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Exploring experiences of the 2016-2017 cohort of Insourced University of the Witwatersrand residence cleaning and dining hall catering staff.

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Exploring experiences of the 2016-2017 cohort of Insourced University of the Witwatersrand residence cleaning and dining hall catering staff.

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Proposal for research submitted to The Department of Social Work in the School of Human and Community Development in partial fulfilment of requirements for Honours in Social Work.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research is my own unaided work. All the relevant sources that have been used in this paper have been acknowledged and referenced accordingly.

……..

Thato Naketsi Mokoena

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DEDICATION

To the late Professor Kaseke, may your legacy live on for generations through the knowledge you've disseminated in your academic career.

ABSTRACT

South Africa's shift into the neoliberalism and the adoption of policies such as Growth Employment and Redistribution in 1996 has resulted in restructuring of the workplace relationship, from permanent forms of employment to outsourcing, privatization and casualization. This nature of work is notorious for its reinforcement of apartheid-like cheap labour and social exclusion of workers. In the late 1990's and early 2000's support service workers of the different universities were outsourced to external contractors, thus changing the nature of their previous employment relationship which was permanent. Outsourcing was met with resistance from workers, students, trade unions and different organizations. This led to insourcing of support service staff across universities in South Africa including the University of Witwatersrand in late 2016. The aim of this study was exploring the experiences of the recently insourced University of the Witwatersrand staff who clean the university residences as well as the catering staff at the dining hall on the impact of job security through mechanisms such as insourcing on their livelihoods. Electronic databases including Google, Google Scholar, JSTOR as well as Taylor and Francis were used**.** The study will follow a qualitative approach which includes semi-structured interviews guided by an interview schedule in an effort to get detailed accounts of their perspectives. The prospective participants who are dining hall and cleaning staff previously employed by Ukweza or Royal Mnandi will be recruited using purposive sampling. Data collected from participants was thematically analysed with the purpose of extracting prevalent themes within, which captured the perspectives of the recently insourced workers at University of the Witwatersrand in a meaningful way. Dissemination of the study will be electronic and in the form of print, research report and prospective publication. The study was presented to the University of the Witwatersrand's Department of Social work.

Key words: insourcing, outsourcing, exploitation, livelihoods, support services, University of Witwatersrand

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
ASAWU	Academic Staff Association of Wits University
CPUT	Cape Peninsula University of Technology
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IFSW	International Framework for Social Work
IASSW	International Association of School Social Work
KZN	Kwa-Zulu Natal
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NEHAWU	National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union
NUMSA	National Union of Mine Workers
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACCAWU	South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SET	Senior Executive Team
SRC	Student Representative Council
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund
UJ	University of Johannesburg
UCT	University of Cape Town
UWC	University of Western Cape
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Outlined in this chapter is the stated research problem as well as the rationale of the study. This is the background of the study and provides an idea of the reason behind the research problem and the contribution the study aims to make. This chapter also outlines the aims and objective of the study. The theoretical framework of the study is also outlined. The research question is presented as well as an overview of the methodological approach is also outlined.

Statement of the problem and rationale of the study

The prevalence of poverty, inequality and unemployment in South Africa leads to the workplace being a breeding ground for exploitation of vulnerable low-skilled workers who are desperate to escape their impoverished state of living and willing to settle for any job at their disposal (Leibbrandt, Woolard, McEwen, & Koep, 2010). At the height of their priorities lies the need to survive and provide for their dependents even at the cost of their dignity. Secure employment has been a great challenge for some trade union organization's whose priority is fostering decent workplace conditions and the protection of workers (Cohen & Moodley, 2012). Across the globe, neoliberal policies, technological advances and a rowing public sector have resulted in a decline in permanent, full-time employment with worker protection, employment benefits such as medical aid, provident fund as well as eligibility for trade union membership (Ndlozi, 2011). This has been replaced by a growth in fragmented and insecure conditions of employment through processes such as outsourcing, privatization, casualization and temporary work. Many institutions and enterprises advocate for the benefits of outsourcing on the overall profits whilst overlooking the heightened constraints of such an employment relationship. A study by Dibben (2015) conducted on three prominent automotive companies in South Africa advocated for outsourcing as an employment system that has many benefits for the automotive industry. Operational cost-cutting, limited core labour force, access to specialized services for automotive sector were some of the benefits highlighted (Dibben, 2015). These benefits to the companies were realized at the expense of the workers through their experiences of an erosion of employment equity benefits as well as trade union representation, placing them at a vulnerable

employment position (Dibben, 2015). The same was true for the support service sector in South African universities during the late 90's (Bezuidenhout & Fakier, 2006).

In South Africa, the introduction of neoliberal macro-economic policies found its roots in the apartheid government's 1970s economic reform policies and continued into the post-apartheid period under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC). The introduction of the Growth Employment Redistribution (GEAR) policy as an alternative to the Keynesian inspired Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) intensified the shift towards neoliberalism under the leadership of President Thabo Mbeki. GEAR is a policy that places emphasis on the need for trade liberalisation, fiscal austerity, welfare reform and flexibility in the labour market (Ndlozi, 2010). By virtue of the government's emphasis on the need for systematic restructuring of Institutions of higher learning, South African universities were confronted with the need of transforming composition of their staff (especially non-core support services). The need for institutional restructuring and transforming staff composition led to the outsourcing of the support service workers at the universities to different contractors with a large number being retrenched and receiving wage cuts and loss of benefits (van der Walt, Bolsman, Johnson & Martin, 2002). The argument behind outsourcing support services was that not only would it help to reduce costs but the focus of the university will be placed on its core services; namely research and academics (Bezuidenhout & Fakier, 2006). Outsourcing of support service workers was opposed by many student bodies and workers who demonstrated their resistance through robust conversations with the management at the university as well as protest action (Nkosi, 2012). Movements that emerged as a form of resistance included the #WitsHungerStrike whereby students unbooked their dining hall meals and went on a hunger strike in solidarity with the workers (Meda, 2012). #FeesMustFall and #InsourcingMustFall were one of the biggest movements the country has seen since 1976 as it was a national strike with a universal mandate: Transformation through free decolonized education as well as insourcing of workers (Luckett & Mzobe, 2016). These protests were rigorous that they gained public support leading to intensified pressure on the management at various institutions to begin deliberating on the potential to insource the workers. In response to the protest, the University of the Witwatersrand agreed in principle to begin the process of insourcing by deploying an insourcing task team that would find a feasible means to implement outsourcing without destabilising the university's ability to function effectively (Nkosi, 2015). The first cohort of

insourced workers were insourced in 2016 and more workers were insourced throughout the course of 2017 (Musuabi,2017).

Rationale of the study

There is a vast amount of anecdotal, empirical and scientific research on the impact of neoliberal macro-economic policies which brought forth the need for privatisation through processes such as outsourcing and the restructuring of support services in universities in South Africa and the impact thereof on the workers concerned (Van der Walt, Bolsmann, Johnson & Martin 2003; Bezuidenhout & Fakier, 2006; Luckett & Mzobe, 2016, Nkosi, 2015;) Furthermore, there is a substantial body of literature that presented the arguments brought forward by the institutions as a means of defending and euphemising outsourcing (Blumberg, 2008; Dumba, 2014). These reports and literary work are an important reference point in this particular study as they capture the process of outsourcing in the different institutions of Higher learning across South Africa.

However, since the insourcing of previously outsourced employees offering support services at the different universities in South Africa began late 2016 and is still in continuation, research on the impact thereof is limited. The study has the potential to contribute towards knowledge about the impact of secure employment relations. This also has the potential to add to knowledge about how the process of transformation within the university is not limited to student needs but a holistic transformation on institutional culture that aims to address the concerns of all staff members as well. This reason adds credibility to this study as it is an exploration of a process of workplace restructuring which also contributes to the general livelihood of the staff members. In that case the study is a platform for the researcher to potentially uncover new themes by unpacking untold individual life stories that could also address other aspects of insourcing that have not been covered as yet .

Lastly, since the University of Witwatersrand is ranked as one of the best universities in South Africa and Africa at large, exploring the dynamics of labour relations in an institution of its calibre makes this a worthwhile study as it could potentially pave way for policy enhancement in other institutions.

Theoretical framework

Precarious employment can be understood from the Marxist perspective of the working class. Marxian theory conceptualizes the working class as a group of people who do

not have ownership of the means of production but sell their labour power to the capitalist class who have economic power for the purpose of sustenance (Marx & Engels, 1978).These workers face alienation which is a detachment from the product or service since they do not earn enough for consumption thereof as well as detachment from fellow workers since more time is spent creating the product or providing the service to ensure that profits remain high (Marx & Engels, 1978). In the case of the employees at the University of Witwatersrand, alienation can be interpreted from their disconnect with the university since their employment relationship as per outsourcing policies resulted in lack of staff benefits such as scholarships from University of Witwatersrand for their dependents, low income that detaches them from directly accessing services provided by the university, tertiary education.

One of Marx's long-standing visions is that of socialism through which the proletariat class will be liberated from all forms of exploitation and alienation through class consciousness thus obtaining power to overthrow the capitalist class (Marx and Engels 1978). The feasibility of this argument has been at the centre of global economic discourse with both support and criticisms from different scholars. Although the objective of this study is in no way to take a position in this debate but to show the significance of Marx's argument in understanding employment relations, poverty and inequality in South Africa. Marx continues to argue that ideally the role of the working class should not be limited to production but extended to that of consumption (Kotz, 2003). By consumption he mentions that in order for survival, the working class should have access to individual consumption which includes physiological needs like food, shelter and clothing as well as social consumption which includes access to education, healthcare and transportation (Kotz, 2003). The alienation and exploitation of employees through precarious forms of employment limit the potential of the working class' ability to be a consumer in society. The exploitation of workers is intensified through employment forms such as insourcing wherein the remuneration of the employee is below minimum wage and the working conditions are unfavourable and lead to a specific level of social exclusion. This is problematic as it affects the dignity that workers are meant to be treated with and thus limits their potential for social mobility and livelihoods that are sustainable. Furthermore it affects their ability to maintain sustainable livelihoods necessary to live a fulfilled life.

