly made up of students from impoverished backgrounds who could not afford fees. Regardless of the financial inequalities between HAIs and HDIs, HDIs still had growth in student intake. This is why the South African government had to rethink the amounts allocated to institutions because of the SAPSE formulae (NCHE Finance Team, 1996:36).

In the period of 1997/1998, the money allocated for HEIs was R5.4 billion. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR, 1988: 456), the average funding level of 66 per cent in 1997 was down from the 68 per cent in 1996. While there might have been an increase in funding since then, it has also been met with increasing student enrolment. The post-apartheid government placed emphasis on the need for systematic growth within higher education; that is, an expansion of student enrolment and participation rates, and programmes offered in efforts to address the high levels of social inequality (Department of Education, 1996:15; CHE, 2000: 37). According to Mthembu (2009:1), “there had been a 60 per cent increase in student enrolments between 1996 and 2011, from 590,000 to 938,000”.

It became clear that when it came to addressing the inequalities present within the higher education sector, the ANC government had to address the visible gaps in terms of racial divisions in the composition of higher education staff and students, and the resource gap between HDIs and HAIs (Bezuidenhout and Fakier, 2006:264; Cloete and Bunting, 2000:5; NPHE 2001:76). The 1994 RDP White Paper made visible some neoliberal traits within the transformation of higher education in South Africa, which included an expansion in the role of the private sector, economic deregulation and fiscal austerity. The implementation of GEAR by government in 1996 further encouraged the privatisation and commercialisation of public services, especially a private and public sector partnership in higher education. It also encouraged a decentralised labour market to allow for greater ‘flexibility’.

The transformation agenda of the government in the higher education sector was strongly influenced by neoliberalism. This directly meant that like other universities within the global community, the 21 public universities in South Africa would shift towards a more profit driven and corporatist managerial position (Bezuidenhout and Fakier, 2006:264; Szanton and Manyika, 2001: 22; Shumar, 2004:829). The restructuring in South African universities is thus in part the result of government policies on socio-economic development.

According to van der Walt et al. (2003:12), the implementation of the recommendations of the NCHE meant a greater emphasis on private support for higher education. It also meant an emphasis on funding output. This introduced an underlying tendency towards the marketization of higher education. This meant the introduction of private sector management and labour practices within HEIs in South Africa in order to adjust to the new demands of this ‘post-apartheid university’. Like workers within HEIs elsewhere in the world, this meant the restructuring of the traditional way tasks and activities are organised in HEIs. This was made evident by the introduction of the rationale of focusing on ‘core activities’, thereby encouraging the outsourcing of support services. In other words, South African HEIs restructured along similar lines to the HEIs elsewhere, raising the questions of whether the impact of this restructuring on cleaners is similar to those in the global community.

2.5.3 The restructuring of higher education institutions in post-apartheid South Africa

According to Johnson (2003:6), restructuring within higher education is marked by two approaches: the rationale of rightsizing and the “core and non-core” rationale. The advocates of rightsizing are usually found within historically black universities. Advocates of restructuring in order to differentiate between core and non-core functions are usually found

within historically white institutions. While this seems like a rather simplistic distinction of the different forms of restructuring, the institutions resource capacity has largely determined the type of restructuring route an institution takes. The common factor of the different restructuring programmes is the underlining corporatist features. A survey that was conducted by Van der Walt et al. (2003:30) showed that there is a dominant trend of using management consultant companies, which in most cases have advised institutions to take the outsourcing route.

In 1994, Wits conducted an exercise plan that looked at the restructuring of academic and administrative functions but the plan was not implemented due to internal divisions (FitzGerald, 2001:9). In 1999, the university introduced a restructuring programme called Wits2001. The programme was said to be the result of firstly broader environmental factors (Van der Walt et al., 2003:30). These include the financial pressures the university is under due to decreased government subsidies and increased expectations, levelling up to international standards at the same time attracting private investments. Furthermore, specific university issues like lack of efficiency from the then current administrative and managerial systems led to the restructuring and introduction of the Wits2001 Plan (FitzGerald, 2003:2). For example, support services in some areas were overstuffed, the quality of service was poor, and it was costly. The third reason is the possible benefits restructuring could create; in this case, the transformation of departments into stronger academic entities (FitzGerald, 2003:2). The Wits2001 programme implemented outsourcing arrangements for some support services. The university, along with management consultants, drew up reviews that were presented to academics and students. Functions like cleaning, catering, grounds and gardens, building maintenance and transport were outsourced despite opposition from university staff (Van der Walt et al., 2003; FitzGerald, 2003).

The University of Cape Town (UCT) first outsourced support services in 1990 and extended this in 1999 (Van der Walt et al., 2003:30). The rationale behind this was to improve the quality of work and cut wastage by placing support services with specialist organisations. The university outsourced five services that were provided by internal staff, those being office and campus cleaning, security services, metro cleaning, residence cleaning, residence catering and gardening (Johnson, 2001:8).

The University of Fort Hare University (UFH) initiated its restructuring programme in 1997 (Johnson, 2001:8). The university's stated reason for restructuring was to cut costs, and

balance the disproportion of support staff members (Van der Walt et al., 2003; Johnson, 2001) Like Wits, UFH used productivity assessments in their restructuring process, thus showing a strong managerial standpoint (Johnson, 2001:8). The UFH also took the outsourcing route, services like cleaning, maintenance and grounds and gardens were all outsourced (Johnson, 2001:8).

2.5.4 Implications of restructuring for workers

The restructuring at Wits is said to have created a more efficient administrative system and the campus “has never been as clean” (FitzGerald, 2003:2). Restructuring at the University of the Witwatersrand is said to have saved R30-million. In addition, in 2001 the university retrenched 613 support service employees out of a total of 2,377 employees. Furthermore, of the retrenched workers only 250 were re-employed with the new contracted company. Wages for cleaners fell from about R2,277 a month with benefits to about R1,200 a month with no benefits.

At UFH, restructuring resulted in 938 retrenched workers. This university recorded a total number of 938 retrenched workers since restructuring commenced and, according to Van der Walt et al. (2003:30), general working conditions of workers seemed to be getting worse. The unions attempted to unionise an outsourcing company but has not signed an agreement with them (Van der Walt et al., 2003:30).

A study done by Johnson (2003:8) at UCT noted that security guards outsourced in 1998 earn roughly half the salary per hour of fulltime UCT security guards (a minimum wage of R7 per hour as compared to R15 per hour, in 2001), whilst the wages of outsourced cleaners are similarly low. Further, these outsourced workers lack access to employee benefits such as housing allowances, provident funds, medical aids, and thirteenth cheques. Restructuring has meant a decrease in wages: before restructuring wages were around R3000 per month and have decreased to R1000 without benefits since restructuring occurred. This has also resulted in uncertainty amongst the workers. Restructuring within HEIs has also resulted in the decrease of support service staff from 12,000 to 8,500 (Johnson, 2003:8). Johnson (2003:9) notes that, prior to restructuring, workers at UCT had medical aid, provident fund, access to low interest bearing loans and a housing subsidy.

Regardless of the restructuring approach adopted by different HEIs, outsourcing and retrenchments have characterised the restructuring programmes. Support staff workers in all

these universities have been at a great disadvantage because these tasks are not the 'core' activities of these universities. Consequently, these tasks are often the first to be restructured, thereby changing the nature of work and quality of work for these workers. This brings into focus the role of the National Education and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU). The following section will briefly look at how NEHAWU has responded to restructuring within HEIs.

2.6 Trade Union Responses to Restructuring in Higher Education

At Wits University, NEHAWU launched a campaign against the retrenchment of employees. During negotiations with management, NEHAWU refused to agree to the retrenchments of its members. The union subsequently took the university to court on grounds that it did not consult them properly.

Similarly, in the case of UCT, NEHAWU made use of section 189 of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1995. Section 189 prescribes consultation with all concerned parties before an employer can retrench workers for operational reasons. The parties concerned must engage in meaningful consultations in which they try to reach consensus on the appropriate measures to employ, before the decision to dismiss is taken.

In the case of NEHAWU vs the University of Cape Town, NEHAWU argued that the university failed to uphold section 197 of the Labour Relations Act. Which puts responsibility on the employer to ensure conditions previously enjoyed before transfer of business are maintained. Johnson (2003:11) notes:

NEHAWU subsequently brought an urgent application in the Labour Court seeking declaratory relief it sought an order declaring that: (a) the outsourcing of the non-core activities was a transfer of a part of UCT's business, trade or undertaking as other relief not relevant to these proceedings was also claimed. a going concern within the meaning of section 197(1)(a) of the LRA; (b) the employment contracts of the affected workers were transferred automatically to the contractors in terms of section 197(2)(a) of the LRA; and (c) the termination of the workers' employment contravened section 197(2)(a) and was of no force and effect.

While NEHAWU has tried to stop outsourcing from being implemented in the above-mentioned universities, its failure to win has had implications for workers' faith in the union (van der Walt et al., 2003:9). In the age of restructuring and outsourcing, some workers have become sceptical of the relevance of unions to their struggles. At some universities like UCT,

this has been evident in the decrease in union membership (Johnson, 2003:8). The above discussion on the unions' inability to fight restructuring of cleaners in HEIs brings to question the role of the worker within the capitalist system. In trying to understand the role of the worker in the capitalist system, the next section of this paper will outline labour process theory.

2.7 Labour Process Theory

Labour process theory (LPT) is grounded in Marx's explanation of work within capitalist society. According to Marx, the labour process is made up of three elements: the purposeful activity (the actual work), the object on which the work is performed, and the instruments of work (cited in Braverman, 1974:60). Marx believed that the labour process is not something that is unique to the capitalist system because it is a fundamental condition for human existence. Thus, the labour process is not only about the relationship between humans and nature, but also about the relationship among humans. Because of the exploitative tendency of capitalism, Marx argued that the social relations of production are inherently antagonistic. The changing nature of work within society is thus linked to this antagonist relationship, where capital is constantly trying to get control over workers. The labour process within the capitalist system is thus linked to the realisation for profit (Adler, 2004:5; O'Doherty and Willmott 1999:10).

According to the LPT, the fundamental purpose of the capital-labour relationship is the realisation of profit, which requires the degradation of work and decreasing wages through the fragmentation of tasks. LPT seeks to explain the key features of work under capitalism, which include hierarchical control, fragmentation of labour, and the separation of intellectual and manual labour (Adler, 2004:5; O'Doherty and Willmott 1999:10; Spencer, 2000:224; Thompson, 1983:78; Thompson, 1990:100). Braverman (1974:61) argued that it is only in the capitalist system where one's capacity to work (labour power) is bought and sold. The capitalist thus buys an unrealised potential that somehow needs to be translated into the actual performance of work.

Cohen (1987) notes that the "labour process had become dominated and shaped by the accumulation of capital" as opposed to use value. This then means that central to LPT is the valorisation tendency of capitalism; in other words, the need to accumulate profits. Cohen (1987:37) argues that "Braverman's primary concern is not with 'control' or even deskilling per se, but with the specifically capitalist logic which constructs these tendencies".

The capitalist try to control wage rates through the detailed division of work. The capitalist breakdown tasks in order to ensure they buy workers labour power at cheap rates. A perfect example of this fragmentation of labour is scientific management. The introduction of scientific management within the workplace came about with the removal of the “knowledge” from the worker and into management. This separation of the execution and conception of work ensured the degradation of labour and thus decreasing expenditure on labour power (Spencer, 2000:228). This division of mental and manual work is further divided into minute tasks to gain greater control over the production process. Labour in this sense becomes part of capital because it is organised by the capitalist.

2.7.1 Labour process in South Africa

The labour process in South Africa is characterised by a racial division that was a result of the forced African migrant labour power at a low wages. According to Von Holdt and Webster (2005:119), the South African gold mines have relied on the “expropriation of land, imposition of taxation and similar nonmarket inducements”. Which ultimately forced Africans to sell their labour power in order to get wages and thus aid their means of subsistence. While African workers occupied the manual jobs that did not require any skill, whites were employed in highly skilled supervisory positions. The selling and buying of labour power was thus linked to the colour of the worker and not his/her skill (Von Holdt and Webster, 2005). Webster Buhlungu, and Bezuidenhout (2001) term this racial despotism, racial in that one group was superior legally, politically and economically while other were denied such rights. Despotic because people were coerced physically and economically rather than consenting to this kind of workplace. The use of coercive and violent tactics against African workers was also present within the workplace. These ranged from assaulting, dismissals and failure to pay wages. The South African labour process was also shaped by a lack of training for African workers. This meant that African workers constituted the majority of unskilled labourers and performed the boring jobs (Von Holdt, 2003: 31). Arguably, since Braverman’s work examines the degradation tendency of the capitalist workplace, it serves as a foundation to understand the despotic nature of the apartheid workplace in South Africa.

2.7.2 The labour process in the cleaning industry

Traditionally, cleaning work was done manually and with simple hand-held equipment, for example mops, brooms, cloths etc. The cleaning sector is thus characterised by Braverman’s (1974:60) notion of the separation of conception from execution. Work within the cleaning

industry is characterised by the presence of supervisors who act as the conception (the brains) of the job, where they watch over the cleaners, while the cleaners perform the manual work. The dominant trend within this industry as with the general capitalist workplace is the introduction of new technology in order to make cleaners more productive. The introduction of cleaning products that do not require as much added pressure from cleaners means that cleaners can do more work than before. This need to extract more effort from workers has resulted in the re-arrangement of standard working time arrangements for the cleaning workforce. Companies within the cleaning industry thus decide to change their working times for cleaners in order to realise profits and the “specific time characteristics of their activity” (Scherzer et al., 2005:115). For example, most cleaners come to work before the rest of the employees arrive and stay to clean before after everyone else has left.