Aims and objectives of the study

The aim of the study was to unearth the experiences of the University of the Witwatersrand residence cleaning and dining hall catering staff were recently insourced with a specific focus on the impact it had on their livelihoods.

The objectives were to:

- Probe into the experiences of the University of Witwatersrand dining hall and residence cleaning staff members during the period of outsourcing.
- Secondly, to probe into their experiences during the bargaining process.
- Thirdly, to probe into the changes in the employment relationship.
- Lastly, probe into their livelihoods before and after outsourcing.

Research question

What are the experiences of the Insourced University of the Witwatersrand residence cleaning and dining hall staff in terms of their livelihoods?

Relevance of study to the social work profession

The social work definition adopted internationally by the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) and International Framework For Social Work (IFSW) is a an academic discipline and practice-based profession that is characterized by an emphasis on the promotion of people's development, empowerment and liberation, social change, social justice and respect for diversity (Block, 2012). It is thus a profession centred on ensuring that basic human rights are not infringed upon and that all people are able to live a life of dignity. There's an inherent responsibility which transcends welfare promotion through social assistance but includes the ability to ensure that economic growth in a country is balanced with economic and social development which benefits the members of society (Dlangamandla, 2011). It remains critical to understand that the promotion of policies such as GEAR resulted in distorted development in which although there was annual economic growth of 5 % in GDP, it did not create enough job opportunities for a sustainable economic growth (Mahadea & Simson,2010). Social workers have a responsibility for ensuring that the poor and vulnerable members of society are a priority in terms of social and economic development, not only for creating livelihoods that are sustainable but also for empowering them through access to opportunities to participate in activities that allow them to be included

in the mainstream economy. Investigating employment conditions is also an important area of social justice as it is an opportunity for social workers to address issues such as the infringement of rights, social exclusion in the workplace.

Overview of research design and methodology

This study was exploratory in nature and employed a qualitative approach using a case study as the research design. The sample was selected using non-probability purposive sample and it consisted of five insourced dining hall catering staff members as well as five residence cleaning staff members. The study was piloted using one dining hall catering staff member as well as one dining hall catering staff member. Data collection for the study was in the form of semi-structured interviews that were guided by a semi-structured interview schedule. The data from the interviews was analysed using thematic analysis**.**

Conceptualization and operationalization of key concepts

Conceptualisation in research refers to the use of concepts to identify phenomena, naming or attaching concepts to things as well as drawing distinctions in the concepts (Stewart and Zaaiman (2015). Clear definitions and unambiguous use of concepts is very important so that idiosyncratic definitions can be avoided as they might undermine the objective as well as the results in the study. It is further imperative to operationalize the key concepts in the study as this assists in drawing on indicators thereof that allows a clear understanding of their value in the study. Below, the researcher presents a list of key concepts that capture the essence of the study and

Precarious employment: This concept is defined as employment relationship characterized by job insecurity, instability, erosion of social and legal protection, substandard working conditions, low remuneration as well as economic, social and political vulnerability (Bachiesi, 2011). In this case the employment relationship is uncertain, unpredictable and risky from the perspective of the employee and results in distress (Cohen & Moodley, 2012).There is a great link between precarious work and neoliberal policies based on the prevalence of eroding the rights of the workers in the workplace, transferring the risks involved in the workplace towards the worker, contracts are flexible and casualized and heightened insecurity (Kalleberg, 2008).

Outsourcing: An important component of privatization underpinned by the export of direct management by a company to a contractor through a contractual agreement whereby liability for services or products produced internally is transferred to the contractor so that costs to the

organization are reduced (Kalleberg, 2008). Basically, the internally produced products or services as well as the employees are shifted to an external service provider. This concept captures the experience of the support service staff at the University of the Witwatersrand as they were outsourced to different private companies.

Collective Bargaining: A principal mechanism at the heart of industrial relations involving negotiation between two or more parties with conflicting interests in an effort to reach common ground (Harris, 2004). The value of collective bargaining lies in ability to assist the parties involved in considering multiple perspectives whilst leaving any set positions (Vettori, 2006). At the sectoral level, the parties involved in the negotiation process include the employer, employee representatives such as shop stewards as well as trade union representatives (Vettori, 2016).

In this study, the phenomenon of collective bargaining is important because it is an integral part of the process that led to the change in employment relations for the previously outsourced employees at the University of Witwatersrand. The collective bargaining process consisted of an Insourcing Task Team including University Council representatives, Management Representatives, Worker representatives, Union Representative, Student Representatives, Academic Representatives and an Independent Expert. It should be noted that prior to collective bargaining at the negotiation tables, university students and the workers at University and other universities alike championed the fight against insourcing through protests with support from Wits Workers' Solidarity Committee (a coalition between staff, workers and students in solidarity against outsourcing).

Neoliberal Capitalism: An ideology underpinned by the need for increased integration of the global economy through trade, privatization of multinational organizations and enterprises and banks, market deregulation, reduced fiscal spending and social protection for the working class and the impoverished (Kotz, 2015). According to Kotz (2015) the neoliberal order is mainly championed by the United States as well as Britain due to their military and economic power yet it has also been adopted in developing countries like South Africa. This was followed by an increase in pressure for South Africa to participate in the neoliberal order by global trade liberalization and deregulating the South African market.

Livelihoods: A livelihood is defined as a system comprised of the social and material assets, capabilities as well as activities necessary for a means of living (Laflamme, 2010). When there are limitations in any of the above-mentioned categories, the livelihood cannot be sustained.

According to (Krantz, 2001) in order for a livelihood to be deemed sustainable, it should be able to handle and survive potential life stressors and shocks. It should also be able to sustain and develop its assets and capabilities presently as well as for future reference. This should however, be achieved in a manner that does not undermine ecology or the base of natural resources (Krantz, 2001). In the context of this study, a livelihood consists of the relationship between the income that the dining hall catering as well as residence cleaning staff members get in relation to their expenses at home.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

One of the shibboleths of research in contemporary times is that prior to collecting data, it is required that a literature review be presented. A literature review is the process of selecting articles, journals, academic texts and manuscripts that consist of theoretical content covering a research topic of interest in an effort to access information and ideas (Renlund, 2017). A literature review is one where the writer reflects on literary sources in a manner that displays his awareness of the research area by comprehensively synthesizing the information thus being able to draw on the strengths, biases, stereotypes and/or other limitations of the chosen paper (Webster & Watson, 2002). A literature review is usually an exhaustive display of theoretical backing as well as an illustration of previous research on a particular phenomenon, in exploratory research, emphasis is on building theory beyond the literature available (Lee & Kofman,2012). The literature review contains literary sources accessed through electronic databases such as Google, Google Scholar, Taylor and Francis as well as This chapter outlines the literature reviewed by the researcher in order to afford the study theoretical backing. The literature was presented geographically beginning with an international perspective and ending with the South African context which is the locus of exploration.

Precarious work internationally

According to Kalleberg (2008) over several decades the United States and countries around the world have aligned social, economic and political forces to render employment more precarious. He asserts that that precarious employment is not a new phenomenon but has been in existence since work with pay as a means of sustenance was introduced (Kalleberg, 2008). In order to adequately capture this concept, he draws on the interlink between the workplace setting, working conditions, nature of duties, remuneration as well as the daily experience of the employee (2008). He provides five indicators of precarious employment including a decline in employer-employee attachment, growth of contingent and non-standard work, an increase in the shifting of risk from the employers to the employees, increased rates of unemployment over a longer period of time and increased job insecurity. The most recent era of precarious employment in the United States dates back to mid-late 1970's. During that

period substantive macro-economic developments such as the oil shock resulted in an increase in global price competition. Manufacturers in the United States were challenged by companies from Japan and China. He further mentions that in the United States, inequality and economic insecurity reinforces a decline in the possibility for upward intergenerational mobility in contrast with countries like Canada and Germany (Kalleberg, 2008).

Outsourcing in international universities

During the period 1980-1990, there was an increase in the number of academics employed through hourly paid contracts in the United Kingdom from twenty one percent to 43% and it was expected that these numbers would increase (Lopes & Dewan, 2014). In the United Kingdom, public universities restructured their workforce in a manner that seemingly proletranized both academic work as well as support services. Both Departments were faced with a shift from permanent employment to paying some of the teaching staff on an hourly basis even though they were on permanent contracts. These casualized staff were marginalized within the university space as they did not receive the remuneration they deserve and their employment contracts made them vulnerable to dismissal without representation from a union (Lopes & Dewan, 2014)**.** In 1999, American universities and colleges outsourced 66, 0% of catering services, 57,7 % of vending machine services, 39,2% bookstore operations as well as 22,7% of campus security services (Argon, 1999). One of the most prestigious Ivy League Universities in the world Harvard University outsourced close to 99% of its previously internal security services, fifty five percent of housekeeping services as well as 30% of its catering services to external companies such as Sodexho-Marriott (catering) (Centre,H. W, 2001). The impact thereof included dining hall staff at Harvard Business School being threatened with reclassifications of their jobs which would affect their salaries as well as reduction in their salaries. It also created social divisions between those who were still internally employed and those who were outsourced.