These supervisors also ‘plan’ the cleaner’s working day and in most instances break down their working day into time-periods in order for workers to do the most amount of work within the working day (Scherzer et al., 2005:115). The workers’ day and the job they are meant to do is broken up into different fragments ensuring that the worker does the work. Scherzer et al. (2005:115) and Seifert and Messing (2001:325) note that a dominant trend in the cleaning industry is assigning workers the amount of time they will need in order to finish a specific task. This makes the cleaner’s job highly repetitive in nature.

In sum, LPT seeks to make sense of the ways in which people work, the skills needed for work, and who has control over work (Staples, 2000:228). It proves advantageous for this research in that it highlights the inherently antagonistic relationship between management and labour (Staples, 2000:228). Crucially, it suggest that, in order to make sense of the impact of restructuring on workers, social scientists must first understand the underlying features of work within capitalism. As Braverman (1974:64) notes, control must be seen as “the central concept of all management systems” and that it is “essential for the capitalist that control over the labour process pass from the hands of the worker into his own”. The understanding of labour and control within the capitalist system, as provided by this theory, will help contextualise the various management strategies within higher education.

2.8 Background to the Centralisation of Cleaning Services at Rhodes University

Rhodes University was established in 1904 by a committee created by Josiah Slater to raise funding to establish a university. The university is a historically white university that has since 1994 been faced with the challenges of transforming its student and staff composition to

reflect the diversified nature of the country. Academic members, management and the student body were predominantly white and male, whereas support staff members were African. Rhodes University like other entities reflected the racial division of labour within the country. Africans were thus only employed to do manual work in support activities and were under white employees. The end of apartheid in South Africa and the advocacy for a more inclusive and transformed higher education sector meant that Rhodes University had to change the composition of its staff and its student body. While this has meant an inclusion of Africans into management and academic positions, it has not transformed the dominance of Africans in manual support functions within the university.

The segmentation of labour within Rhodes University is thus based on skills and qualifications. There are three segments of work within the university. First, grades 1-5 cover the most menial jobs and do not demand any significant expertise and skills. In most instances, these jobs are characterised by manual and support functions with a dominance of African females. Second, grades 6-14 cover semi-skilled jobs. Lastly, there are grades 15-18, which cover the highly skilled jobs such as academics and senior management. These two segments are characterised by an inclusion of some Africans but a continuing dominance of whites and males.

Cleaning services at Rhodes University were largely organised based on the department system, where each department had its own cleaner/messenger. The department's secretary or head of department was in charge of the cleaner. Prior to 2006, the university had some form of centralization programme in place whereby departments could decide if they wanted to manage their own cleaning staff or if they wanted someone to manage it for them. With several departments (like the Alumni division, drama department and the library amongst others) opting to have someone manage their cleaning staff due to the time and effort this consumed, the university introduced a programme which aimed at centralizing all cleaning services within the university. In 2006, with a mandate from the Institutional Planning Staffing Committee, the university introduced the centralization of cleaning services. This now meant that cleaners did not report to their respective departments but rather they were all gathered under CCS with supervisors from CCS that sent them to the various departments. The reasons that drove the university to restructure included the following (centralisation document: 2013:1).

1. The removal of cleaning matters from departments allows academic heads to focus on the academic endeavours of their departments.
2. The centralization was also guided by two main issues: under-utilisation and over-utilisation of the cleaning staff. The concept of one staff member per department was neither effective nor efficient, in that you find in one department the cleaning duties are so minor that they can be performed in two or maybe three hours, whereas in another department it takes the whole day.

After a meeting in the Humanities Faculty Board that enquired about centralisation, the Board and Senate called for a review of the centralisation of cleaning services at Rhodes University. The vice-chancellor, Dr Sizwe Mabizela, appointed a Review Committee on the Centralisation of Cleaning Services at Rhodes University in 2014 to start a formal review. The Review Committee appointed a Review Working Group that would gather all the necessary data on centralisation on behalf of the Review Committee. In trying to ensure that all individuals were well represented in the Review Committee, it included representatives from campus-based trade unions, the human resource division, and expertise from labour studies, institutional transformation, labour law and industrial relations. This was done to ensure that the review process is as objective and neutral as can be.

In light of these developments, the newly implemented centralisation of cleaning services at Rhodes University raises questions about the impact of this form of restructuring on work and employment relations. Although Rhodes University has only taken the outsourcing route to a limited degree (e.g. security), it is one of only two major employers in Grahamstown. This means that any major change in the nature of employment within the university is likely to affect the wider Grahamstown community

The centralisation of cleaning services also raises questions concerning the alienation of cleaning staff from the institution itself. The centralisation process means that cleaners are no longer attached to any specific department, thereby potentially losing any sense of 'belonging'. This research seeks (among others) to explore changes in the working and employment conditions of all staff members affected by the processes of centralisation of cleaners at Rhodes University.

2.9 Socio-Economic Context of Grahamstown

According to the Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Review and Outlook of 2013 (ECSERO) and the Makana municipality planning document (2009:10), the Eastern Cape accounts for 12.8 per cent of the country's population, with a dominance of young people; a working age population that is mainly female. The Eastern Cape is considered one of the poorest provinces in South Africa that faces socio-economic problems; namely poverty, income inequality, food insecurity and high rates of unemployment. The ECSERO further notes that these socio-economic challenges are more visible in rural Areas, in African homes that are headed by women and have large families (increasing the dependency. Only 5.6 per cent of the Eastern Cape population live in the Cacadu district. According to census 2011 results, the district's population has seen a decrease with the exception of blacks: Black Africans are in the majority in Cacadu (53.6 per cent), followed by coloureds (35.1 per cent), whites (10.9 per cent) and Asians (0.3 per cent).

Poverty reduction has been understood in terms of the educational levels within a family. According to the ECSERO (2013:114), "Education links directly to poverty- reduction efforts, with poverty levels tending to be lower among families in which the head of the household has had some education than in those where the head of the household has no education". With an illiteracy rate of about 18.4 per cent, basic education within the Eastern Cape especially amongst the working population (18-60), is rather low. With the majority of the population having basic to no education, the majority of employed people within the province are employed in low skilled to unskilled jobs. The ECSERO (2013:60) notes that

The majority of the employed, regardless of activities they are in, are employed in elementary occupations. However, the share of elementary occupation, together with others that fall in the same category (unskilled job category), decreased while those in the semi-skilled and skilled categories increased.

The level of education one has directly affects economic development and the quality of life enjoyment by that individual. The rationale behind that is that education is linked to one's skills levels and employability. Educational levels of an area are thus linked to its economic development. The ECSERO (2013:51) notes

6.19 per cent of the Makana population has received no schooling, which is below the provincial level of 9.4 per cent and the district level of 12.3 per cent. With regards to basic literacy, 36.11 per cent of the Makana population have only been educated up to

primary level, which is better than the provincial level. The Makana area excels in terms of the proportion of the population that has completed matric, and attained tertiary levels of education. 22.07 per cent of Makana residents have an education level of matric or higher, which is almost twice the provincial level of 13.33 per cent. The implication of this is that a large proportion of the population is able to (have the potential to) become fully economic active members of society as their employability is higher than those of uneducated people.

In 2011, it was recorded that of the 70,706 people living in Grahamstown 32.1 per cent were employed, 34.4 per cent were unemployed, 33.7 per cent were not economically active. Out of those employed, 81.5 per cent are employed in the formal sector and only 18.5 per cent are employed in the informal sector. According to Statistics South Africa (As cited by Makana Municipality 2008:8) the terms unemployment, employment and economically active can be defined as follows:

These statuses may be defined as: Employed have within the last seven days performed work for pay. Unemployed (i.e. those people within the economically active population who: did not work during the seven days prior to the interview; want to work and are available to start work within two weeks of the interview; and have taken active steps to look for work or to start some form of self-employment in the four weeks prior to the interview.) Not economically active (i.e. A person who is not working and not seeking work or not available for work).

Furthermore, 13 per cent of those employed are highly skilled workers, 44 per cent of those are skilled and 43 per cent are unskilled (Makana Municipality, 2008:9). This skill profile is to some extent a reflection of the education profile Grahamstown. Twenty one per cent of the workforce in Grahamstown is mostly professionals and senior officials (mainly Rhodes staff). This shows that almost a third of the economic active population is unemployed, meaning that there are high poverty levels within Makana municipality. It was further noted that there were 42 per cent of households within the area that have no income, as opposed to the provincial level of 25.7 per cent (Makana Municipality, 2009:8). This is also make evident by the fact that only 11.6 per cent of households in Grahamstown earn above R3,200 a month, meaning that many of Grahamstown's people live in poverty. This means that, since Rhodes University is one of only two major employers in the city, any significant changes regarding employment within the university will have a huge impact on the wider Grahamstown

community. This highlights the need not only to assess the effects of centralisation in the workplace, but also its impacts beyond the Rhodes University campus.

With the exception of the study done by Bezuidenhout and Fakier (2006:264), research on the restructuring of HEIs in South Africa tends to focus only on its impact on academics and students. The research that explores restructuring from the perspective of support staff (Johnson 2001; FitzGerald, 2003:3; Van der Walt et al., 2003) focuses on the impact of restructuring on workers within the workplace, thereby overlooking the impact of restructuring on workers' lives beyond the workplace. This research will add to the body of knowledge by highlighting the impact of restructuring in HEIs on all aspects of the affected workers' lives. The rationale behind focusing on both working conditions and living conditions of workers is because the social reproduction of labour occurs outside the workplace. This means that, like the dynamics at the workplace, the living conditions of the workers are also an important aspect to understanding employment relations.

2.10 Conclusion

The literature discussed above aimed to understand and unpack the rationale behind restructuring within HEIs. The literature suggests that common forces behind the restructuring of HEIs are the following factors: neoliberal policies that advocate a tightened government fiscal policy, decreased government funding and the increased demand for higher education. The rise of globalization has meant that universities compete on a global scale and thus have to be efficient. Efficiency from the neoliberal school of thought was shown to refer to producing more with fewer resources. The consequences of this drive for efficiency, however, have been felt mostly by workers within the higher education sector. Restructuring in South African universities was informed by (among others) the GEAR policy of 1996, which encouraged universities to generate their own finances through private investments. The chapter went on to outline the restructuring programmes implemented in various South African universities and the following trend in the restructuring programmes was identified: restructuring is implemented under the rationale of creating 'efficiency' within the university. While this notion of efficiency has been advantageous for cutting cost within universities, on the other side this drive for efficiency has had negative implications for cleaners within this sector.

Efficiency for these cleaners has meant the introduction of various strategies, with the dominant one being outsourcing, that have aimed at making workers work harder with little

wages. The literature showed that the concept of efficiency is thus one sided and seeks to benefit one party over the other, in this case management over the cleaners. Consequently, the implementation of restructuring programmes within HEIs has had negative implications for trade union within this sector. The introduction of flexible forms of work within this sector has also left a group of workers that do not 'qualify' to join trade unions, thus creating a divide between 'protected' and 'unprotected' workers. Furthermore, the strategies and tactics deployed by trade unions thus far in dealing with restructuring have not changed the position of cleaners within this sector when it comes to restructuring. The literature review identified a number of distinct trends in the restructuring of HEIs. The researcher will use the data to see if these trends are relevant to restructuring at Rhodes University.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This research aimed at understanding the Rhodes University case of restructuring and what it means for cleaners. It aimed to understand the underlying mechanisms at play, first within the workplace and outside the workplace that have helped shape the workers experience of centralisation. Since this research sought to explore the cleaner's demographics and socio-economic realities, it relied on the use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. This section of the paper will thus explain how the adopted research techniques were advantageous in achieving the research goals. It will do this by firstly outlining the data collection methods that were used, explain the rationale behind the sampling population, talk about trust and accessibility and lastly ethics appraisal

3.2 Methodology

This research made use of quantitative and qualitative research methods to collect data. Qualitative research is useful in that it takes the subjects' viewpoint on social action as the starting point (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 43). Qualitative research is used in research with aims of producing in-depth explanations of social activities. An in-depth interview was conducted with three NEHAWU representatives in order to better understand the union's position when it comes to the centralisation of cleaning services, and as a way of making sense of the strategies the union adopted in this regard. The interview focused on the history of NEHAWU's engagement with the planning process of centralisation, its implementation and the outcomes that have come about since then. The use of this qualitative form of data collection was beneficial insofar as it helped the researcher prop more into answers that were somewhat unclear from the union representatives.

Interviews range in type from fixed to free, in trying to get more data from the interview, this research made use of semi-structured interviews (Matthews and Ross, 2010:193). Matthews and Ross (2010:194) note that "...For the most part, however, interviews are more open ended and less structured. Frequently, the interviewer asks the same questions of all the participants, but the order of the questions, the exact wording, and the type of follow-up questions may vary considerably". This type of interview ranged in the middle of fully fixed

to fully free, in that the interviewer started with a structured questioning plan, but changed due to some answers requiring further questioning. The use of this form of interview was beneficial in trying to understand the unions mechanisms in dealing with centralisation in that it avoided vague answers and required the interviewer to prop more in order to get clarity. The use of this type of interview allowed the researcher to create a conversational environment, which encouraged the openness of the respondents. This resulted in the representatives bringing up relevant issues that the researcher had not thought of, for example the lack of continuity of union leadership, which the interviewer was not aware of. This helped the researcher understand and perhaps dig deeper into the mechanisms adopted by the trade union in dealing with centralisation

This research also drew on the findings of a quantitative survey – conducted by NALSU – in order to increase the validity and reliability of the data analysis. Quantitative research includes the collection and analysis of data that is quantifiable data (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:40). This means that the data must be able to be mathematically calculated. The researcher was part of the data collection team and was in the meetings with the worker's prior the collection of data. The questionnaire was piloted on one grounds and gardens worker, in order to ensure that the questions were clear for the workers. The rationale behind testing out the questionnaire on a grounds and garden worker was simply because this section of workers were not connected to centralisation and would thus not be included in the actual data collection process. While the initial idea was to get five ground and gardens workers to pilot the questionnaire on, because of time constraints this was not possible. The use of this particular worker was beneficial in that because this worker was a previous trade union leader, they helped identify questions that might confuse the workers and helped the research team on how to ask certain questions.

The questionnaire included questions that were organised into the following sections: basic demographic information, education, health status, place of accommodation, household members, household income and expenditure, current employment, employment history, and centralisation experience. The basic demographic category was put in place in order to contextualise the main characteristics of Rhodes University cleaners. This information will provide a better understanding of the lives of these workers and the possible impact centralisation might have. The use of a questionnaire survey was advantageous for this research in that it allowed the researcher to gather information that can be generalized to the larger population of cleaners at Rhodes University.

Five members of the research team conducted the interviews with grade 1-5 cleaners. These interviews were conducted at the Neil Aggett Labour Studies Unit (NALSU) during the working day. Since NALSU was located in a space that is not directly linked to the work of these cleaners, it provided a space where the cleaners felt free to express their opinions. Prior to the collection of data however, all grade 1-5 cleaners under CCS were called into a meeting during teatime to explain the process and introduce the research team. This time was also used as a space for workers to raise any questions or concerns about the review process.

This research also made use of documentary analysis, which is the collection, review, interrogation and analysis of various forms of text as a primary source of research data (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:43). This form of data collection makes use of similar data gathered in interviews, surveys and observations by other researchers, which this usually is derived from newspaper articles, historical archives or census data. This form of data collection is beneficial to this research in that it gave the researcher in-depth information about the topic. In particular, the researcher paid attention to similar studies conducted at other South African universities like Wits University and UCT. These and other studies helped identify the common themes, within restructuring, especially in higher education. The consulted documents helped in the creation of interview question. The researcher also made use of documentation surrounding the centralisation process, this provided the researcher better understanding about the restructuring programme at Rhodes University. Such triangulation, as Babbie and Mouton (2001: 43) explain, takes “multiple perspectives into account and attempts to understand the influences of multilateral social systems and subjects’ perspective and behaviours”.

3.3 Sampling

The research aimed at interviewing the entire target population of cleaners. The rationale behind this simply being that given the unique concerns and complex mobilisation of grade 1-5 cleaners, all cleaners were given the opportunity to express their views. In a meeting prior to the interview process, the cleaners were given an opportunity to sign up for interview slots with an interviewer of their liking and in the language they preferred. Initially about 70 workers signed up for the interviews but through hearing about this process from their colleagues and the research team calling and explaining, 19 more cleaners came to sign up. This meant 89 workers out of 112 workers had signed up for interviews; the other 23 workers being mostly people who were on two or four hour contracts that have been off work during

the process. For trade union representatives, the size of the target population did not warrant sampling simply because it was too small. The researcher initially hoped to interview management representatives in order to get a holistic picture of centralisation; however, this did not happen largely because of time constraints.

The research team was able to complete all the interviews within four weeks, largely because each researcher had roughly two interviews a day for five days a week. The capturing of data happened daily after an interviewer was finished with an interview. This was checked regularly by the convenor of the Review Working Group. Quality control measures such as re-interviewing of randomly selected interviewees was done in order to increase the validity and reliability of the data collected.

3.4. Trust and Accessibility

The research took place immediately after the student protest. This was not deliberate on the part of the researchers. The survey had only been approved by the Ethics Committee a week into the protest. The national attention, brought about by students, on workers' working conditions within higher education, affected how Rhodes University staff viewed this study. Workers were more than willing to be interviewed about their workplace and even home situations in order to give more insights into the effects of centralisation. Since this research was part of a wider institutional research project, the workers trusted the academics heading the programme. Moreover, since the researcher had previously worked with the workers on a similar topic, it was easy to gain the workers' trust. Since this research was part of the functions of a review committee, the centralisation management at Rhodes University set up a meeting time between the research team and the workers. This allowed the researchers an opportunity to explain what the research was about and to have workers set up interview slots.

3.7 Ethical Appraisal

Babbie and Mouton (2001:52) note that the researcher has to uphold certain ethical responsibilities to ensure the integrity of the research namely, informed consent of respondents, ensuring confidentiality and or anonymity of respondents, accurate reporting of data, acting within the law and recognising and balancing subjectivity. All the respondents were informed, prior to the interview, about the objectives of the research and how the interview data will be used. To ensure the respondents anonymity, they were not asked for

their names or staff numbers. The respondents were also asked to sign consent forms and informed of their right to refuse to answer certain questions if they were deemed too personal. All the respondents were informed they have the option of receiving a copy of the final findings of the research to ensure their statements were not misused.

3.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, in trying to understand the impacts of centralisation on the workers lives within and beyond the workplace, this research made use of a quantitative research method, namely a questionnaire. This was advantageous insofar as it allowed the researcher to target the entire cleaning population. It was also advantageous for this specific study in that it allowed the researcher to highlight the dominant trends within this segment of cleaners since the introduction of centralisation. In trying to understand the strategies employed by NEHAWU in dealing with centralisation, the use of a qualitative research method, namely an in-depth interview, was advantageous in that it allowed the researcher to prop more into answers that were vague. The use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods aided in achieving the research goals set out.

CHAPTER 4

THE CENTRALISATION OF CLEANING SERVICES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the workers' perceptions of centralisation. It seeks to bring to light the voices of cleaners. The workers' experiences have been shaped by the nature of supervision under centralised cleaning. The chapter starts by explaining the centralisation process as stipulated in the centralisation document. It then compares this with the reality and cleaners' experiences of the centralisation process. It goes on to look at the changes to workers' day-to-day duties under Centralised cleaning Services (CCS). It also looks at social mobility and personal development opportunities before and during centralisation from the workers' perspective and lived experience. Lastly, it looks at how centralisation alienated the worker from the departmental 'family'. This chapter aims at showing the cleaners position and role in the centralisation process from the perspective of the cleaners.

4.2 Workers' Perceptions of the Centralisation Process

A key characteristic of restructuring programmes in the service sector and in other HEIs within South Africa has been the disconnect between what workers perceive to be the rationale behind restructuring and the universities stated reasons for such programmes. Workers' perceptions of restructuring programmes within HEIs have largely been shaped by their experiences with the said programmes. So while management might state efficiency is the main drive for restructuring, if this efficiency disadvantages employees this will not be how they see restructuring. The table below shows that the situation at Rhodes University is not different exempt from this.

Table 4.1: Workers' perceptions of the reasons behind the centralisation of cleaning services

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
To save money	6	5.94
To distribute work more fairly between	9	8.91

cleaners, messengers and others		
To improve training of cleaning staff	1	0.99
To ensure provision of suitable equipment, clothing, and/or chemicals	1	0.99
To save money by ensuring that the correct chemicals and equipment are used, and that wastage is minimised	3	2.97
To improve supervision of cleaning work	0	0
To increase opportunities for leadership	0	0
To increase opportunities for advancement	1	0.99
To provide a more efficient cleaning service	8	7.92
To improve quality control	5	4.95
To strengthen management of cleaning services	2	1.98
To provide continuity of cleaning support to departments even when individual cleaners are absent	1	0.99
To standardise conditions of service for all cleaning staff	3	2.97
To end poor labour practices in departments	0	0
To prepare the way for the outsourcing of cleaning services	11	10.89
Do not know	49	48.52
TOTAL	101	100

The university stated that the reasons behind centralisation were as follows (Centralisation document, 2013:4). (1) To remove administrative tasks from the responsibilities of academic

heads of department, thereby allowing them to concentrate on the academic project of their departments. (2) To ensure that an efficient and effective staff-resourcing model is followed. The allocation of a dedicated cleaner to a department was often not effective since there was either under-utilisation or over-utilisation of the staff member. (3) To ensure effective supervision of cleaning staff, which will benefit individual staff members.

However, when the workers were asked what they understood to have been the reasons behind the decision to centralise cleaning services, the results painted a different picture. The results show that the 48.52 per cent of the workers did not know the reasons behind the introduction of CCS. This could be explained under the rationale of some workers only joining Rhodes University after the centralisation process and were thus not aware of the reasons. Of interest, however, was the fact that some cleaners, who have been at Rhodes University for more than 10 years, were not aware of the reasons behind centralisation. 10.98 per cent of the cleaners noted that centralisation was management's way of preparing them for outsourcing. It is interesting to note that the centralisation document (2013:1), states that "A memorandum signed by the Vice Chancellor, the then Director: Residential Operations and Director: Human Resources have noted the institution's commitment to not outsource under the current leadership of Dr Badat".

Despite this undertaking, workers are still adamant about the university's outsourcing intentions. One worker noted: "I don't understand what centralisation is. The idea is that they collected us under one umbrella and when they are done they are going to retrench us and say there are too many workers [and too] little work. This worries me" (Respondent, 39). The reason behind this mentality amongst workers might simply be centralisation embodies some of the characteristics associated with outsourcing, for example the creation of different rules under CCS. So while the university might say it will not outsource the manner in which workers are treated under CCS gives off the impression of an outsourcing agenda.

A small percentage of workers (8.91 per cent) said the centralisation of cleaning services was designed to distribute work more fairly between cleaners, messengers and others. While this was not stated by the workers perhaps this has been one of the few advantages of centralisation. In that before centralisation, one would have one worker being over-utilised in one department and another being underutilised thus causing problems of unfairness. The introduction of CCS has been beneficial for workers in this regard, in that it ensured that every cleaner is productive and that the workload is distributed fairly. Another 7.92 per cent

of workers said it was to provide more efficient cleaning. The interesting part of the above results, however, is the fact that there was no consensus amongst the workers as to the reasons behind centralisation. The workers' lack of understanding of what centralisation entails and the reasons behind it, point to a lack of communication between management and workers. Most of the workers interviewed stated that there was little communication between them and CCS management. In instances where management calls mass meetings with cleaners, most workers noted that these meetings are one-sided in that management shows no intention to engage workers on issues or even listen to their perspective.

This lack of communication between CCS management and workers is also the reason behind workers' 'unhappiness' with the manner in which the centralisation process took place. One worker noted: "if it was up to me, I would take my money and go because being under CCS has changed the way we work. We are no longer managed we are bullied like kids. We can't even bring up suggestions because they only see us as stupid cleaners and we get shutdown" (Respondent 30). Another worker noted: "When we give management reports about our problems they address us with no respect. They decide on things that concern us without our input. They also don't care to negotiate with us or even listen to our complaints" (Respondent 40).

4.2.1 The centralisation process

According to the centralisation document (2013:1), when there is a vacancy for a cleaner post or when the Head of Department (HoD) wishes to put his/her department under centralisation, the Human Resources Division will contact the manager of CCS and then the following happens:

1. The CCS manager will explore the department's cleaning, tea and/or messaging needs in order to make sure that the service focuses on the department's specific needs. The HoD is sent a questionnaire in this regard.
2. The HoD sends back the questionnaire with a floor plan of the department (specifying what each room), meters squared per area, floor type, the relevant job profile and daily cleaning schedule and in the case of current staff, a list of all cleaning staff with their staff numbers. The CCS manager will then conduct an inspection of the department to see what option is practical for that department.
3. The CCS manager will meet with the HoD to discuss what needs can or cannot be met and the proposed rollout plan. Where the role-out plan includes current staff,

there needs to be a consultation with the relevant staff and union. In the event of a vacancy, the relevant union will be advised of the move of the post.

The document further states that, should a staff member refuse to be centralised:

The current staff member must be consulted with once the HoD has determined that the moving the cleaner to CCS is viable. The reasons of the proposed move must be outlined to the staff member who must be given the opportunity to raise concerns or offer alternatives. If the staff member indicates that they are not supportive of the change, reasonable reasons for this must be provided and viable alternatives presented.

Based on the above information, it seems as though the centralisation process was transparent and that all parties (management, HoDs, cleaners and trade unions) were adequately informed and consulted about this process. It further implies that workers' views and concerns about centralisation were taken into consideration during the process. However, a common view amongst workers, when asked what happened during the consultation process, was that there was a lack of explanation as to what centralisation entails and that they were not given a chance to object to centralisation. When asked about what happened during the process of centralisation some workers noted:

Human resources called me saying all departments are going to be centralised and I had to change departments on Monday (Respondent 38).

They came to me and told me they centralising cleaners and what happens under CCS, they told me about the times and I told them I can't come in at 7am because at that time I had a child who just had an operation and couldn't take care of herself. Also, it was dark during 6am, which was when I had to leave in order to make their 7am. The lady from CCS told me to write a letter and they will make a plan. In the next meeting she told me everyone has problems, so I was centralised (Respondent 9).

The head of CCS, along with my supervisor, told me I am going to be part of CCS without asking if I wanted to or not. So, I also went with it (Respondent 20).

She [head of central cleaning] called a departmental meeting, but I had already heard from other cleaners. The CCS manager told me about CCS, its times and said if I don't want to be under CCS, I can go stay in the location because this is a Rhodes thing (Respondent 49).

From the above responses, it seems as though the cleaners were ‘bulldozed’ into CCS and that the centralisation process was characterised by a silencing of the workers’ opinions and concerns. The centralisation process for workers was characterised by the silencing of workers through hierarchal power dynamics, whereby the CCS management used its power to ‘coerce’ the cleaners. Thus then while the university has avoided the outsourcing route the tactics and strategies it has employed under CCS have been those of outsourcing, further validating why some of these worker’s view centralisation as the foundation to outsourcing. The silencing of these cleaners in the centralisation process further shows how workers in low paid manual work within the service sector are often seen as ‘invisible’ thus they are the first ones to be affected by restructuring in the workplace. It then becomes evident that Rhodes cleaners became disgruntled even before centralisation was implemented, mainly because of the process that was followed by the CCS management.