Outsourcing in African countries

In the African context, there is a gap in the research on the impact of outsourcing on support service workers, as it is a phenomenon in its primacy. It should be noted however that studies were conducted in University of Nairobi, Kenya with a focus on how outsourcing has impacted service provision with less emphasis on the impact of outsourcing on the workers. According to (Sang, 2010) management of the University of Nairobi implemented restructuring of services by outsourcing the cleaning, security services as well as waste

management to external contractors. The decision to outsource was underpinned by the need to reduce costs and while accessing quality services at a lower cost from external contractors (Nyokabi, 2014). Furthermore, the university mentioned that there was a need to focus on its core functions which are education as well as administration which is why less emphasis would be placed on support services. Nyokabi (2014) posits that albeit the university managed to outsource based on the reasons mentioned above, there is no study to prove that the objectives thereof were reached. The main findings of his study were that there was definitely an improvement in the quality of service that was provided by the cleaners in the university since outsourcing had been introduced. Having said that, more research on the relationship between outsourcing, worker morale and job satisfaction in Kenyan Universities is needed.

As was the case in most countries, the decision to implement outsourcing for universities in Nigeria was also influenced by a reform in the economic policies of the Federal government of Nigeria (Oguchukwu & Nwaoma, 2015). According to (Okogwu, 2013) the implementation of outsourcing was influenced by the institution's need to focus on internal availability of resources, strategic planning of academic curriculum and contracting with companies that could provide expert personnel. Taking that into consideration, the support staff that includes cleaning, catering, ICT, security, library services and transport was outsourced. The result thereof included a disengagement of the outsourced staff members, failure of the external contractor to offer minimum wage to the employees and integrating external contractors into organizational culture which affected the ability to regulate operations in the universities (Oguchukwu & Naomwa, 2015).

Brief historical overview of outsourcing in South Africa

The historical division in the higher education system in South Africa was horizontal and based on creating a visible distinction between universities, colleges and technikons. Those such as University of Cape Town, Rhodes University, Stellenbosch and University of Witwatersrand were known as Historically Advantaged institutions whilst institutions such as University of Kwa- Zulu Natal were known as Historically Disadvantaged universities since they mostly catered for black students and were under-resourced (van der Walt, Bolsman & Martin, 2002). Higher education systems of funding as well as uneven numbers of staff and student enrolment reinforced the uneven distribution of resources to these institutions leading to differing outcomes and thus different national and international rankings. In the 1980s,

government spending on the universities reached a decline which was influenced by the movement towards the neoliberal order with the intention of achieving fiscal austerity (Bezuidenhout & Fakier, 2006). According to (van der Walt, Bolsman & Martin, 2002) subsidies allocated in the 1987/88 financial year were 5, 4 billion averaged at 65,5% which was lower than the previous year's 68%. This significantly impacted the Historically Advantaged Institutions because their subsidies decreased to 63%. The 1996 implementation of the neoliberal Growth Employment and Redistribution was characterized by flexibility in the labour market and deregulation of the economy which ensured that less government expenditure was on universities which provided pressure for them to adjust their workforce.

The idea of outsourcing and restructuring of services at University of Cape Town was introduced in 1990 but was fully implemented under leadership of the then Vice Chancellor, Dr Mamphele Ramphele in 1999. University of Cape Town pioneered the implementation of outsourcing followed by the University of Witwatersrand in 1999 and the rest of the higher education institutions with Rhodes University being an exception. About five thousand workers (catering, cleaning, bus service and maintenance) suffered retrenchment from the different institutions of higher education in South Africa from the years 1994-2001(van der Walt, Bolsmann, Johnson and Martin. 2002: 34).In 2001 the cleaning services at the University of Witwatersrand were outsourced to SuperCare Cleaning Company which was a significant transition for the workers. Previously, under the management of the University of Witwatersrand the workers had permanent contracts which included higher wages than those under Supercare and benefits such as medical aid, access to staff bursaries for their dependents and union membership (Bezuidenhout & Fakier, 2006). After protests and meetings with the Wits Workers Solidarity Committee the contract with Supercare ended and Ukweza was the new contractor for catering and cleaning services. Ukweza provided the workers with five year contracts yet the workers experienced exploitation which included working on weekends without adequate reimbursement and job security. According to (van der Walt et al, 2002) in the same year (2001), it is noted that University of Witwatersrand was responsible for what was recorded as the third highest number of dismissals in the sector of higher education after 613 workers suffered retrenchments and only 250 of them were fortunate enough to be reinstated.

Reasons for outsourcing

Although there are many authors who argue against labour relationships such as outsourcing and privatization, there are a few authors who advocate for it as a feasible option for cost reduction in institutions. According to Blumberg (2008) the main reason for outsourcing is that through it costs can be effectively reduced through contracting with an external company that would provide quality service at a low cost to the institution. The argument is that the institution's potential to reduce costs through outsourcing can increase the ability of the institution to maintain a growth in return on assets, improvement in the efficiency of operations and increase profits (Blumberg, 2008). And since the external contractor has a sole business focus, be it cleaning or catering, outsourcing these services as opposed to managing them internally, allows for the services to be provided and managed with expertise and since they will be prioritised (Vining & Globerman, 1999 as cited in Dumba, 2014). It is further argued that some advantages of outsourcing include its ability to eliminate investment in infrastructure which enables improvement in efficiency and quality of services and mostly, saving on costs which would otherwise be incurred (Vining & Globerman, 1999 as cited in Dumba, 2014). Additionally, each institution's decision to outsource was premised on the potential for reduction in cost of production, opportunity costs as well as costs of bargaining; all of which are responsible for high expenditure from the university budget (Dumba, 2014)

In the report provided by the Senior Executive Team (SET), it was argued that the reason for the University of Witwatersrand to adopt outsourcing was because the internal management lacked the capacity to effectively and sustainably restructure the internal workforce and thus it was seen as a practical solution for deficiencies in that regard to be addressed. Furthermore, since universities were argued to be sites of knowledge production, outsourcing support services meant that the universities could now focus on improving its core functions; namely research and academic work. By outsourcing the support service workers to external contractors, the institution could focus on the administrative and academic staff to ensure that there is efficiency in the work they produce so that quality assurance of the university can be maintained.

Impact of outsourcing on support service workers

Outsourcing of support service workers perpetuates a system of oppression in which the rights and ability of the workers to have union membership is restricted and thus becomes

a threat to their ability to negotiate decent conditions of employment. According to (Harvard Worker's Centre, 2001) since the workers are fragmented into their different functions as well as external contractors, it becomes difficult for them to mobilise together and strike since they have distinct experiences and concerns in their different companies; making it easier for contractors to dispense, replace and exploit them. This also limits the potential for transparency and the ability for workers to have access to relevant information pertaining to employment relations and internal control measures (Harvard Worker's Centre, 2001). Furthermore, in the case of the University, outsourcing reduces the liability and accountability of the institution towards the workers which creates loopholes and conditions for labour laws to be evaded (Dumba, 2014).

Furthermore, outsourcing the support service workers to different private sector companies brings about a form of overt segregation and unstable social relations which were not there being uniformly under one employer. This limits their ability for collective bargaining which would mitigate for their demands about their working conditions and salaries without fear of unfair dismissal. In the context of the University of Witwatersrand, the segregation of the workers was characterised by the need for them to use a separate entrance, toilets as well as designated change rooms instead of public spaces used by students and the academic staff (Ellis, 2013). This system perpetuated the discriminatory laws similar to those under the apartheid rules which reinforce feelings of inferiority for the support service workers. Although it cannot be argued that the institutional culture prior to outsourcing created a perfect atmosphere for all who inhibited the university space, it should be noted that, it was more inclusive, less degrading and less oppressive (van der Walt. et al, 2002). It often results in growing numbers of insecure, oppressive, and unfulfilling conditions of employment that resemble historical eras of super-exploitation in an effort to increase institutional wealth (Weeks, 2011).

Responses to outsourcing of support services at South African universities

2012 #OccupySenateConcourse Hunger strike

The #OutsourcingMustFall movement which took place simultaneously with #FeesMustFall in 2015 was preceded by many other protests and attempts by students to make the university space free from all forms of exploitation. One such is the #Occupy Senate Concourse which took place in the year 2012 after 17 Royal Mnandi Food Service Solutions chefs were dismissed on accounts of alleged gross insubordination (Meda, 2012). According

to (Meda, 2012) the 17 chefs were expelled following refusal to be moved from dining halls at Wits Business School Parktown to the main campus in Braamfontein as they were not consulted first. They attempted to show their disapproval of this decision by reporting to their real workstations and this was interpreted as insubordination and led to them losing their jobs. The students decided to stand in solidarity with the dismissed workers and to confront the University of Witwatersrand which had failed to address the issue since the workers were not directly employed by them and such it was an external matter (Nkosi, 2012). This matter was responded to through a position of abstention by University of the Witwatersrand management who refused to override the decision undertaken by their client Royal Mnandi Food Service Solutions even though it was an infringement on their labour right (Nkosi, 2012).The students displayed their resistance by cancelling their dining hall meals which lead to Royal Mnandi Food Solution services losing thousands of Rands (Nyamajiyah, 2012). With the help of The Wits Solidarity Committee and National Allied Workers Union and other trade unions, the students' efforts were rewarded as the workers were reinstated after negotiations. This strike is a good example of the intentions of university institutions when adopting outsourcing as a form of employment relationship since it limits their liability for the workers especially in situations such as unfair labour practice.