4.2.2 Workers’ experience of the centralisation of cleaning services

A dominant impression gained from all the interviewees was that workers’ experiences of centralisation were largely shaped by how they felt about the previous departmental system. The data showed that, to some extent, workers who were happy with their departments were not happy with centralisation, and those who were unhappy with their departments were satisfied with centralisation. Interestingly, some workers who came directly under centralisation were indifferent about centralisation because they do not know any other system, but when asked about an alternative system they proposed the previous departmental system. This could be attributed to how workers that know the previous system talk about things before CCS.

Table 4.2: Workers’ feelings about the manner in which centralisation took place

How Do You Feel	Frequency	Percentage
Happy	2	2.25
Unhappy	63	70.79
Indifferent	24	26.97
Unspecified	--	--
Total	89	100

Workers' experiences of centralisation have also been shaped by the manner in which centralisation took place. The table 4.2 shows that, when asked about how they feel about the way in which centralisation took place, 70.79 per cent of the cleaners said they were unhappy with the manner in which CCS was implemented. This was followed by 26.97 per cent of workers, who were indifferent about the whole process. These workers were predominantly those who came in *after* centralisation was implemented and therefore did not experience the centralisation process. Only 2.25 per cent of workers were happy about the manner in which centralisation took place. These workers were not happy with their departments and were thus happy to be moved with the implementation of CCS. Some workers noted that they were not happy with the process of centralisation because of the following reasons:

Lack of adequate consultation ... I was called for a meeting without any information on the process. I had to learn how to work with different people (Respondent 10).

Workers feel deceived, because they were consulted but the process was already in motion. So, their opinions about the process didn't really matter (Respondent 71).

Similar to the above views, when asked about how they feel about being part of centralisation, the majority of workers were unhappy mainly because of issues of communication and general treatment. Interestingly, this time even workers that came in after centralisation happened showed a level of unhappiness. What became evident was that workers' unhappiness within the university was linked to centralisation and not the departments they had worked in prior to centralisation of cleaning services. An example of this is the fact that, when workers were asked about their current work situation, the vast majority of workers (78.5 per cent) were happy with the way they work and are treated within their various departments. Again, the difference between the manner of treatment these workers receive from departments and from centralised cleaning services further implies the separation of CCS as a division from Rhodes University, it is thus not surprising that some workers associate CCS with outsourcing.

4.3 Changes in Day-to-Day Work

Restructuring within HEIs has been characterised by a change in the day-to-day work for cleaners. As noted elsewhere the rationale behind this being efficiency and cutting down labour cost. While the restructuring route of Rhodes University has differed from other universities, the following analysis of the changes to the wages and working hours, the quality of work and supervision help highlight how the centralisation programme adopted by

the universities resembles and has the same implications for workers like outsourcing. This section is important in that it helps understand the application of centralisation from the perspective of the cleaners.

4.3.1 Wages and working hours

The data showed that the implementation of centralisation has not changed the wages of workers that were permanent Rhodes employees before centralisation. These workers still work an 8-hour day, but their working times shifted from 8am-4pm to 7am-4pm. For cleaners that were on contract before and have recently been hired permanently under centralisation, this has meant an increase in wages. Where previously their wages ranged from R900-R1500, these workers were now earning a gross income of just over R5000. For workers who are still on temporary or fixed-term contracts and those considered “pre-dawns” who work from two to four hours a day, their wages have not changed because of centralisation. In sum, centralisation has not negatively affected the wages of workers. When it comes to the universities cost-recovering mechanisms then, cutting down labour costs for the cleaning segment has not been the case, as has been the story in most HEIs and the service sector at large. Arguably, the introduction of CCS, for some workers, has increased their wages as a result of being permanent employees.

4.3.2 Quality of work

Restructuring within the service sector has, in many cases, resulted in deleterious working conditions for workers and decreased wage rates. While Rhodes University opted not to go the outsourcing route, some of the implications of its restructuring are similar to those of outsourcing. The drive for cost effective strategies like outsourcing have resulted in added work for cleaners in many sectors, this being driven by the need to get more surplus value from the cleaners. Within Rhodes University, the dominant opinion amongst workers is that the introduction of centralisation has increased their workload. Workers now have more tasks to perform in a pre-determined timeframe, while at the same time wages have not increased. While this pre-determined timeframe from a management point of view guarantees effective use of the working day, from the workers perspective this has meant an added workload. Like outsourcing then, CCS brings to light the problematic nature of the drive for efficiency, in that it serves only one side (that side being management not workers). This verifies Braverman’s (1974) argument that, under capitalism, management takes away workers’ skills, decreases the enjoyment of work, while continuously emphasising cost reductions.

While cleaners stated that the implementation of centralisation has not changed their wages, it has increased their workload.

I only cleaned labs and offices with one other person before now I clean labs, offices and the kitchen alone because that person no longer works in my department (Respondent 34).

Before I worked one department, now I work two buildings. Before, I was a cleaner/messenger. They took the messenger duties away (Respondent 10)

There were five of us before now there are only two of us. I now have to clean the foyer on the first, second and third floors. I clean the lecture venues, labs, steps and toilets with one other person (Respondent 42).

The above responses show how the introduction of centralisation has thus added to the workers' duties where previously a worker only had to worry about cleaning one building; they now cleaned two or more buildings. Beyond this, centralisation introduced a new system of breaking down the workers tasks into specific periods. This allows management to ensure that, at the end of the day, the worker has provided maximum output for eight hours. One worker explained this as follows:

They have timeframes for when certain work tasks should be done. For example, at 1-1:30, I have to clean lecture rooms at the music department. At 1:30 -2, I have to be at the nuns' chapel. These timeframes don't consider the time it takes for me to move in between buildings or even take a break. They don't give us a set tea time. We have to drink our tea while busy with something else. But there's nothing we can do about it because we don't have any power here (Respondent 80).

This system of timeframes is also linked to walkabout whereby CCS supervisors do have daily check ins on the cleaners to make sure they have done their work properly. This was introduced under the rationale of being more 'efficient' with time and resources. Braverman (1974: 35) argued that, under Taylorism, the labour process and labour activities are calculated and evaluated in order to come up with the best way to produce, and generate the maximum surplus value from workers in a working day. As seen with the strict timeframes for the Rhodes cleaning labour process, this entails the breaking down of jobs into tasks that can be done in a limited period of time. This, of course, is more beneficial for the employer, in this case Rhodes University, than it is for the workers. From this viewpoint, centralisation is a

management strategy that seeks to ensure that workers use their labour power to its full capacity by the end of the day. The presence of ‘pre-dawnies’ (i.e. workers whose duties start before the first lecture slot at 07:45) also shows that, while the university has opted not to go the outsourcing route, it has implemented a system that ensures that it avoids the added employment costs of employee benefits for some workers. So while permanent Rhodes University cleaners received medical aid fund, unemployed insurance fund and pension fund amongst other benefits, workers that were on two- and four-hour contracts did not receive these benefits. The introduction of pre-dawnies was done under the rationale of being more efficient, in that these workers work more during term time when lecture venues require cleaning and don’t work during exams because these facilities are not being used. The introduction of pre-dawnies also divides the cleaning segment into two segments: namely, pre-dawns and permanent workers. So, while the university’s restructuring strategy is different from other universities, it is still similar in its implications for cleaners. The implication of outsourcing for cleaners within these universities has been the divide between insourced and outsourced workers. Within the Rhodes University, this divide between pre-dawns and permanent workers results in the creation of ‘us against them’ mentality, wherein workers view the other segment of cleaners as their competition.

4.3.3 Supervision

Before the introduction of centralised cleaning services, workers were supervised by the relevant head of department or office administrator. The implementation of centralisation gave each cleaner a supervisor who ‘knew’ more about cleaning than someone whose work is an office administrator. The relationship between the heads of departments/administrators and the cleaners was generally a one characterised by mutual respect and trust. As a result, one worker noted:

When my head of department asks me to do some extra tasks for them, I do it with pleasure because they don’t force me but they ask nicely, and I know they see me as their own. So, I help where I can” (Respondent 40).

The above response also brings to light how because of the attachment the cleaners have to their departments; they are at risk of being over-worked and doing tasks that go beyond their job titles. Workers do not share the same sentiments when it comes to CCS supervisors and management. There was a common perception amongst workers that under centralisation

their supervisors do not trust them and make them feel like prisoners through the constant monitoring. As some workers noted:

Supervisors chase after us. So, we don't work properly or even enjoy our work. If they could just change the way they treat us, I would be fine. They treat us like prisoners because we can't go anywhere without reporting. If I have to go to my other department, I have to report like some child. They don't listen to us. They just do things the way they want. They don't care about how we feel (Respondent 41)

They have walk about every week as though we are prisoners and need constant supervision. We always work looking over our shoulders. When we give management reports about our problems, they address us with no respect. They decide on things that concern us without our input. They also don't care to negotiate with us or even listen to our complaints (Respondent 60).

The supervisor-cleaner relationship is characterised by a lack of trust and respect from both sides. This relationship has however played a crucial role in shaping workers' experience of the centralisation of cleaning services. This is why cleaners, who had no problems with their supervisors, did not find anything wrong with centralisation as such. When asked how they feel about being part of centralisation, workers noted:

I work well with my supervisor. I don't have any issues and I can cope with my workload (Respondent 40).

I am enjoying it because I don't have any problems with my supervisors. They are very understanding and respectful people. I also don't have a problem with the work I do (Respondent 25).

The above responses highlight how for most cleaners the commitment and their feelings about the work environment is not only dependent on issues around the wages and the amount of work. The relations these cleaners have with their superiors as well as how they are made to feel within the work environment also play a crucial role in determining how workers feel about the work environment and also their commitment and dedication to the job. Similarly, of the workers who said they were not happy with centralisation, their reasons largely centred on how their relationship with their supervisor. For instance:

The supervisors don't understand we have personal problems from time to time. I think they just think we can't get sick or we don't have families (Respondent 41).

Interestingly, one worker, who was being trained to become a supervisor, noted:

As black people, we look down on each other. We undermine other black people who are in power. This is why some of us become harsh when dealing with workers. They have no respect for us whatsoever. When you tell someone to do something, they don't care or even listen to you (Respondent 45).

There was a general trend that CCS management disregarded workers and their opinions. It seemed as though the supervisor/management-cleaner relationship was, in most instances, characterised by a lack of open communication. This was evident when the workers were asked if they have ever had conflict at work. Ninety per cent of the workers who had experienced conflict indicated that it was with their supervisors.

When management calls meetings with the cleaners, they noted these were one-sided meetings, with no regard for their views or concerns. For example:

When we give management reports about our problems, they address us with no respect. They decide on things that concern us without our input. They also don't care to negotiate with us or even listen to our complaints (Respondent 51).

The cleaner-supervisor relationship is characterised by a power play in which one party seems to make evident its superiority. In part, this could be attributed to what respondent 45 noted above: because some supervisors were once cleaners, workers feel that they cannot be told what to do by someone who was once in the same position as them. At the same time, because some of these supervisors were once cleaners they now want to establish and make evident their positions. Most importantly, this constant supervision of the worker and the strategies put in place like the walk-ins, are the managers' way of ensuring the workers always do their work because they never know when the supervisor might come. In this sense, CCS instils a sense of self-monitoring and discipline in the workers, which is advantageous for management but not for workers because this takes away the workers commitment to their work. Thus, the supervisor-cleaner relationship mirrors the conventional antagonism in the employee-employer relationship within the capitalist system.

The restructuring of cleaning services at Rhodes University did not transform the employment relationship directly through outsourcing like other universities and organisations. However, the establishment of CCS and the actions of supervisors and management changed the employment relationship by introducing a triangular relation

between the CCS supervisor (who takes the role of the employer), the cleaner and the relevant department. Like outsourcing, the centralisation programme has focused on issues surrounding making the worker work harder and enforcing this through constant monitoring mechanisms like the supervisor system. However, this largely neglects the dedication of cleaners to their work once they feel 'respected and valued' within the workplace, thus the nature of the worker-supervisor relationship in some instances acts against the notion of making the worker more productive. Perhaps like outsourcing, one of the main flaws of centralisation at Rhodes University has been its neglect of the human aspect of work and thus only viewing workers for their manual capabilities.

4.4 Upward Mobility and Personal Development before and after Centralisation

The cleaners indicated that they had training opportunities that were mostly not related to the work they do. Some cleaners noted that there was Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) at Rhodes and they were thus able to complete their matric. Other cleaners were able to do courses like computer literacy and basic supervision courses, which were not necessarily linked to cleaning but were for their own personal growth. In this case, the university promoted self-development of the cleaners in order to get better positions and grades within the university. A workers noted that "in our department before we used to get trained as lab assistants, but the CCS manager stopped that saying we were hired as cleaners only, so there's no need for us to do other things" (Respondent 33). The centralisation document notes that one of the advantages of centralisation for cleaners is that

There are more opportunities for leadership and supervision in the absence of a supervisor in CCS; there are more opportunities for advancement as talented staff can be considered for promotion in a range of cleaning type positions e.g. senior room attendants, housekeepers and Supervisor positions. Staffs in turn, have been appropriately trained in the cleaning competencies needed for these posts (CCS document).

While the university still maintains further education is the key to getting better positions, workers feel this has stopped under centralisation. Most workers brought up the CCS managers' line that 'if you are a cleaner, you will retire or die a cleaner'. This, in turn, contradicts the university's promotion of education amongst cleaners. One worker noted that, when she asked to do a computer course, she was asked: "what will you do with a computer course in cleaning?" (Respondent 30). While another worker noted that "we have

[opportunities], but they do not allow us. When there are training programmes, for example, computer literacy, you fill a form, but you are then told you do not use a computer. You work with a mop and a broom and you are a cleaner (Respondent 7). Similarly, another worker noted that “It is difficult to do anything through CCS now because she [the manager] never takes us seriously or even approves our request to study or do something to develop ourselves” (Respondent 9).

The above-mentioned statements imply that, under centralisation, workers are seen for their manual capabilities only. In other words, workers are only valued for their labour power; they are not seen as individuals who are capable of 'intellectual work' or anything that goes beyond holding a broom. Braverman (1974:66) argued that, under capitalism, managers appropriate the conception component of the job from the manual workers in order to have more control over these workers. Workers are further discouraged to enrol in courses by the fact that those amongst them that have had some form of training are still in grade 1 and are still cleaners. Hence, they have no incentive to invest their time in something when they know there will not be any rewards. One worker noted: “they say we must study and I did. I came to Rhodes with grade 10. I did my matric, a first aid course, hospitality course and a computer course, but there still isn't any change in my grade or work. It's silly really” (Respondent 11).

Interestingly, a worker, who had been an acting housekeeper, noted that while she has been developing herself and Rhodes has given her the position to train, it has not been consistent. She explains

I have been acting supervisor for a year now, but are they sending me back to my position because my contract is ending and they say they must give someone else the opportunity. I don't get the point of developing someone if you are going to place them where they were previously (Respondent 45).

Another worker noted:

There is no equality under CCS. I tried applying for other jobs. They let me stand in for a supervisor for two months last year. I did a good job, but they never gave me a better position after that. They tossed me out as soon as they didn't need me anymore (Respondent 55).

While Rhodes University encourages the cleaners to get educated and better themselves, it seems as though the managers at CCS has instilled the opposite. Workers thus share the same frustration of being undervalued with centralised cleaning and being treated differently from other Rhodes employees. For workers, this creates the impression that CCS is distinct from Rhodes University, which could be the reason behind some workers' perception of CCS being a form of outsourcing (as noted above). One of the main characteristics of outsourcing is perhaps the use of a separate organisation to perform certain tasks for another organisation. This would mean each of these organisations function differently and on different rules. The creation of 'unique' rules and regulations that are valid only under CCS within the Rhodes University campus, which from the workers perspective function on a different lane from the ideologies of the university, legitimises the workers view of CCS being a form of outsourcing.

4.5 Alienation of the Cleaner from the 'Family'

The alienation of the worker is linked to Marx's explanation of the production system under capitalism. Marx noted that alienation happens when the worker performs an activity that produces a product/service that then does not belong to him/her. The perceived 'disconnectedness' from the departments and institutional culture at large that makes workers feel alienated. Braverman (1974:70) notes that workers can be estranged from the labour process, society and the product of their labour. Under centralisation, cleaners are estranged from the department that they work in because they are constantly shifted between departments and therefore have no personal attachments to any particular work site. The worker is just there to do the job, hide how they feel and just get the task done. Some workers noted:

we should go back to our individual departments where we were like a family, now we work many departments and have no pride over our work, we work for the sake of not getting into trouble but we don't enjoy our work because we are not part of the departments (Respondent 81).

Cleaners are the only segment of Rhodes's labour workforce that have to come in at 7am and have lunchtime at 12am. This means while most of other Rhodes employees are not working and are on lunch the cleaners are working. While there are valid operational reasons for this, for instance when the rest of the campus is at lunch at 13:00, the cleaners go in and clean lecture venues for the afternoon lectures. This has, however, indirectly resulted in the Rhodes

University cleaning segment being distanced from other work segments. This ‘excludes’ the cleaners from the university and its institutional culture as though they are not part of Rhodes university. A common feeling amongst workers was that centralisation objectified them in a way that they are no longer seen as people but rather are seen for their labour.

I don’t feel like I am part of Rhodes because of CCS, I am treated like I am just a thing that holds the broom nothing else. To Rhodes I am not a person (Respondent 35).

CCS is the one department that is mistreated at Rhodes. Look at the clocking system for example, which other Rhodes worker has to clock in every time. (Respondent 10).

As a worker at Rhodes, I don’t feel part of the university, they don’t consider workers and how important we are because this place would be dirty without us and students wouldn’t want to come here. The clocking system also makes us feel like we are seen only for our work because no one else in the university clocks in, why do we have to do it? (Respondent 41).

The implementation of the clocking system (a system where workers check in when they come into work, before they go to lunch when they come back and when they go home), the different lunch and tea breaks of the cleaning segment might be more efficient in terms of making sure the university activities are not disrupted because the venue must be cleaned. However, this concept of efficiency within the Rhodes University context is not beneficial for cleaners in that they have to be working when people are taking a break and vice versa. While this might be an indirect and unintended consequence, it isolates and distances these cleaners from the rest of the workforce. The implications of this for the university is that since workers have no real sense of belonging to the departments and Rhodes University at large, in most cases they do not go the extra mile or even do the work to the best of their abilities. One worker noted:

We do the work they say we must do, but it’s not always our best work because we rushing to get to the next department so we don’t care about the quality of the work we just do it to get it done. They think they are clever, but we are also clever. I won’t rush myself and get tired for people who don’t care about me (Respondent 52).

So, while centralization aims at cutting costs and improving the efficiency of cleaners by removing them from departments, they have to some extent done the opposite. The separation

of cleaners from their departments and the different rules CCS has from other departments within the university have alienated the workers from departments and Rhodes University at large. This sense of estrangement has taken away workers' pride in and commitment to their jobs.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined the cleaners' experiences of centralisation. It discussed workers' experiences of work at Rhodes prior to and after centralisation. The dominant findings were that workers' experiences of centralisation are largely shaped by their experiences of work prior centralisation and their relationship with CCS managers and supervisors. While centralisation has not negatively affected workers' wages, benefits and daily working hours, it has led to an intensification of the work of cleaners within the university. A dominant and perhaps one of the most interesting findings, was that this chapter highlighted how centralisation resembles some of the characteristics and as a result the consequences of outsourcing. This helped highlight the problematic nature of ventures that seek to bring about 'efficient' programmes that want to produce more with fewer resources. As this chapter has shown, thinking of efficiency in this regard simply means making workers work harder with the same wages in the Rhodes University context. Most importantly this chapter has highlighted how while centralisation was a programme that aimed to move away from outsourcing tendencies, because this strategy was driven by the notion of efficiency it ended up resembling and embodying outsourcing tendencies.

CHAPTER 5

THE IMPACT OF CENTRALISATION BEYOND THE WORKPLACE: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF CLEANERS AT RHODES UNIVERSITY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the demographic and socio-economic profile of the centralised cleaners at Rhodes University. As discussed earlier, the service sector is characterised by the use of the most vulnerable and low skilled workers. An analysis into the worker's demographics and socio-economic profile will thus provide a holistic picture and help the researcher understand the position of these cleaners in relation to centralisation and the wider Grahamstown community. While centralisation might not have changed the cleaners lives in relation to wages but it has put extra stress on them. This is why this chapter examines the race, sex and age of the cleaners; educational levels of the cleaners; the income of their households and the number of dependents. This chapter is important in that it provides a deeper understanding of who Rhodes cleaners are and where they come from. This will help contextualise the position of workers in relation to centralisation more clearly.

5.2 Sex, Race and the Age of the Workers

The service sector has been characterised by the dominance of females and the use of the most vulnerable population group(s) in society (Orr, 1998:10). The use of such a workforce ensures little to no resistance when the workplace is being restructured, it also ensures when restructuring needs to happen this segment of workers will be the first to be restructured. The following section will thus examine the composition of the Rhodes University cleaners with the above stated factors. An analysis of the mentioned factors will help explain the cleaner's position when it comes to the centralisation process at Rhodes University.

Table 5.1: Racial composition of cleaners

Population group	Frequency	Percentage
Black African	83	93.3
Coloured	6	6.7
Total	89	100

The table shows the racial composition of Rhodes University’s cleaners. The results show that black cleaners, 93.3 per cent, make up the highest percentage of the workforce. They are followed by coloureds who make up 6.7 per cent. Interestingly, there were no white cleaners at Rhodes. The dominance of black Africans is mainly because they constitute the majority in the Eastern Cape and in the Cacadu district with 53 per cent (Census, 2011:4). Similarly, coloureds constitute the second largest population group in the Cacadu district with 33 per cent. The racial composition of the Rhodes cleaning force is to some extent a reflection of the racial composition in Grahamstown and in the Eastern Cape.

Table 5.2: Sex of the respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Female	66	74.16
Male	23	25.84
Total	89	100

The above table shows the sexual composition of Rhodes cleaners. The results indicate that females, at 74.16 per cent, make up the highest percentage of Rhodes cleaners followed by males who make up 25.84 per cent of the workforce. The above table can be explained by the dominance of women in jobs that are associated with “female-like characteristics” and with domestic duties like cleaning.

Table 5.3: Sexual and racial composition of respondents

	Black African	Coloured	Total
Male	23	0	23
Female	60	6	66
Total	83	6	89

The above table shows that black females, at 67.4 per cent, make up more than half of the cleaning force at Rhodes University. This is followed by black males, who make up 25.84 per cent. Coloured females, with 6.74 per cent, make up the lowest population within the cleaning workforce at Rhodes University. This table shows that there is a higher percentage of female cleaners in both population groups as compared to males.

Table 5.4: Age of the cleaners

Age	Frequency	Percentage
26-30 years	3	3.37
31-35 years	9	10.11
36-40 years	10	11.24
41-45 years	24	26.97
46-50 years	18	20.22
51-55 years	16	17.97
56-60 years	9	10.11
Total	89	100

The above table shows that the largest age group, at 26.97 per cent, is 41-45 years. This is followed by the 46-50 age group at 20.22 per cent. With the 51-60 age group following at 17.97 per cent.

5.3 Educational Levels of the Cleaners

The educational levels of individuals have, in most cases, been linked to their skill levels. This is why in ‘manual’ low skilled jobs like cleaning; there is a prevalence of people who only have basic to no education. The educational level of workers within the workplace has in most cases directly influenced the say and power workers have within the workplace. Thus, an understanding of the educational level of Rhodes University cleaners will also help highlight the cleaners say and power in the restructuring programme.

Table 5.5: Highest level of education

Highest Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
Completed primary	2	2.25
Some secondary	45	50.56

Completed matric	35	39.3
Higher education	1	1.12
Other	6	6.74
Total	89	100

The research indicates that the highest level of education achievement of the majority of cleaners is some secondary schooling with 50.56 per cent. This is followed by workers who had a matric certificate, 39.3 per cent. Of the workers who had a matric certificate, most attained it at Rhodes University (through ABET that has been stopped). There was a small percentage of workers (6.74 per cent) who had completed other courses like computer courses, basic supervision and/or management courses, which they had done internally. The above data supports what Orr (1998:7) notes: in most cases, people who work as cleaners are a “trapped section of the workforce”. The level of education amongst Rhodes University cleaners indicates that they may have limited choices when it comes to jobs. Furthermore, the above tables also indicate that while black Africans constitute the largest population group amongst cleaners at Rhodes University, they are arguably not the most skilled and well educated; hence, their dominance within this sector of work.

With Rhodes University being one of two major employers in Grahamstown, the above data shows that workers are not only limited in relation to job opportunities but also in terms of how they responded to centralisation. With high rates of unemployment in the city and cleaning requiring little to no skills, this segment of workers is ‘easily disposable’. This then makes it easier for a restructuring programme to be put in place that disadvantages the workers because ‘someone else can come in and get their job if they disagree’. This further explains the treatment of these workers by CCS management as discussed in the previous chapter. Because the tasks performed by these workers can be done by almost anyone and Rhodes jobs are in demand in the city they are not valued nor treated with respect under CCS. Further showing that even though the introduction of centralisation was aimed at moving away from the implications of outsourcing for workers, the educational levels of these cleaners already put them at a disadvantageous position. A position that ensured that when restructuring had to happen they would be the first people to be restructured because they have little to no say in the workplace.

Table 5.6: Level of education by sex

Sex	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage
Completed primary	1	4.45	1	1.15
Some secondary	8	34.78	37	56.06
Completed matric	12	52.17	23	34.85
Higher education	--	--	1	1.15
Other	2	8.69	4	6.06
Total	23	100	66	100

Table 5.6 breaks down the education level of the cleaners by sex. The results show that 56.06 per cent of female cleaners at Rhodes University have some secondary education, while only 34.78 percent of males have some secondary. The results also indicate that 52.17 per cent of males have completed matric while only 34.85 per cent of females have completed matric. The reason for this could be because most of these female cleaners occupy what Orr (1998:8) has termed “light cleaning jobs” the cleaning of offices, lecture venues and labs, which only require basic education. While some males also occupy such jobs, about 62 per cent of the interviewed males were “messengers/ cleaners or porters” which all falls under central cleaning but are a grade higher than cleaners. Interestingly this relates to what Orr (1998:10) noted earlier about the creation of job titles for males’ jobs that are similar to the work females do but have better grades because of such titles.

Table 5.7: Level of education by race and sex

	Black Male	Black Female	Coloured Male	Coloured Female
Completed primary	1	1	--	--
Some secondary	8	31	--	6
Completed matric	12	23	--	--
Higher education	--	1	--	--
Other	2	4	--	--
Total	23	60	0	6

The above breakdown of the results show that while the majority of the workforce has some secondary education, the highest percentage is made up of females, more specifically black females. Interestingly, the results show that while only six of the workers had education beyond matric, only two per cent were male. While the level of no schooling in Grahamstown is 6.19 per cent (Makana Municipality, 2009:8), it is interesting to note that Rhodes cleaners had no workers that had no schooling. The Rhodes cleaners' educational levels are above provincial as well Grahamstown levels (Makana Municipality, 2009:9). For example, the Grahamstown levels of individuals who only have primary education is 36.11 per cent (Makana Municipality, 2009:9), while the Rhodes percentage of cleaners who only completed primary education is 2.25 per cent. Similarly, while the Grahamstown level of individuals with a matric is 22.07 per cent, the Rhodes cleaning workforce was 39.3 per cent. This is largely due to the ABET school that the university had in place, which gave workers the opportunity to obtain their matric certificates. Considering that Rhodes is one of two major employers in the city as stated earlier, it thus can pick the 'best' workers in the local labour market simply because a job at Rhodes is highly sought after.