#OutsourcingMustFall 2015

This article provides an overview of the #FeesMustFall movement led by students from Universities in the country through protest action which was premised on making demands to University management and the government for free decolonized quality education , transformation of the curriculum as well as the insourcing of underpaid outsourced workers in those universities. Luckett and Mzobe (2016) mentioned that although students were generally at the forefront of the movement, the role of workers as key agents in the movement cannot be overlooked. Alongside students, the outsourced workers from universities marched with placards whilst chanting struggle songs as a symbol of defiance and resistance to the university policies on student fees as well as employment relations of the outsourced workers**.** The different student-worker groups marched to National landmarks such as the Union Buildings in Pretoria and Parliament in Cape Town to make their demands to their government. The outcome of these protests was the agreement of the government on a zero fee increment on university fees for 2016 as well as a principal agreement to begin the process of insourcing workers in the different universities across the country. Luckett and Mzobe (2016) also raise the significance of race in the distribution of the adverse effects of

outsourcing since it was not the majority white academics and administrators but black low-skilled those who were affected by the process of outsourcing. Albeit to different extents, the struggle against outsourcing was supported by workers, students, the general community, trade union federations and some of the academic and administrative staff members at the different universities.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The main objective of this study is the exploration, analysis and documentation of the way in which insourcing as both a concept and a process is experienced by the dining hall catering and residence cleaning staff at Wits University, Johannesburg. A specific focus lies in unearthing their experiences and capturing their voices in a critical manner. As such semi-structured interviews thus play an indispensable role in this study. This chapter provides an outline of the research methodology employed in this study. This is inclusive of a brief description of the qualitative research approach and the case study as a research design. It provides an overview of the process of recruiting participants, data collection as well as data analysis. The criteria for selection of participants and well as the sampling process are also outlined in this chapter.

Research approach

This study undertook a qualitative approach since it was based on unearthing the experiences of the insourced dining hall catering and residence cleaning staff members on their experiences in their livelihood since being insourced. Qualitative is a comprehensive research approach in research focused on the importance of understanding human behaviour from the perspectives of the insiders and research participants in the interaction. In contrast to quantitative studies that require hypothesis testing from an etic perspective so that causalities can be tested in the form of statistics and numeric results, qualitative inquiry requires in-depth information from the voice of the participants about the meanings they attach to their experience of their social world (Wahyuni, 2012). Since this was an exploratory study, it was very useful for the researcher to undertake an investigative stance. In this case the researcher engaged with the staff members concerned through semi-structured interviews. The researcher was also able to be a participant observer by engaging in activities that were meaningful to their experience as insourced workers at the University of the Witwtersrand. Getting broad and elaborate answers from the participants allowed the researcher the opportunity to efficiently explore the key themes and numerous aspects of the experiences of the insourced workers and whether or not it has been beneficial to them.

Research design

The research design for this study was a case study. According to (Zainal, 2007) a case study is a research design that allows close examination and an in-depth study of a phenomenon, a person or a small group of people within their context. It is significantly applicable in studies that are still in the exploratory or preliminary phase as it allows the potential development of the particular theory or empirical evidence of a phenomenon in question. Case studies involve the use of different sources in the form of journals, artefacts, documents, interviews and observation (Rowley, 2002). The significance of using a case study is that allowed the researcher to explore the experiences of the Insourced University of the Witwatersrand residence cleaning and dining hall catering staff in an in-depth manner. Sources such as journal publications, newspaper articles, interviews, documents such as the Memorandum of agreement between the university and the insourced workers were used throughout this study. The researcher also looked into sources such as the 2016 annual report for the University of the Witwatersrand as well as the University of Witwatersrand 2015 National Minimum Wage Research Initiative report. The significance of these documents is that they provided demographic as well as economic information that was directly relevant to the University of Witwatersrand which is the site of exploration. The researcher also attended meetings with the staff members whereby issues about insourcing were addressed. The researcher was also able to attend a protest demonstration with the cleaners who were represented by NEHAWU. Using the case study as a research design generally afforded the researcher an opportunity for active engagement in the participants' activities and thus gain an intimate understanding of their experiences and their relationship to their social world.

Data Collection

The process of data collection is a very critical element of any study as it is the point at which information is systematically gathered from the participants or other sources relevant to the study in order to address the aims of a study and thus draw critical conclusions. For the purpose of this study, the researcher applied methodological triangulation by using multiple sources to collect data from the participants. Methodological triangulation is the process of utilizing numerous or multiple data collection methods on the same research topic as a means of enhancing the trustworthiness of the study findings (Curry, Nembhard & Bradley, 2009). In qualitative tradition, the significance of methodological triangulation is not limited to the cross-validation of the data but the ability to capture and explore the phenomenon in questions from

multiple dimensions (Olsen, 2004). That is to say, it is not merely a means of confirming the value of the instruments in achieving the study aims but also ensures that the researcher's standpoint is both strengthened and challenged from multiple perspectives. For the purpose of acquiring rich and detailed information regarding the experiences of the participants, the researcher obtained data in four contexts with participants. This not only allowed the researcher to obtain information narrated by the participants but also the opportunity to observe and participate in events in the lives of the participants. Firstly, the researcher was afforded the privilege of attending a meeting with NUMSA trade union and the members on campus as well as another gathering which the different categories of support service workers as well as academics and their respective trade unions. In the NUMSA meeting, the discussion was on the state of outsourcing at this point and the concern of the workers affiliated with NUMSA. In the second meeting, chaired by the different trade union representatives and attended by all the workers as well as some academic staff the discussion was on the collective concerns of the workers and academic staff at University of Witwatersrand. Some of the issues of concern were the dissatisfaction with the university's policy pertaining medical aid deductions, the university's refusal to accept the demand for a 9% salary increase as well as the need to look into giving long service recognition to workers who have served the university for over a decade (personal communication, 2018). At the end of the meeting there was a resolution for a tools down and a protest demonstration since the trade unions had collectively been permitted to strike through a from the CCMA (Ndzimande, 2018). The most essential and informative part of the study was collecting data in the form of semi-structured interviews with the catering and residence cleaning staff. The researcher conducted ten interviews which ranged between (45 minutes to just over an hour). The respondents were very informative as they believed that this was an opportunity to speak for themselves as opposed to being in the public sphere (such as protests) which could not afford them a chance to speak on individual concerns.

Research instruments

The research instrument that was employed in this study was a semi-structured interview schedule. This type of interview not only allowed the researcher to prepare questions beforehand but provided structure and a guide to the interview so that the researcher could probe whenever responses are not very informative or clear enough (Greentsein, 2003). It also encouraged elaborate responses as opposed to simple (yes/no) questions. According to Mason (2002:62) the use of semi-structured interview is advantageous in the sense that it provides a platform for rich, conceptual and first-hand

information which would not be the case with a questionnaire. During the interview, the researcher provided the participants with an opportunity to respond to the questions as best as they could whilst having the liberty to ask for clarity when the question seemed ambiguous. This method of data collection was very useful since the researcher needed to collect large amounts of data which was important in this case. Another noteworthy advantage of the semi-structured interview was that it made for flexibility in terms of asking the questions and ensured that a lot more themes were covered (Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003).

Data analysis

The method of data analysis that was employed in this study was thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method of data analysis that places emphasis on the need to extract the different themes and meanings that emerge from the data sets (Burke & Clarke, 2006). Furthermore, it is a method that allows the researcher to detect, examine and report on the themes and concepts found in the data sets which will be important for answering the research question (Alhojailan, 2012).

In that case, after the data had been collected, the steps prescribed for thematic analysis were followed so that an accurate analysis (free from researcher bias will be employed). The first step that will be undertaken will be familiarization with the data collected so that it makes sense to the researcher. The researcher aims to be immersed in the data by actively reading through it with the intent of understanding the data and extracting the relevant information within the data. The data will be analysed in a critical manner paying attention to ensuring that conclusions are made based on thorough investigation. The researcher will then study the data in a manner that will allow the generation of codes (Braun & Clark, 2006). Thereafter the researcher will iteratively search for themes within the data set as well as the codes generated (Javadi, 2016). The researcher will then review the themes by examining their significance to the overall study and ensuring that potential themes are properly refined (Javadi, 2016). Thereafter, the themes from the previous steps were defined and named within a thematic map that separated the different themes (Javadi, 2016). Lastly, the results from the analysis were disseminated in the form of a research report. The reporting of data in the process of thematic analysis took place continuously so that accuracy and consistency was maintained (Braun & Clark, 2006).

Research participants

Sampling

The study population for this research was all the staff members of the University of the Witwatersrand who were recently insourced from outsourcing companies inclusive of Royal Mnandi, Ukweza catering and cleaning, Impact cleaning, Urban Genesis, Enforce Security, Fidelity Security Services, Quemic, (Servest(Pty) Ltd, Oricol as well as Phola Coaches. This was inclusive of all the staff members that were insourced by University of Witwatersrand with services ranging from cleaning, dining hall, bus drivers, security, waste management and the cleaning of the university yard. This was the overall population from which those fitting for this research were derived. The population included all support service workers of all ages with no specifications as to the number of years they had worked at the University of the Witwatersrand. The sampling method used was purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling aimed at recruiting research participants on the basis of having information about, an understanding of and/or experience or about the study empirical inquiry (Robinson, 2014).

That is to say, from the population, the sample chosen will be the people who are in a position to potentially provide answers that will be meaningful to the study since they fit the criteria. On that note, in the qualitative sense of our research, the sample will be chosen somewhat deliberately based on an inclusion criteria covered by race, age, employment at University of the Witwatersrand (residence cleaning and catering at the dining hall) , employment status, number of years of employment at University from the general sample being sought after.