5.4 Household Income, Dependents and their Education Level

This section examines the workers' income in combination with other sources of incomes of the household. This section seeks to understand the contribution the Rhodes University cleaners make in their households and their role. An understanding of this will help to better understand the workers position and need for their current jobs thus helping understand their position in the centralisation process.

Table 5.8: Gross monthly income of household before deductions and including all sources of income

Monthly Income	Frequency	Percentage
R801 – R1,600	4	4.49
R1,601 – R3,200	3	3.37
R3,201 – R6,400	41	46.07
R6,401 – R12,800	39	43.82
R12,801 – R25,600	2	2.47
Total	89	100

The above table shows that the majority of Rhodes cleaner's households fall in the range of R3,201-R6,400 a month with 46.07 per cent. Followed by households that earn between R6,401-R12,800. Visagie (2013:4) notes that the basic salary for middle class in South Africa is R5,600 per month. The average basic salary for Rhodes employees varies from R5,300-R6,018 for permanent cleaners and R900-R1,300 for those on contracts. The results show that some of the households of Rhodes cleaners earned R5,600 per month. Only a minority of the households earned more than R6,400 per month; those being people that were currently being trained as supervisors and would thus not be cleaners anymore or had spouses that worked and thus increased the family's gross income. According to the census 2011 results, the basic household income in the Eastern Cape is R3,200 per month. The results show that the majority of cleaners at Rhodes earned well above this amount, the average basic salary being R5300 per month, while those cleaners on contract earn below this amount. While this might mean Rhodes employees are able to afford their basic needs it does not provide a holistic perspective. With deductions like medical aid, UIF, Insurance etc. the average Rhodes cleaner takes home just under R3,000 home. Interestingly the data showed that 80 per cent of Rhodes workers had personal loans they had taken out because they could not meet their basic needs.

The results also indicated that the age groups 6-11, 12-16 and 16-20 make up the highest number of dependents of the cleaners. This is largely people in school who require financial support. Furthermore, only 30 per cent of the workers had partners, children or other relatives that contributed to the household income. With most cleaners living with extended family members, this means that on average each cleaner has about three dependents on their salary. For someone on contract for instance, this means having to divide plus minus a R1000 on school fees, transport, food and electricity to maintain three people for the whole month. For a permanent cleaner this means having to divide plus minus R3000 on the same things. This is why a large portion of cleaners reported to have taken out personal loans because their salaries do not cover their household needs. As one worker noted: "They don't see us as people who have lives and families. Most people under ccs survive on loans; they still live under oppression even though they work", while another worker also pointed out that "the money we get paid doesn't cover our needs, we will remain poor as black people at Rhodes because it doesn't allow us to meet our basic needs".

The age groups of the dependents also mean that the working day for the cleaners, more especially female cleaners do not stop working at 16:00. When they get home, they still have

to perform most of the household duties like cooking and cleaning. The cleaners' salaries also do not allow them to hire domestic help, thus adding to their burdens.

Table 5.9: Education level of family members

Highest Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
No schooling	11	4.19
Some primary schooling	82	31.29
Some secondary schooling	95	36.26
Matric/grade 12	53	20.23
Higher	20	7.63
Other	0	0
Total	262	100

The

above table shows that the majority of family members, with 36.26 per cent, have some secondary education like the Rhodes cleaners. 31.29 having some primary education, mainly being children who are currently at school and only 20.23 percent having matric or some form of higher education. As one worker explained: “We have children at Rhodes that we can’t afford even though we work here” (Respondent 35). Gratz (2006:5) argues that the educational level of children is dependent on the educational level of their parents and socio-economic class. He notes that “Home background plays a significant role in a young child’s orientation to literacy [and to education]. But home background is a complex of economic, social, cultural, and even personal factors” (Gratz 2006:5). In the cleaners’ case, they have to leave home in the early hours of the morning to get to work on time and get back home tired and in most cases disengaged from the family. This does not give the cleaners much time to spend going over their children’s schoolwork and get involved in the learning process. This means indirectly through the low wages and the hours workers put in, Rhodes is to some extent helping reproduce the same kind of worker within families.

5.5 Transportation to and from Work

While the changing of times for cleaners because of centralisation has been largely operational reasons, in that it ensures no learning activities are disrupted when the venues have to be cleaned. Since most of the cleaners leave in the location, depending on the exact location varies from 15 minutes to an hour’s distance to Rhodes University campus. Thus, while the change at times might be more efficient, it has negatively affected the workers’

lives. The following section seeks to highlight the impact of the changing times on the lives of Rhodes University cleaners.

Table 5.10: Duration it takes to travel to work

Time	Frequency	Percentage
Fifteen minutes or less	9	10
Fifteen minutes to half-an-hour	50	56
More than half-an-hour but less than an hour	30	34
More than an hour	89	100.00

Table 5.11 indicates that 56 per cent of the workers take fifteen minutes to half an hour to get to work. While 34 per cent of workers take more than half an hour but less than an hour to get to work. In reality, this means that most workers have to leave their houses at about 6:15 am in order to make it to work on time at 7am. This further means that the working day for these cleaners does not begin at 7am when they have to clock in to work but rather between 4am-5am when they have to wake up and prepare for work. In this instance, production cuts into the workers' private lives or 'the reproduction space' in that the production process goes beyond the confinements of the workplace and intrudes on the workers' reproductive space.

Table 5.11: Type of transportation used by cleaners

Type of Transport	Frequency	Percentage
Walk	15	16.85
Bicycle	0	0
Motorcycle	1	1.12
Own car	7	7.85
Taxi	66	74.15
Total	89	100.00

The above table shows that the majority of workers, 74.15 per cent, use taxis to get to work. Followed by 16.85 per cent of workers who walk to work, with 7.85 per cent of workers who

have their own cars. Interestingly, of those workers who had their own cars, all had spouses who were working thus bringing in another salary into the household. While the university provides a transport allowance for workers of R190, this money only covers going to work and not coming back. It is therefore cheaper for workers to take a taxi to and from work. While taking a taxi every morning is the cheaper option for cleaners, it is also dangerous for workers more especially female workers. Since workers have to be at work by 7am, this means they have to leave home at about 6:15-6:30, which is still dark in winter, to get to the taxi rank. When asked about what would they change about their current work situation some workers said:

Times... we are not safe leaving home so early having to make 7am every day. We have to leave our houses at 6 or 6:15am at the latest in order for us to make 7am (Respondent 42).

The time also makes things difficult for me because my daughter is still young and I must leave her alone in the morning (Respondent 1).

The time we come to work. The transport money they give us is not enough to cover us; they are putting our lives at risk because we leave home in the early hours. It would be better if we went back to 8am and they took their transport money (Respondent 55).

Arguably, the intrusion of the production process into the private space of the workers lives happened even before centralisation because CCS only started the workday an hour earlier for cleaners. This however does not take away how much centralisation has now put an extra burden on the workers lives. Where before a worker knew they had to be out of the house at 7am or 7:15 in order to make 8am, this allowed the cleaners to ensure that their children go to school while they go to work. Furthermore, it also meant that at least when the workers leave their houses it was not dark outside regardless if it was summer or winter. This is why one worker noted that, instead of getting transport for herself with the transport money, she gets transport for her child in order to make sure that her child gets to school safely even if she is not there. Evidently, the tendencies of centralisation to put more pressure and stress on the workers lives is not a unique to the Rhodes University case of restructuring. This reality has come to be the reality of most working class people within the capitalist system more especially those occupying such manual jobs like cleaning.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined the demographics and socio-economic status of the Rhodes University cleaners. The results showed that black Africans constituted the highest percentage of the cleaning segment, followed by coloureds. The results also indicated that Black African females were the highest population group in the Rhodes University cleaning segment. The data confirmed what Orr (1998:8) argued earlier in this paper, mainly the dominance of females in jobs associated with 'female characteristics'. Interestingly the chapter also confirmed the dominance of people with basic education in service sector jobs such as cleaning, with the majority of Rhodes University cleaners having some secondary.

The data also indicated that the family education levels of these cleaners were more or less similar to the education levels of the cleaners. This mostly means that these family members are subject to similar manual types of jobs and/or a greater dependence on the cleaner's salary. This was further supported by the fact that most of these cleaners were the breadwinners for their families. This socio-economic status of the cleaners helped highlight how much these cleaners need their current jobs. Furthermore, a comparison of the cleaner's educational level with that of the wider Grahamstown community helped show these cleaners are 'easily disposable' and automatically stand at a disadvantage and have little power when it came to stopping/changing the centralisation process. The socio-economic status of these cleaners as discussed in this chapter has thus been a contributing factor to them being 'silenced' in the centralisation process.

CHAPTER 6

NEHAWU'S RESPONSE TO THE CENTRALISATION OF CLEANING SERVICES

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter have largely dealt with the workers lack of say when it comes to the centralisation process at Rhodes University and its impacts on the lives of cleaners. In doing so, they have paved the way around the question of the stance of NEHAWU and its role in the centralisation process. The aim of this chapter is to examine the involvement of the trade union in the initial discussion processes that led to the centralisation of cleaning services.

6.2 NEHAWU's Role in the Processes of Centralising Cleaning Services

According to the official centralisation document (Centralisation document, 2012:3), NEHAWU was consulted about the implementation of a centralisation programme. It further implies that before any department is centralised, NEHAWU will be consulted and included in the process. Deducing from the information contained in the document, it follows that NEHAWU was included in the introduction of centralised cleaning services at Rhodes University and that any objections it might have had were dealt with before the programme was introduced. The document states that “This project has been discussed at length with NEHAWU who raised concerns that management is attempting to outsource the cleaning function ... A commitment has been made that the centralisation of cleaning services will not result in retrenchments” (centralisation document, 2012:2).

However, NEHAWU representatives painted a different picture to that of management, where the general assumption is that management imposed centralisation on the union without any form of agreement between NEHAWU and the university.

There were consultations at the beginning. We as NEHAWU were firmly against this. The university failed in showing with paperwork where they have financial problems, hence the need to centralise. However, the end-result of the consultations, NEHAWU asked the university for time to further discuss this issue. They implemented it without any form of agreement. They failed to recognise that to consult is not to consent to the proposal (Third NEHAWU representative).

While the above response from the NEHAWU representative stipulates there was no signed agreement, it has been noted however by the university and some interviewed workers that an agreement was signed with previous union leaders. The Rhodes case of restructuring resembles the case of restructuring in other universities insofar as unions feel excluded from the process and argue that management took the decision to restructure without negotiations taking place. However, NEHAWU failed to understand that while management needs to consult the unions on restructuring, it only needs to do so if the restructuring will lead to changes in terms and conditions of employment, thus warranting no need to negotiate. Furthermore, the union's lack of say in the programme has partly been due to the union's inefficient administration system, with a lack of continuity between leaders. When asked about NEHAWU's role in the centralisation process, one representative stated:

It is difficult to fully explain the union's role in all this because what happens is that management talks to the current leadership about what they want to do. When the next committee comes in, they do not know what has been agreed upon and they cannot really have an input (Second NEHAWU representative).

What was evident from the interview with NEHAWU representatives was that the union had not played much of a role in the conception and implementation of the centralisation programme. In part, this could be the result of management using the union's unorganised nature to their advantage. This could also be because the union failed to understand that the type of restructuring undertaken by Rhodes University did not affect bread and butter issues that the union fights for, but affects issues within the workplace that has implications for their members.

6.3 NEHAWU's Response to the Centralisation of Cleaning Services

From the very onset of the current centralisation process, NEHAWU was against the introduction of this programme with fears that the university would eventually outsource the centralised jobs and retrenchments would be inevitable. NEHAWU showed their disagreement with this programme in 2009 with a protest demonstration at the main administration building. In the interview with NEHAWU representatives, it was clear that the union did not know how to respond to centralisation because as stated earlier centralisation does not change wages like outsourcing. This was evident when the representatives argued they have been in several meetings with management to try figure out when the union signed an agreement to the centralisation programme. While this could be resolved by requesting a

copy of the agreement, the union representatives were too focused on taking the 'blame' away from the currently elected office as opposed to coming up with a way forward. Based on the interviews with NEHAWU representatives, it became clear that NEHAWU has not been able to employ adequate strategies in dealing with centralisation. According to the representatives, this has been because centralisation at Rhodes University is not informed by any particular university policy. As one NEHAWU representative stated: "It becomes difficult for us to deal with this thing properly because we don't have a specific university policy that we can refer to in regards with this centralisation thing" (first NEHAWU representative).

This could also be due to the fundamental reasons that unions' activities are centred on wage issues, and that centralisation has not affected the cleaners' wages as much as their working conditions. The current framework of trade unions has thus not equipped the union in dealing with management strategies like centralisation. NEHAWU's inability to respond with the effective strategies to counter centralisation of cleaning services at the university is also due to the union's assumption that centralisation is a form of outsourcing. The union's inability has also been an effect of the union's inefficient administration system wherein the union did not have any record of signed agreements but was not sure if and when an agreement was signed with management. The way in which NEHAWU has responded to restructuring has thus had an effect on the relations between the union and its rank-and-file members.

6.4 Relations between Workers and Union Leaders

The data showed that the workers believed that the union negotiates with management on their behalf. Interestingly, some of the workers stated that beyond negotiating the union never gets things done for them because management always gets its way. While some workers stated that the union did nothing for them, this was largely linked to how the union has dealt with issues around centralisation. From the workers' perspective, the union did not do enough to fight for or protect the workers. What is interesting is the fact that workers that were hired at Rhodes before 2004 were the ones that stated that the union did nothing for them. While workers that were hired after 2004 stated the union has fought for their rights. Some of the workers, who stated that the union negotiates with management on their behalf, indicated that they were not satisfied with what the union offers them. Some of the workers stated:

In the cases I have seen, people take their complaints to NEHAWU and the union negotiates for that person. That person ends up getting fired and NEHAWU does nothing (respondent 61)

In most matters, I am not satisfied with their work because they never do what we want. For example, we asked them to negotiate better times for us as opposed to this 7am, and they couldn't (respondent 37).

They don't provide the services they should; they only care about our money. For instance, we wanted to protest now about this back pay situation, but they just told us we could lose our jobs. What is that? They work more for management than workers (Respondent 49).

Workers who were previously on fixed-term contracts had a different perspective. As one worker explains:

They follow up on problems. For example, I was on contract for three years and NEHAWU fought for me, and I became permanent this year. The CCS manager didn't come explain she gave me a letter of no return after my contract ended. My department went to her and asked her to hire me permanently because i have been here for a long time she said no, NEHAWU and my department took it to the VC and I was hired (Respondent 39).

They managed to get me employed after eight years of being on contract. So, I am happy with them (Respondent 81).

While the restructuring at Rhodes University is different to that at universities like UCT, Wits and Fort Hare, a common trend is that restructuring has created a certain level of distrust between the union and the cleaners. Workers feel the union no longer proves 'relevant to their struggles' primarily because it was unable to protect them against centralisation. One worker noted:

In most matters, I am not satisfied with their work because they never do what we want. For example, we asked them to negotiate better times for us as opposed to this 7am and they couldn't (Respondent 18)

[The union] does not do enough for workers. Management still does what it wants with us. I am part of it just for the sake of having a union (Respondent 21).

Management does what it wants with us and NEHAWU does not do anything to help protect us (Respondent 38).

Despite most of the workers being unhappy with the union, when the workers were asked who their first point of call is when they have problems related to work or the person who supervises them, more than half of the workers indicated their shop steward. It was thus evident that, despite the workers having lost some faith in the union, they still relied on the union representatives in times of crisis. Interestingly, the above responses showed that there is a divide in opinion with workers, who were previously on fixed-term contracts, being happy with the unions. While permanent workers who had been at Rhodes for over 10 years were not satisfied with the union. This difference in opinion might be because NEHAWU tried to be hands-on during the process of the university hiring workers who were on permanent contracts for some time. For these workers, the union has done something. While the introduction of centralisation has not affected the union membership in a negative manner, it has shown a need for the union to work on its core services to workers to include issues that are not wage-related but affect workers within the workplace.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored NEHAWU's position on the centralisation of cleaning services, which was found to be similar to that of the workers. The data showed that NEHAWU's response to centralisation was determined and to some extent restricted by two factors. Firstly, it was the union's lack of consistency within its structures, which gave management the opportunity to 'side-track' the union. Linked to this is perhaps the union's lack of understanding of centralisation being a management strategy to 'group' all cleaners in one place to ensure they work harder unlike the previous departmental system. Secondly and perhaps most importantly is the fact that unions have not moved beyond wage issues and start paying attentions to socio-political issues that affect workers within the workplace. Centralisation being an example of how it is not only wage issues that affect the workers within the workplace but also issues of quality of work and overall treatment that the union fails to focus on. While workers may have lost some faith in the union, they still see the union as their 'first point of call' thus showing some hope from the worker's side in the ability of NEHAWU.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This research set out to discuss restructuring of higher education institutions and used the Rhodes University case of centralisation as a case study. The first part of this research examined the literature in the field of higher education restructuring. It discovered that the main forces at play when it comes to restructuring in HEIs were; neo liberal policies that encouraged tightened government spending, and as such decreased government funding which was intertwined with an increased demand for higher education. This put these institutions under pressure to look for strategies that would address these challenges. These universities thus restructured in such a manner that differentiated between core and non-core activities. This resulted in the introduction of flexible forms of work within HEIs. For cleaners within this sector, this resulted in the emergence of outsourcing as the most dominant form of restructuring.

While the South African higher education sector was unique insofar as the influences of apartheid and the racial allocation of resources, it soon followed the outsourcing route as a form of restructuring. This paper went on to show how the Rhodes University case of centralisation aimed at moving away from outsourcing and the implications it had for cleaners. However, in the data analysis chapters this research has shown that through the manner in which CCS functions, it embodies and exemplifies the core characteristics and implications of outsourcing. As a result, indicating how the Rhodes University case of restructuring is not unique because it ‘borrowed’ much of its pillars from outsourcing, and as a result, its implications for cleaners are not unique to Rhodes University. This chapter will provide a summary of the key findings of the research. Its main aim is to challenge the idea that centralisation is as much advantageous for workers as it is for the university.

7.2 Centralisation: A management programme to make workers work harder

Perhaps one of the most important if not only benefits of centralisation for workers has been its ability at ensuring that no one worker is under-utilised or over utilised. Commendably,

centralisation has not negatively affected the wages of cleaners. It thus seems as though, at its core, centralisation is a management strategy that was not put in place to necessarily make workers work smarter, but rather to make them work harder. The creation of pre-determined timeframes implies workers were subjected to time and motion studies before centralisation in order for management to determine the time it would take to clean a specific area daily. The aim of centralisation was therefore to get as much out of the workers by the end of the day as possible, evident by the clocking system and the random work inspections. Where previously the management of cleaners was done at the discretion of the department, with the introduction of centralisation it is more complicated now. This is because like outsourced workers, these cleaners are controlled centrally but deployed locally. Management is located in CCS while these workers are not supervised in their departments like in the past. In the Rhodes University context, the drive for efficiency has been beneficial to management and staff members whose offices and lecture venues are cleaned regularly, but it has not been beneficial to cleaners similar to outsourcing. Furthermore, the removal of cleaners from their departments and being placed under CCS has also meant these cleaners have now been distanced from the working life of the departments. Evidently, while centralisation was the university's attempt to avoid retrenchments and outsourcing, its neglect of the treatment of workers and quality of life within the workplace has placed these cleaners in similar positions as outsourced workers.

7.3 The Disposable Segment of the Workforce

The analysis into the demographics and socio-economic status of these cleaners indicated that these workers were 'trapped' in terms of job opportunities in relation to their educational level. This factor has largely influenced the cleaner's role when it comes to centralisation, since these workers perform jobs that can easily be done by anyone because they require little to no skill in some instances. The realities of Grahamstown's socio-economic status have also contributed to the silencing of these workers throughout the centralisation process. The workers noted that when they had objections as stated earlier management's response was always 'you can go seat at home'. So while the socio-economic status of these cleaners pre dates centralisation, it has helped in ensuring these cleaners 'know their place' and do not resist the centralisation process.

Furthermore, an investigation of the Rhodes University cleaners' work and home situations brought to light the disruption of the reproduction space by production. For workers that have

children, the introduction of centralisation has meant waking at 4am-5am in order to prepare the children for school or day-care and getting ready for work. The intensified nature of work also affects the workers' relationships with their families in a negative manner. With most workers getting up between 4-5am and getting back home at about 5-6pm, they have no energy to interact with the family. Furthermore, these workers have to perform domestic duties and rest for the following day at work. In this regard, the current restructuring occurring in HEIs, which are encouraged by neoliberal policies, re-enforces the conditions of the apartheid workplace. The only difference being now the exclusion of a particular group is based on whether the labour provided is seen as a core or support function. Since black Africans occupy the vast majority of 'non-core' cleaning services, centralisation, like outsourcing, further excludes black Africans from the workplace.

7.4 Expanding Trade Union Roles within the Workplace

The above discussions have perhaps pointed for a need for the union to start fighting for issues that directly/indirectly exclude workers from the workplace. Issues that go beyond bread and butter debates and start focusing on broader issues, like the quality of work and the treatment of the workers in light of restructuring programmes in the workplace. Fundamentally, NEHAWU at Rhodes University has failed to understand that at the core of the centralisation strategy is management's desire to get maximum effort out of the cleaners. In that the unions were perhaps too concerned with the effects centralisation might have on wages (rightfully so) and neglected to see the agency of issues surrounding the wellbeing of the worker under centralisation. This makes more urgent the need for the trade union to be in touch with the challenges facing its members and to counter management's vision of restructuring.

There needs to be a review of the manner in which CCS is managed and how CCS management deals with Rhodes cleaners. A recognition that these are people with lives beyond Rhodes University and with years of service at Rhodes University will put management in a better position to understand the frustrations of these workers. Perhaps there needs to be a hybrid of the previous departmental system and the current centralisation system. A 'marriage' of the two systems may ensure issues like over-utilisation and under-utilisation of some cleaners is avoided while ensuring that each cleaner belongs to two departments (at most) and feels part of the Rhodes University 'family'. In sum, while the restructuring at Rhodes University differs from other universities, it has still functioned as a mechanism that has disadvantaged workers within the workplace like outsourcing. This

highlights perhaps the need for more research that investigates alternative ways of organising cleaning services in higher education in a manner that redefines the concept of efficiency and maybe the role of these cleaners in the implementation of such programmes.

Reference List

Adler, P.S. 2004. *From labor process to activity theory*. Los Angeles: Marshall School of Business.

Alexander, F. 2000. 'The changing face of accountability: Monitoring and assessing institutional performance in higher education'. *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 71, No. 4, pp. 411-431.

Altbach, P.G. 2004. 'Higher education crosses borders'. *Change*, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 18-25.

Altbach, P. 2007. 'The complex roles of universities in the period of globalization'. Available from:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/277128834_The_complex_roles_of_universities_in_the_period_of_globalization [accessed on: 1st June 2015].

Altbach, P.G., Reisberg. L. and Rumbley. L.E. 2009. 'Trends in global higher education: Tracking an academic revolution'. A report prepared for *UNESCO 2009 World Conference on Higher Education*, Paris. Available from:

<http://www.uis.unesco.org/Library/Documents/trends-global-higher-education-2009-world-conference-en.pdf> [accessed on: 1st June 2015).

Assie-Lumumba, NT. 2006. *Higher education in Africa: Crisis, reform and transformation*. Senegal: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa.

Association of African Universities (AAU). 2004. *The implications of WTO/GATS for higher education in Africa*. Proceedings of Accra Workshops on GATS, 27-29 April 2004. Accra. Available from: <http://erl.aau.org/?q=search-journals>. [accessed on: 30 April 2015].

Austin. I. 2009. *Understanding higher education governance restructuring: The case of the University of the West Indies*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Blacksburg, Virginia: Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Babbie, E. R. and Mouton, J. 2001. *The practice of social research: South African edition*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Babbie, E. R. 2010. *The practice of social research* (12th edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Baker, D. and Wiseman, A.W. (eds.) 2008. *The worldwide transformation of higher education*. International Perspectives on Education and Society. Bingley: JAI Press.

Barzelay, M. 2000. *The new public management*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Bassett, R.M. 2006. *The WTO and the University: Globalisation, GATS, and American higher education*. New York: Routledge.

Benner, C., Carnoy, M. and Castells, M. 1997. 'Labor markets and employment practices in the age of flexibility: A case study of Silicon Valley'. *International Labour Review*, Vol. 136, No. 1, pp. 113-228.

Berman, E. H. (2003). 'The political economy of educational reform'. In R.A. Arnove and C.A. Torres (eds.), *Comparative education: The dialectic of the global and the local* (2nd edition). Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. pp. 252-291.

Bezuidenhout, A. and Fakier, K. 2006. *Maria's burden: Contract cleaning and the crisis of social reproduction in post-apartheid South Africa*. Johannesburg: Sociology of Work Unit, University of the Witwatersrand. Available from:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.0066-4812.2006.00590.x/full> [accessed on: 26 April 2015].

Bloom, D. 2005. 'Raising the pressure: Globalization and the need for higher education reform'. In: G. Jones, P. McCarney and M. Skolnik (eds.) *Creating knowledge, strengthening nations: The changing role of higher education*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 21-41.

Bosch, G. and Lehndorff, S. 2005. *Working in the service sector: A tale from different worlds*. London: Routledge.

Bousquet, M. 2008. *How the university works: Higher education and the low-wage nation*. New York: New York University Press.

Bradley, H., Erikson, M., Stephenson, C. and Williams, S. 2000. *Myths at work*. Cambridge: Polity.

- Braverman, H. 1974. *Labor and monopoly capital: The degradation of work in the twentieth century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Brown, W., Bryson, A., Forth, J. and Whitfield, K. 2009. *The evolution of the modern workplace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bryson, C. 2004. 'What about the workers? The expansion of higher education and the transformation of academic work'. *Industrial Relations Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp 38-57.
- Burchell, B., Ladipo, D. and Wilkinson, F. (eds.). 2002. *Job insecurity and work intensification*. London: Routledge.
- Burbles, C. and Torres, C. (eds.). 2000. *Globalization and education: Critical perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Castells, M. 1991. 'The university system: Engine of development in the new world economy'. Paper presented at the *World Bank Seminar on Higher Education and Development*, Kuala Lumpur.
- Cherwitz, A. R. 2005. 'Creating a culture of intellectual entrepreneurship'. *Academe*, Vol. 91, No. 5, pp. 117-225.
- Clark, B. 1998. *Entrepreneurial universities: organizational pathways of transition*. Paris: International Association of Universities.
- Cloete, N., Fehnel, R., Massen, P., Moja, T., Perold, H. and Gibbon, T. (eds.) 2002. *Transformation in higher education: Global pressures and local realities in South Africa*. Lansdowne: Juta and Company.
- Cloete, N. 2002. 'South African higher education and social transformation'. *Higher Education Digest, Autumn Issue*.
- Cohen, S. 1987. 'A labour process to nowhere?' *New Left Review*, Vol. 28, pp. 34-50.
- Council on Higher Education (CHE). 2002. *Towards a new higher education landscape: Meeting the equity, quality and social development imperatives of South Africa in the 21st century*. Pretoria: Council on Higher Education.
- Crompton, R., Gallie, D. and Purcell, K. 1996. *Changing forms of employment: Organisations, Skills and gender*. London: Routledge.