Target population

The inclusion criteria for the target population consisted of black males and females between the ages of 35-60 who are South African citizens and had been employed by Royal Mnandi or Ukweza cleaning and catering services for a minimum of five years**.** The employees were required to have been insourced from end of 2016 to early 2017. They could be from any South African ethnic group but a fair command of the English language would be beneficial.

Target group

The target group comprised of 10 the Insourced University of Witwatersrand residence cleaning and dining hall catering staff. A further requirement for eligibility into the target group includes the accessibility in terms of location of the workers on the days stipulated for the interviews. The interviews will take place during the lunchtime stipulated to them by the university so all those who are within the university parameters will be interviewed. In addition to accessibility in terms of geographic location, the participants that will be part of the target group are subject to availability. If they are not busy and willing to consent to taking part when the interview is scheduled to take place, they will be selected. The consent will be determined after the potential target group members are informed of the implications of the study and what it entails.

Pilot group

The researcher conducted a pilot research with one worker from the dining hall as well as a residence security staff member. In the pilot study, the researcher was able to ask all the listed questions and was able to get responses. In the interviews, the researcher was able to gather information about the experiences of the participants with regards to insourcing. After the interviews, the researcher established the need to re-word some of the questions in a manner that makes them easier to answer. The researcher also increased the number of questions used in pilot-testing since both the interviews took place in less than the 1-hour stipulated. Furthermore, some of the questions received closed-ended responses and thus the researcher was able to relook at them.

Actual group

The actual group consisted of five participants who were dining hall staff and five participants who were residence cleaning staff. Of the dining hall staff, three were female and two were male. They were all black. They were between the ages of 35-55. They were recruited from Main dining hall on East Campus in Braamfontein, Ernest Oppenheimer Dining Hall (EOH), Knockando Dining hall and Highveld dining hall located on Wits Education Campus (WEC). The residence cleaning staff were recruited from Noswal hall, Jubilee and Men's Hall of Residence. All of this was subject to availability, accessibility, consent and a timeous response to the invitation which was initially extended to all who fitted the target group.

Criteria	
Availability	Are they available at the time stipulated for interviews? Where they able to come to campus even when they were told it was a “tools down”.
Accessibility	Where the participants on either Main Campus or Wits Education campus in Parktown?
Consent	Having read the participant information sheet, were they able to agree to the terms and conditions of the interviews.
RSVP	Did they respond to the invitation in time?

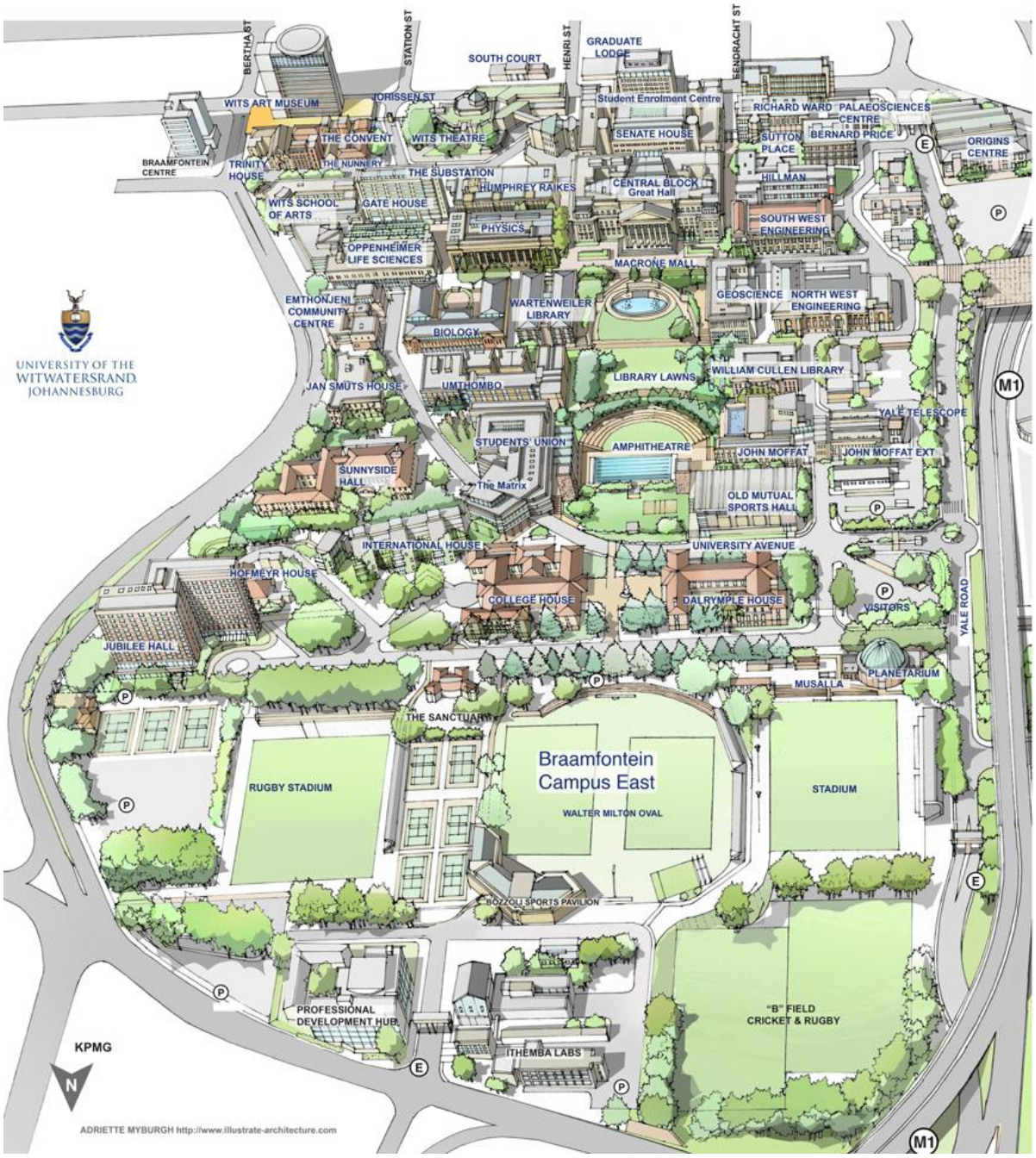
Study site

The study site for this research was the University of the Witwatersrand in which the workstations being the residences as well as the dining halls of the respondents are located. The University of the Witwatersrand is an internationally accredited institution of higher learning which boasts one the best facilities, academic and research standards as well as distinguished staff in Africa. Located in Braamfontein, Johannesburg it has a total student population of about 32 500 across three campuses and dived into five faculties; Commerce, Law and Management, Engineering and the Built Environment, Health Sciences, Humanities and Science (Wits university, 2017).

Site gate-keepers:

Since the study site was the University of Witwatersrand, it was imperative for the researcher to obtain permission from the university registrar (the gatekeeper). A gatekeeper is defined as an individual or individuals (often administrators or managers) regulating entry or access into an organization or institution or any place entry into or any site of research interest (Johl & Renganathan, 2009). According to (Gallo, Weijer, Grimshaw, Borauch, Brehuaut & Zwarenstein, 2012) in order to obtain permission for research, it is important that a prospective researcher approach the gatekeepers of a research site in a manner that displays respect for the institutional culture and autonomy and that of its staff and/or clientele. Negotiating conscientiously with the gatekeeper through adequately meeting requirements such as completing and submitting an application form for clearance was done successfully by the researcher. The researcher was expected to submit a proposal which was reviewed by a marker from Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) as well as one from the

Department of Social Work and recommendations in terms of developing the proposal were made and the researcher attended to them and submitted the corrections to the Department of Social work at the university of the Witwatersrand. The Department of Social work at the University of the Witwatersrand provided the Ethics Clearance Certificate which was very important for the study.





Reflectivity and Reflexivity

Unlike quantitative studies that prioritize objectivity and limited researcher engagement with the data, qualitative tradition recognizes the existence of subjectivity in the data-gathering and analytic process. Qualitative research takes into account that both the researcher and the participant are active partners in the creation of meaning through their understandings of their subjective realities (Lietz, 2006). As such, it remains imperative for the researcher to employ reflectivity and reflexivity throughout the course of the study. Reflectivity during qualitative research affords the researcher an opportunity to be critical of individual biases, ideological illusions values, vision, intentions and assists whereby situations testing morals or ethical accountability may arise (Mortari, 2015). This necessitates reflection in qualitative research as it allows careful introspection, self-awareness and the ability to identify strengths and limitations that the researcher has in the context of the study and its content. The researcher was able to identify her passion for human rights with specific reference to rights of workers. In that case, it was imperative for the researcher to understand

the importance of documenting the data in a manner that reflected the responses in the interviews and not merely the researcher's ideological beliefs.

Reflexivity in qualitative research is a process that allows the researcher to reflect on the extent to which and the nature of the influence he or she has on the study (Al-Natour, 2014). As explained by Bourke (2014) the context of quantitative research, traditional positivist advocate for the importance of neutrality in term of the researcher's relationship to the findings during data collection and data analysis. However, in the scope of qualitative inquiry, the researcher cannot remain divorced from the participants' experiences and perception (Bourke, 2014). The researcher is expected to subject herself to the same level of critical analysis as the findings and ackwnowledge the possibility of researcher bias in order to avoid it (Hadi & Closs, 2016). Understanding and interpretation can be influenced by subjectivity of the researcher as such remaining reflexive at all times is important. The process of data collection as well the interpretation of findings in qualitative studies can be influenced by the personal experiences, race, age, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, social class, level of education, ethnicity of the researcher (Al-Natour, 2011). As such reflexivity should be an ongoing process from the beginning to the completion of the study. As the researcher, I was able to locate myself in the context of the research and ensure that my strong conviction with the importance of ensuring decent employment conditions for all and social justice does not constrain accurately reflecting on and documenting the voices of the participants.

Trustworthiness

Content quality and originality of a qualitative study is determined by its rigor or trustworthiness. Morrow (2005) defines trustworthiness as a study's potential to ensure the achievement of 'multiple standards of quality' and rigour in the qualitative research findings. A criterion to be taken note of in achieving the trustworthiness of a study includes the ability to ensure that the study is credible, dependable, transferable and confirmable (Shenton, 2004). Positivist researchers speak to the internal validity which speaks to ensuring that a study measures what it intends to measure as a core element in ensuring the credibility of a study. Through pilot-testing, the researcher was able to confirm whether or not the questions from the interviews addressed the aims and objectives of the study. The transferability of the study speaks to its external validity or the ability to be applicable onto a different setting (Gunawan, 2015). The pilot group was a security guard which was a deviant case as such the study is

transferable. Furthermore, although the study was conducted at the University of the Witwatersrand, the study has potential to be applicable at any institution of higher learning where the process of insourcing has taken place. Dependability of a qualitative study is based on whether the findings are consistent and it is provides reliable information (Moon, 2016). To ensure dependability, the researcher mentioned the steps of thematic analysis and the manner in which it was used in the context of the above study. The last criterion that the researcher instilled is that of confirmability. In the context of confirmability it is important that the findings reflect the responses of the participants as opposed to the opinions or biases of the researcher (Shenton,2004). The researcher used direct quotations from the interview transcripts as a reflection of the voices of the participants. In order to improve the rigour of the findings the researcher included participant observation.

Study limitations:

The researcher acknowledges that no study, irrespective of intensive and timeous planning can be free from limitations or shortcomings. As such it is imperative to note the potential shortcomings of the study taking into account the research methodology applied and the research instruments utilized. The researcher's ability to apply reflectivity and reflexivity allowed her to identify and document the study limitations and ethical considerations in the study which are presented below:

Potential procedural problems based on subjectivity of accounts from study participants

When dealing with human subjects it is important to analyse the information beyond face value as there could be discrepancies. The downside to semi-structured interviews includes the fact that the interviewer relies heavily on the capacity of the study participants to be critical and verbalise, conceptualise as well as to cooperate during the interview (Greenstein, 2003). This would not always be the case and the interviewer was be aware of that and thus, that the researcher should actively engage with the information being gathered. According to (Giddens, 2006) the interviewees "may consciously or unconsciously portray themselves in a way that differs from their usual attitudes or try to assist the researcher by providing responses that they believe he/she wants" Having said that, the onus lies with the researcher to probe and ensure that the study participant is not misunderstood. In the context of this study, an element of procedural problems due to subjectivity is the fact that some of the participants had a limited command of the English language and resorted to their home language in responding to some of the interview questions. In this case, although the

researcher's level of fluency in the languages that were used (IsiZulu and Sesotho), some of the information that was noted could have potentially been lost in translation. The researcher used the art of probing in order to clarify with the participants when the information discussed seemed vague or ambiguous. The researcher also used the art of probing when the participants presented their experiences vaguely.

Limited prior research

Maxwell (2012) states that, prior research is an essential component and foundation of research that can provide existing theory on the subject being studied (Maxwell, 2012). Furthermore, it assists in forming justifications for research and provides a guideline for the way questions should be framed and methodology applied (Maxwell, 2012). In the context of this study, there was a substantial amount of research on outsourcing in South Africa and globally. However, since the process of insourcing workers at various universities in South Africa was in its primacy, there were still gaps in academic literature to document it. The implications thereof were that there was a limited reference point for this study especially in terms of doing comparisons about the impact of insourcing and its feasibility. However, in it should be noted that in the context of exploratory studies, the objective is theory building and limited reference to literature does not necessarily reduce the study's contribution to academic knowledge (van den Akker, 1999).

Transcribing and coding

Given the quantity of information that was collected through semi-structured interviews, the transcription of individual verbatim accounts could be time-consuming and should be done timeously so that the data gathered is both accurate and representative of the data that was gathered (King, Cassell & Symon,1994). Since the researcher used thematic analysis, transcribing data thematically was tedious and time-consuming. The researcher transcribed all the interviews and analysed them using the steps provided by Braun and Clark (2006).

Photographic depictions of the worker's experience

The researcher did not request permission to include photographs in the research as such could not include them in the documentation of the study findings. The images from the protest demonstrations would capture a lot of the emotional experience of the insourced workers and would have been a depiction of their struggle. The images could have potentially

captured the texture of their experiences within protests and their struggle for secure employment with adequate remuneration and the opportunity to live a life of fulfilment.

Ethical considerations:

According to (Babbie & Mouton, 2001) ethical issues arise from interactions between human beings and the environment especially in cases where there is potential for conflict of interests. As such, ethical considerations in this study included a trade-off between the interests of the recently insourced residence cleaning and dining hall catering staff as well as the University of Witwatersrand (employer). In order for the study to qualify as being ethical, it included an ethics clearance form which was an application to the Department of Social Work as well as Human Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) for permission to continue with the research. Attached to the ethics clearance form was the interview schedule, consent form as well as the participant information sheet. The participant information sheet explained the objectives of the study and what it entails. The consent form explained that participation was voluntary and that the participant could withdraw at any given moment with no punishment. The researcher submitted a copy of the research proposal to the supervisor which was further submitted to the marker who gave recommendations that needed to be addressed by the student. As soon as the researcher was able to rectify and adjust the proposal,

In terms of recruiting the study participants, the following ethical considerations were attended to:

Informed consent

Capron (1991) asserts that in any form of study, it is vital to ensure that the study participant is consciously aware of the decision they make when agreeing to participate in the study. In this study, the participants were informed of the content and implications of the study. The researcher avoided the deception of the research participants in order to aid recruitment (Capron, 1991). Taking this into account, the researcher provided the participants with a participant consent form during the process of recruitment. This form informed them of the expectations in terms of the study and provided them with an opportunity to ask for clarity when it was required.

Liberty to withdraw from study participation at any point

The research participants were informed that they would not be legally bound to respond to questions they felt uncomfortable with and were thus also free to withdraw from the study at

any time which they wished (de Cenival, 2008). In this case, they were informed that if they wished to withdraw from the study, there would be no penalty or sanction in place. Albeit, they signed a consent form, it did not bind them to participate if they felt that it was not in their best interests to do so.

Confidentiality and anonymity

The study participants were informed of the confidentiality policy of the study. The information that they had shared with the researcher was to be kept and used for research purposes only and when there is publication of results, the research participant would be guaranteed anonymity (Kasier, 2009). Pseudonyms and code names were used in the place of the real names of the participants to avoid breaching confidentiality.

Researcher bias

Since this was a subject that the researcher feels strongly about, it was important for her to remain objective when formulating questions, conducting interviews as well as recording the results of the study. Researcher bias would undermine the overall value of the study and would be avoided in the best possible way. During the recording of data and publication of results, the researcher was objective and tried by all means to avoid researcher bias (Katz, 1996). If the study participants wished, they would be informed the results of the research. The researcher thus avoided defrauding the results or tampering with them to suit his/her needs (Katz, 1996).

Preventing or minimising any potential of harm towards study participants

According to Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden (2001) preventing harm to study participants is one of the most important aspects of social science research. On that note, it was important for the researcher to ensure that the potential psychological, social, legal and physical risks involved were minimised and where possible, prevented. Throughout the process of the research, the safety of the participants was highly prioritised. Measures that were put in place included ensuring that the interviews are held at a safe place that would not place the physical safety of the participants' in danger. The researcher also ensured that confidentiality and anonymity was maintained by facilitating the interviews at a venue far from the dining hall and respective residences can help limit potential of social harm. In terms of protecting the participants from psychological harm, the researcher also informed the participants that in the case that they felt that the interview unveiled feelings of distress which were related to the topic, they were free

to seek counselling services from the Counselling and Careers Development Unit (CCDU) in West Campus. The contact details were provided on the participant information sheet.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRODUCTION

Outlined in this chapter are the findings from the study on the experiences of Insourced University of the Witwatersrand dining hall catering and residence cleaning staff. This chapter is divided into two sections: A and B. Presented in Section A is a table format illustration of the demographic information of the sample and a summarized narration thereof. Section B is a presentation and discussion of the findings. With the application of thematic analysis, the findings are divided into three themes under which there are subthemes. The first theme captures the essence of the experiences before the workers were insourced. The subthemes include the intergenerational cycle of poverty and struggle for class mobility; Alienation; prevalence of female-headed households; domestic migrant labour and remittances; and multiple livelihood strategies. The second theme addresses the experiences of the workers during the process of bargaining for insourcing. The subthemes include: participation in the #FeesMustFall, #OutsourcingMustFall protests; students and worker solidarity

SECTION A

Below is a tabled illustration of the demographic information of the participants in this study. The table provides an analysis and reflection of the data demographics, paying specific attention to age, race and gender, nationality and levels of education and the experience of intersectionality that lies within. The significance of this information in relation to the data collected as well as the overall study is also discussed.

Table A.