Department of Education. 1996. *Green Paper on higher education transformation*. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Deem, R .1998. 'New managerialism and higher education: The management of performances and cultures in universities in the United Kingdom'. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 47-70.

Edwards, P. and Wajcman, J. 2005. *The politics of the working life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eggins, H. 2003. *Globalization and reform in higher education*. The Society for Research into Higher Education. London: Open University Press.

FitzGerald, P. 2003. 'Successes and failures of restructuring, decentralization and the implementation of a cost centre approach at the University of the Witwatersrand'. A case study prepared for a *Regional Training Conference on Improving Tertiary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Things That Work!*. Available from:

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRREGTOPTEIA/Resources/patrick_fitZGerald.pdf.

[accessed on: 26 April 2015].

Gallagher, S., Brown, C. and Brown, L. 2008. 'A strong market culture drives organizational performance and success'. *Employment Relations Today*. Vol. 35, pp. 25-31.

Gibbs, P. 2001. 'Higher education as a market: A problem or solution'. *Studies in Higher Education*. Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 85-94.

Glenn, E.N. 2001. 'Gender, race and the organisation of reproductive labor'. In: R. Baldoz, C. Koeber and P. Kraft (eds.) *The Critical Study of Work: Labor, technology and global production*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, pp. 71-82.

Gumport, P.J. 2000. Academic restructuring: Organizational change and institutional imperatives. *Higher Education*, Vol. 39, pp. 67-91.

Gupta S., Herath, K. and Mikouiza, N.C. 2005. Outsourcing in higher education: An empirical examination. *International Journal of Educational Management*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 396-412.

Hayward, F.M., and Ncayiyana, D.J. 2003. *A guide to strategic planning for African higher education institutions*. Pretoria: Centre for Higher Education Transformation.

Harvard Committee on Employment and Contracting Policies. 2001. *Final report: Lower paid workers at Harvard University*. Harvard University. Available from:

http://www.hcs.harvard.edu/~pslm/livingwage/hcecp_final_report.pdf [accessed on: 26 April 2015].

Higher Education Merger Study Group. 2010. *A review of four case studies in restructuring the South African higher education system*. Available from:

<http://ahero.uwc.ac.za/index.php?module=csheandaction=downloadfileandfileid=18409092513343937939456> [accessed on: 26 April 2015].

Herbst, M. 2007. *Financing public universities: The case of performance funding series*. Netherlands: Springer-Verlag.

Held, D. 1991. *Political theory today*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Herod, A. and Aguiar, M. 2006. *The Dirty Work of Neoliberalism: Cleaners in the Global Economy*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Howard, J. 2010. *The changing employment relationship and its impact on worker well-being*. National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH). Available from:

<http://www.cdc.gov/niosh/topics/safety.html> [accessed on: 26 April 2015].

Hirst, P. and Thompson, G. 1995. 'Globalization and the future of the nation state'. *Economy and Society*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 408-442.

Hughes, S and White, R. 2005. 'Risk mitigation in higher education: An overview of the use of background checks on campus'. *CUPA-HR Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 2, pp. 23-32.

Johnstone, D. B. 2004. 'The economics and politics of cost sharing in higher education: Comparative perspectives'. *Economics of Education Review*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 403-410.

Johnson, B. 2001. *The higher education worker*. Commissioned paper by the Council on Higher Education. Available from: www.chet.org.za/JOHNSON_per_cent202001_per_cent20HE_per_cent20Worker.pdf [Accessed on 24 April 2015].

Kalleberg, A. 2000. 'Nonstandard employment relations: Part-time, temporary and contract work'. *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 26, pp. 341-365.

Kretovics, M., and Michaels, S. O. 2007. *Financing higher education in a global market*. Available from: <http://w2.vu.edu.au/library/EBookSearch/files/EBL.pdf>. [Accessed on: 25 May 2015].

Kerfoot, D. and Korczynski, M. 2005. 'Gender and service: New directions for the study of frontline service work'. *Gender, Work and Organisation*. Vol. 12, No. 5, pp. 92-99.

Kehm, B and de Wit, H. 2005. *Measuring success in the internationalisation of higher education*. European Association for International Education (EAIE). Paper 22. Available from:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/232219994_Modeling_Assessment_of_Outcomes_and_Impacts_from_Internationalization.

Knight, J. 2004. 'Internationalization remodelled: Definitions, approaches and rationales'. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, Vol. 8, pp. 5-31.

Knight, J. 2008. *Higher education in turmoil. The changing world of internationalization*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Kimber, M. 2003. 'The tenured "core" and the tenuous "periphery": The casualisation of academic work in Australian universities'. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 41-52.

Matthews, B. and Ross, L. 2010. *Research methods: A practical guide for the social sciences*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Manyika, S. and Szanton, D.L. 2001. *PhD programs in African universities: Current status and future prospects*. A report to the Rockefeller Foundation. Berkley: University of California, Berkley.

Ministry of Education. 2002. *Transformation and restructuring: A new institutional landscape for higher education*. Pretoria: Government Gazette No 23549.

Milstone, D. 2010. 'Outsourcing services in higher education: Consider the campus climate'. Association of College Unions International. *The Bulletin*, Vol. 78, No. 2, pp. 113-124.

Makana Municipality. 2009. *Makana Municipality Planning Document*. An ABP imitative prepared for the Province of the Eastern Cape.

Marginson, S. 1993. *Education and public policy in Australia*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Marginson, S., and Considine, M. 2000. *The enterprise university: Power, governance and reinvention in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marginson, S. 2007. 'Global university rankings: Implications in general and for Australia'. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 131-142.

Mendoza, P. and Berger, J.B. 2005. *The impact of academic capitalism on the academic culture: A case study*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Montreal.

Mohamedbhai, G. 2008. *The effects of massification on higher education in Africa*. Accra: Association for the Development of Education in Africa/Association of African Universities. Available from:

<http://ahero.uwc.ac.za/index.php?module=cshe&action=downloadfile&fileid=18409092513202791624126> [accessed on: 26 April 2015].

Morrow, R. A., and Torres, C. A. 2003. 'The state, social movements, and educational reform'. In: R.A. Arnove and C.A. Torres (eds.) *Comparative education: The dialectic of the global and the local* (2nd edition). Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield Publishers, pp. 92-114.

Moja, T. 2007. 'Institutional challenges and implications for HEIs: Transformation, mission and vision for the 21st century.' In: P. MacMillan (ed.) *Higher education in the world: New challenges and emerging roles for human and social development*, pp. 441-668.

Miraftab, F. 2004. 'Neoliberalism and casualization of public sector services: The case of waste collection services in Cape Town, South Africa'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 221-338.

Noon, M. and Blyton, B. 2002. *The realities of work*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Nankervis, A. 2005. *Managing services*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

O'Doherty, D. and Willmott, H. 1999. *Debating labour process theory: The issue of subjectivity and the relevance of post-structuralism*. Manchester: Manchester School of Management.

- Orr, L. 1998. *Women and job creation*. NALEDI Policy Memo.
- Olssen, M. and Peters, M. 2005. 'Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: from the free market to knowledge capitalism'. *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 313-345.
- Olsen, K.M. and Torp, H. 1998. *Flexibility in Norwegian working life*. ISF-report 98:2. Oslo: Institutt for samfunnsforskning.
- Oldfield, S. 2001. 'The South African state in transition: A question of form, function and fragmentation'. In: Motala, H and Pampallis, J. (eds.), *Education and equity: The impact of state policies on South African education*. Cape Town: Heinemann.
- Lee P. T. and Krause N. 2002. 'The impact of a worker health study on working conditions'. *Journal of Public Health Policy*, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 268-285.
- Lemmer, E. 2001. 'The globalisation debate and implications for higher education'. *Educare*, Vol. 30, NoS. 1&2, pp. 14-32.
- Punch, K. 2006. *Developing effective research proposals* (2nd edition). London: SAGE Publications.
- Piore, M.J., and Sabel, C.F. 1984. *The second industrial divide: Possibilities for prosperity*. New York: Basic Books.
- Prowle, M. and Morgan, E. 2004. *Financial management and control in higher education*. London: Routledge.
- Robertson. S. 2010. *Corporatisation, competitiveness, commercialisation: New logics in the globalising of UK higher education*. London: Routledge.
- Rich, D. 2006. 'Academic leadership and the restructuring of higher education'. *New Directions for Higher Education*, No. 134, pp. 10-98.
- Rodrik, D. 1997. 'Sense and nonsense in the globalization debate'. *Foreign Policy*. Vol. 107, pp. 19-36.
- Rhoades, R.A. and Torres, C.A. (eds.) .2006. *The university, state, and market: The political economy of globalization in the Americas*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Seifert, A.M. and Messing, K. 2006. 'Cleaning up after globalization: An ergonomic analysis of work activity of hotel cleaners'. In: Herod, A. and Aguiar, M. (eds.) *The dirty work of neoliberalism: Cleaners in the global economy*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 16-36.
- Shattock, M. 2000. 'Strategic management in European universities in an age of increasing institutional self-reliance'. *Tertiary Education and Management*, Vol. 6, pp. 93-104.
- Shattock, M. 2009. *Entrepreneurialism in Universities and the Knowledge Economy: Diversification and Organizational Change in European Higher Education*. Society for Research into Higher Education. Glasgow: Bell and Bain.
- Slaughter, S and Leslie, L.L. 1997. *Academic capitalism. Politics, policies and the entrepreneurial university*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
- Slaughter, S., and Rhoades, G. 1990. 'Reforming the social relations of academic science: Technology transfer'. *Educational Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp 341-361.
- Staples, C.L. 2000. 'Rereading Harry Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital* after twenty years'. *Social Thought and Research*, Vol. 23, Nos. 1&2, pp. 227-238.
- Scott P. 1995. *The meanings of mass higher education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Scott, P. 2005. 'The global dimension: Internationalising higher education'. In: B. Khem and H. de Wit (eds.) *Internationalization in higher education: European responses to the global perspective*. Amsterdam: European Association for International Education and the European Higher Education Society.
- Schomburg, H.; Teichler, U. 2006. *Higher education and graduate employment in Europe. Results from graduate surveys from twelve countries*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Soros, G. 1998. *The crisis of global capitalism*. Boston: Little Brown.
- Spencer. D. 2000. 'Braverman and the contribution of labour process analysis to the critique of capitalist production – twenty-five years on'. *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 223-243.
- Robertson, R. 1992. *Globalization: Social theory and global culture*. London: Sage
- Rolfe, H. 2003. 'University strategy in an age of uncertainty: The effect of higher education funding on old and new universities'. *Higher Education Quarterly*, Vol.57, No.1, pp. 24.

Thatcher, J. 2012. 'PhDs of the UK, Unite! Your futures depend on it'. *Graduate Journal of Social Science*. Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 25-35.

The Economist. (2005). *Survey: Higher education, a world of opportunity*. 8 Sept. Available from: <http://www.economist.com/displaystory> [accessed on: 03 July 2015].

Thompson, P. 1983. *The nature of work: An introduction to debates on the labour process*. London: Macmillan.

Thompson, P. 1990. 'Crawling from the wreckage: The labour process and the politics of production'. In: D. Knights and H. Willmott (eds.), *Labour process theory*. London: Macmillan, pp. 95–124.

UNESCO. 1998. *World conference on higher education – Higher education in the twenty-first century: Vision and action*. Paris, UNESCO.

Van der Walt, L., Bolsmann, C., Johnson, B. and Martin, L. 2003. *Globalisation, the market university and support service outsourcing in South Africa: Class struggle, convergence and difference, 1994-2001*. Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand. Available from: www.chet.org.za/publications/outourced.pdf [accessed on: 24 April 2015].

Vaira, M. 2004. *Globalization and higher education organizational change: A framework for analysis*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Varghese, N.V. 2009. *Institutional restructuring in higher education within the Commonwealth of Independent States*. International Institute for Educational Planning. UNESCO. Available from:

<http://www.unesco.org/iiep/eng/publications/recent/rec17.htm> [accessed on: 24 April 2015].

Vickery, G. and Wurzburg, G. 1996. 'Flexible firms, skills and employment'. *OECD Observer*. pp. 17.

Visagie, J. 2013. *Who are the middle class in South Africa? Does it matter for policy?* Available from: <http://www.econ3x3.org/article/who-are-middle-class-south-africa-does-it-matter-for-policy> [accessed on: 26 April 2015].

Visagie, J. 2013. *The Eastern Cape socio-economic review and outlook*. Pretoria: Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism.

Von Holdt, K. and Webster, E. 2005. 'Work restructuring and the crisis of social reproduction: A Southern perspective'. In: Webster, E. and Von Holdt, K. (eds.). *Beyond the apartheid workplace: Studies in transition*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal, pp.333 – 354.

Wood, D. and Smith, P. 1989. *Employers' labour use strategies - First report of the 1987 survey*. Sheffield: Employment Department Research Paper No 63. Available from:

<http://www.cheshirehenbury.com/ebew/virtulahtml/collins.html> [accessed on: 26 April 2015].

Wallerstein, I. 1991. *The politics of the world economy (3rd edition)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walker, M. and Nixon, J. 2004. *Reclaiming universities from a runaway world*. Berkshire: The Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University Press.

Waghid, Y. 2002. 'Knowledge production and higher education transformation in Africa: Towards reflectivity in university teaching, research and community service'. *Higher Education*, Vol. 43, pp. 457-488.

Webster, E., Buhlungu, S. and Bezuidenhout, A. 2001. *Work and Organisations*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Wiseman, J. 1998. *The global nation: Australia's response to globalization*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.