Participant demographics (N=10)

Demographic category	Demographic sub-category	Number of participants	Percentage of sample
Age Group	35-40	2	20
	41-45	2	20
	46-50	3	30
	51-55	2	20
	56-60	2	20
Gender	Male	2	20
	Female	8	80

	Other	0	0
Race	Black	10	100
	Other	0	0
Nationality	South African	10	100
	International	0	0
Highest level of Education	Grade 1-7	1	10
	Attended High School	4	40
	Completed High school	3	30
	Tertiary Education	1	10

The age group significant in the table is 46-50 with a 30% representation from the sample chosen. Although all the other age groups are evenly represented (20%) whilst the least represented is the 56-60 age group which constitutes only 10% of the sample. The statistics in the Sector Skills Plan 2017/18 show that workers in the services sector are comprised of 33.2% in the 35-44 year age group and 22.1% above 50 years old. The significance of this age group is that they were all born during the apartheid era, during which they experience various forms of oppression which included limited access to opportunities such as education to access the skilled labour sector which has better remuneration and benefits.

The sample consisted of 80%women and 20% men. The representation of women in this table reflects the overrepresentation of women in the catering and cleaning sector in society. Historically and significantly visible in contemporary society, many women are still located in the support service sector which is deemed as 'natural women's work' and thus receive low remuneration and negligible social protection (Jamily, 2015). The United Nation's Development Fund for Women further reports that in the case of Millennium Development goal indicators such as literacy, employment, financial security women lag behind men. The significance of this is that

The sample consisted of 100% black racially categorized workers who represent the 98% distribution of workers in the service sector in South African universities (Services SETA, 2016) Historically, race played a significant role in the spectrum of economic development, labour relations, class mobility as well as status and power within society (Winant, 2001). The aforementioned social processes impact one's position in social life as well as the quality of

life one would be able to live. The overrepresentation of black people in the support service sector is a reflection of the deeply entrenched history of migration for wage labour in South Africa. It also mirrors the overrepresentation of black people in unskilled or low-skilled labour as well as their classification as the "working poor". It is further important to mention that historical acts such as The Mines and Works Act. 12 of 1911 perpetuated the prevalence of people of the Black racial category in unskilled labour by ensuring that opportunities for skilled labour with high remuneration were reserved for people from the White racial category.

Analysis of the level of education of the workers employed in the service sector is significant as it is interlinked with age, race, gender, nationality as well their overall classification as the 'poor working class'. Of the sample, only 30% had attended and completed Matric (Grade 12) whilst only 10% had a tertiary qualification. Statistics reported in the Services SETA (2016) indicate that only 41.4% of those employed in the service sector completed high school whilst 1.9 % had educational qualifications beyond high school. This is adequately represented in the table above. Section 29 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa stipulates that "Everyone has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education; and to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible" (Republic of South Africa 1996:13). Although the Constitution emphasises the right to education for all who live in South Africa, it should be noted that due to experiences of poverty 30 % of the participants had to leave high school without completion to find employment as a means of sustaining livelihoods. According to (van der Westhuizen, Goga and Oosthuizen , 2007) black racially categorized women, particularly those who are poorly educated account for the most vulnerable labour force positions such as casual work in the service sectors. This is evident in the above graph in relation to the overall population of support service workers at the University of the Witwatersrand.

SECTION B

Through rigorous engagement with the findings and the application of thematic analysis the researcher was able to derive the themes below from the data collected. Excerpts from interviews with the participants are also provided and critically reflected upon so that the texture of the participants' narratives are adequately documented and interpreted. This section

is divided into three themes which under each theme there are subthemes. The themes are; 1, subthemes under this theme are;

Experiences before insourcing

The researcher captured the individual "untold stories' of the experiences of the participants prior to being insourced. Within this theme are sub-themes that critically capture the discourse on the experiences of intersectionality within workplace relations.

Intergenerational cycle of poverty and the struggle for class mobility

Generally, the concept of poverty evokes images of barefooted, malnourished children walking on the dusty streets of informal settlements or street children with tattered clothing deprived of basic needs such as food and water. Yet analysed beyond this view and through the lens of the capabilities approach poverty can be seen as deprivation of access to socio-political economic needs and opportunities to live a fulfilled life (Hick, 2012). In the South African context, poverty's main source is partly linked to the historical legacy of structural socio-political and economic injustices; some of which persist in contemporary times (Gelb, 2003). It should thus be mentioned that most of the poor families in South Africa thus become victims of intergenerational poverty. By definition, intergenerational poverty is when the impoverished and deprived state of living experienced by one generation reoccurs or is perpetuated into the generation that succeeds it (Bird, 2000). This is when a generation that experienced deprivation economically, socially and politically is succeeded by one where the status quo is the same, if not of a worse standard. The 2017 Statistics South Africa Poverty Trends Report is a reflection that not only does 48 % of the South Africa population live below the poverty line but also that a large proportion of this poverty has a black face (Statistics South Africa, 2017).

> "…*being born from poor parents is a struggle shame. My father worked in the mines but because he had a lot of children, he could only buy us Christmas clothes every year. My grandfather was a farmer and my grandmother was a cleaner. My mother and aunt were domestic workers. Now I am a cleaner. All because I was born from a home where hunger was our daily bread. I am simply working hard and try every day to ensure that my children do not end up like me. Unlike me who grew up at a time where opportunities came to those whose families could provide, at least the new government is trying."(Thembi, residence cleaning)*

It was common among the participants to mention that for them, options were limited and it was always the case that those from poorer families would continue the cycle even with generations that followed. *Thembi* mentioned that her mother and aunts were also cleaners and when she was at an age of accountability, she decided to also find a job as a cleaner at Wits University. She begins her statement by describing her state of affairs as a "struggle'. The significance of this term is that from the colonial years to contemporary times, it has been a defining word for many people of the Black racial category. This is embedded in their historical experience of racism, discrimination, oppression through repressive laws such as the separate Since she mentioned that because she grew up at a time when opportunities for women of the Black racial category and those who grew up in poor families, it was difficult for her to have opportunities for a better life.

Alienation of the support service workers

According to Wolpe (1972) in order to for the cost of production to be fulfilled, the apartheid era African migrant workers worked normal hours in order to account for necessary labour for which they were paid a wage. However, it is worth noting that after they had worked for the necessary hours in the mines, they were required to perform surplus labour for which they were not remunerated but which benefitted the mines since costs such as materials, rent, depreciation etc, would be accounted for from that money (Wolpe, 1972). The same is true for support catering service staff at the University of the Witwatersrand in the post-apartheid era. The working hours that the participants who are catering staff at the dining hall are long and the remuneration thereof is low. All the respondents mentioned that they wake up very early and have to prepare for work and ensure that they arrive on time by leaving home while it is still dark. Their hours are abnormal since they work from 06:00hrs-19:00hrs and are paid using the same rates as cleaners who work from 08:00hrs-16:00hrs. This entails that the dining hall catering staff have a thirteen-hour workday and are remunerated at the same rates as those expected to report to work for only eight hours. This only makes sense from a perspective of maximizing profits with low expenses since the dining hall has to cater for students who need breakfast, lunch and supper (all of which are booked in advance).

> *…the contract we signed says we are supposed to work for five days yet we catering staff work six. Saturdays and Sundays should be looked at as overtime. In that way we could at least be paid extra and it would make us feel better. Our bodies do not even rest (Lerato, dining hall catering).*

A component of alienation is that of alienation from oneself. By virtue of Lerato saying that the working hours are strenuous and they do not afford her an opportunity for her body to rest, she feels alienated from herself. She expressed that, she would feel better if she was remunerated for the extra hours which means that she is willing to work for long periods only if she receives a return on investment. Morris (2002) explained the concept of alienation from oneself as not being able to have the human experience of satisfy individual human needs such as resting and self-care which are quintessential to self-existence. The psychological effect of insecure labour or unskilled labour is the ability to normalize exploitation and alienation so that the workers can believe that "any job is better than no job-especially if there is a salary/wage involved" (Muharwa, 2016).

> *We work abnormal hours. Other workers in the university find us here and even leave us here. It is like our bodies are machines. For example, even though my shift starts at 06:00, the dining hall opens at 06:15. So which food will be ready within 15 minutes?... wabona I have to sacrifice and be early so that by the time the first student arrives in the dining hall, everything is ready. The sad part about it is that this selfish university does not even appreciate me because I will not even get a thank you nyana for being early and I am still expected to leave at exactly 19:15. If I leave at 19:12, it will be a problem, I tell you.'(Sarah, dining hall catering)*

Sarah also mentioned that not only do they work abnormal hours, they also have to ensure that they report to work slightly earlier since their jobs require proper planning as well as implementation. Since breakfast starts at 06:15hrs, arriving at 06:00hrs gives the cooking staff only fifteen minutes to prepare meals which would technically not make sense. A such, they take it upon themselves to arrive earlier even though they are aware that they will not be remunerated for the extra time they spend at the dining hall. When she expresses that she arrives before everyone and leaves later than them she refers to the other support service workers such as cleaners, academic staff, administrative staff, management and the students that use the dining hall. These working hours also reinforce a sense of alienation for the dining hall catering staff because they spend limited time with their family members since they report to work very early and leave late.

> *I have absolutely no time to myself. On a day whereby my shift is from 06:00hrs-19:00hrs I leave whilst my children are sleeping and return when they are either*

already tired and about to sleep or I find them asleep. I do not even get to relax because I also feel exhausted when I get home and I just want to sleep. I have to cook for my husband since it is my responsibility as a wife. There are days when he helps out with the children but you know when a child cries she says "mama not tata" mommy not daddy). I still have to cook for my children, make sure their homework is done and that their uniform is ready for the next day()

Prevalence of female-headed households and intergenerational households in South Africa

The theme of prevailing single parent female-headed households in South Africa was recurrent in the responses of the participants and thus a worthwhile concept to explore. 70% of the participants were females who were heads of their households either due to the loss of their partner, absent fathers to their children as well as being part of polygamous marriages that resulted in the husband staying with a different wife. Only one of the participants was a married woman. In any form of household, regardless of its constituency an authority member is takes the position of headship either by ascription or nomination. According to (Sekhampu, 2012) generally, the headship status is ascribed to male figures in the household yet in their absence a female figure takes on this position and the household thus receives "female-headed household' status. The significance of female-headed households is that the participants face a double burden of production in the workplace as well as reproduction in the household with no assistance of their male counterparts (van Driel, 2012). That is to say, after experiencing a busy day either cleaning the residences or catering for students who take meals at the dining hall, some of the participants still need to attend two an extra shift of ensuring that household logistics are in order. This includes ensuring that the basic needs in the home are taken care of that the house itself is in order.

The only female participant (Sophia) in the sample who was married had this to say:

…most of the times the other ladies say:"Sophia, you are very blessed. At least you have a husband who can help you out with money and taking care of the children. Most of my colleagues are unmarried and the income they get from Wits is the only one they survive on. At least my husband can balance me so it helps since he pays for all the important expenses and I can just cover the gaps in the house. Even when I was earning R3000, it was not too difficult because

my husband could always pay for things. I really feel sorry for the other ladies because things are expensive these days. Ke lla le bona weitsi (I feel with them).

As mentioned Sophia in the study, the existence of her husband relieves her from the burden of taking responsibility for all household necessities since her husband contributes to ensuring that the "big expenses" are taken care of. Household headship is a phenomenon that is important in the study of livelihoods through ability to capture the perceived social and economic disparities between household headed by males and those by females (Sekhampu, 2012). The concern with female households is centred on reported high levels of poverty, unemployment resulting in income and food insecurity (Ngwenya, 2008). Although, the study does not reject the existence of impoverished male-headed households, it is imperative to mention the gendered income disparities and their potential impact on inequality, especially in context of female-headed households. Lindiwe also provided her experience of struggle in navigating single-motherhood and ensuring that she is able to meet the needs of her family with the income she receives from the University of the Witwatersrand.

...I am the only one who is employed in my house. This means I have to be the mother and father to my children. My one child smokes nyaope which means that I will have to take care of him for the rest of my life. Things have been hard since ubaba left us in 2016. I have had to take full control of the household.(Marry, residence cleaning services)

A de jure female-headed household is one which is headed by female whose marital status is single due to being unmarried, a widow or a divorcee (Sekhampu, 2012). In case Nomathemba lost her husband and has had to take on both the social and economic needs in the house. The social needs such as an authority figure for her son who has a drug addiction problem. In a study conducted by Barnard & McIntosh (2002) results showed that drug abuse in adolescents was influenced not only by peer pressure but factors such as familial composition, ineffective parental control among other social factors. In this case, not only does Sophia have to deal with the economic costs in the home but social costs of reproduction as well. The significance of exploring the phenomenon of female-headed households in the context of this study is that low remuneration from outsourcing perpetuate the cycle of poverty for such households since this individual income is expected to cover all household expenses.

Domestic migrant labour and the continued relevance of remittances in post-apartheid South Africa

A significant theme in the findings was that 100% of the participants interviewed were not originally from Gauteng and thus had to take care of more than one household with the income generated at Wits University. They had homes in other provinces where they are expected to send money on a monthly basis. Only two of the participants had houses in Gauteng whilst the rest rented a backroom or shack in the township or flats in town. The augmentation of migration in the world is reflected in the statistics in the International Labour Organization report indicating that migrant workers compose 50% of migrants in the world (ILO, 2004). According to Campbell (2011), since the 19th century with the attraction of unskilled miners from neighbouring countries, South Africa known has been known as an infamous migrant destination in the Sub-Saharan region. Having said that, it should also be noted the migration patterns in South Africa are not only international but domestic as well. In economic and demographic terms migration's primary engine is said to be the prospect of finding employment and generating a predictable income (Bekker, 2006). Migration into Gauteng (formerly known as Transvaal) was influenced by the 1896 discoveries of large quantities of gold with great commercial value and the emergence of the gold mining industry (Harrington & Closs,2016). This attracted both domestic and international migration that was regulated

The discovery of commercial quantities of gold in the former Transvaal of South Africa in 1896 came twenty years after the exploitation of diamonds in the Northern Cape. Labour practices were followed by the existing migratory pattern for domestic and foreign.

> *… I am originally from KZN. My parents left me their house when they passed away as I was the youngest. Unfortunately it was during those times of clashes between the ANC and IFP. My house was torched down and destroyed. It was very very tough in those days. Starting over was not easy especially with the little money that I am making. Having to pay rent this side since it is where I work and having to send money home so that the house can be rebuilt was very tough. As the man of the house I had to still be strong … My house was torched down and destroyed. It was very, very tough in those days.(Joseph, dining hall catering services)*

This experience shared by Joseph indicated one of the many reasons for domestic migration. In his case, the reason for migration was political unrest between the Inkatha Freedon Party

and the African National Congress between1981-1988. In that case, Joseph migrated involuntarily as he had to escape since the situation during that time was tense. This was said to be one of the biggest factional wars in South Africa which resulted in the death of many and forced removal of the people in Kwa-Zulu Natal from their homes in townships such as . According to (van Baalen,2014) one of the major cause of the conflict was the failure of the ANC and IFP to reach consensus about the demise of the apartheid regime following the Soweto uprisings in 1976. This case indicates one of the many reasons the participants in the study had to leave their homes in provinces outside considered rural in order to find employment.

> *I live in Ivory Park in a rented shack but I am originally from Limpopo. My son stays with my mother and my siblings back home so I always have to send money at the end of the month. My mother is a pensioner so she does not make enough money to take care of everyone. I have to send money home so that at least she does not carry the weight alone.*

An important sub-theme of domestic migration is the relevance of remittances for support service workers. All the participants mentioned that they provide financially for more than one household since they are not originally from Gauteng. It was common among the participants to mention that the income generated from the university was insufficient as not only did they have to take care of costs at their current place of residence but they had to send money to their families that live in rural areas across South Africa. The remittances are used to take care of household necessities as well as to ensure that the children of the participants and other members of the households are taken care of.

> *… for me home is in the Eastern Cape. That is where I am originally from. As you can hear I speak isiXhosa. I currently live with my youngest daughter in a backroom in Soweto. When our parents passed away, my sisters and I were forced to go look for jobs. They found jobs in the Eastern Cape but I had to move to Soweto…(Nosiphiwe, dining hall staff)*

There is a strong gender dimension to South Africa's domestic migration patterns. Domestic migration in the apartheid was characterised by the predominant relocation of Black males from rural to urban areas in search of employment (Fintel & Moses, 2017). Emphasis is placed on the Black man as the However, when the influx controls were abolished in 1986, the relocation of many females for the presumed purpose of joining their partners or becoming

domestic workers took place (Fintel & Moses, 2017). During this period was labour became feminized although it is argued that the surplus influx was met with low female labour absorption and thus resulted in high rates of female unemployment (van der Westhuizen, Gogga and Oosthuizen, 2007).

Within this theme, it should also be noted that there is a crisis of ownership of homes as 80% of the participants were renting. The Group Areas Act of 1950 imposed conditions that ensured that occupation of property and interracial property transactions was limited. This led to a limit in the number of ownerships of homes in urban areas by people of the black racial category. Ownership of homes was limited to the Bantustans or rural areas Although post-apartheid South Africa permits freedom of movement, it should be noted that the apartheid legacy in the spatial and economic population distribution with a large proportion of black people living in informal settlements, townships, RDP houses and renting in backrooms (Reed, 2013). The participants that mentioned that they rented in backrooms in the townships as well as flats are a reflection of the limited proportion of property ownership within the black racial category. The significance of this within the study is that, through low remuneration, the participants are unable to receive home loans to buy homes of their own. Having said that, the two who owned homes, have homes in the homelands as it is said to be affordable as opposed to the urban areas.

Multiple livelihood strategies

The distinct livelihoods under South Africa's economy are beautifully captured by the "two world character' theory proposed which describes South Africa as characterized by two worlds, one globally oriented, professional, smart, modern with the latter backward, impoverished and marginalized (Krige, 2011). Income inequality, racism, systematic exclusion and other forms of oppression account for the disparities in livelihoods for South Africans. 38% of South Africa's income disparities are accounted for by unemployment and whilst 62% is accounted for wage differentials of those in the labour force. A critical analysis of income inequality demands consideration of people's access to wage income, remittances, social assistance in the form of grants, income from investments and entrepreneurial income(Gelb, 2003). These sources of income assist individuals in maintaining a livelihood and thus play a critical role in class positioning of individuals in South Africa. Having thus said, it should be noted that the main source of income in South African homes is wage income albeit there is a

high reliance on social assistance from the lower class 40% poor working class (Scully,2016). According to Thembi (residence cleaning staff):

> *"A salary of R3000 is peanuts. There is not much you can do with that kind of money. After paying rent where I stay and subtracting money for transport, I would be left with R1500 from which I would have to send home for my eldest son and my daughter. I also have a grandchild that needs to go to crèche. So the money was not enough. At this point I am still repaying loans I took out from the local mashonisa (microldender)…"(Thembi, residence cleaning service)*

For a majority of the working poor in order to account for their livelihood expenses, the option is borrowing money from voracious 'loan sharks' hereinafter referred to as *mashonisas* (microlenders) since they do not qualify for loans at registered financial institutions and banks such as Standard Bank, Amalgamated Banks of South Africa (ABSA), First National Bank(FNB) and Capitec. Bachiesi (2011) says that the unemployed "casual", outsourced workers become prey to micro-lenders who offer loans at heightened interest rates and unreasonable terms and conditions such as taking their identity documents or valuables in the event that they are unable to pay back the loans. Sarah's experience shows the extent to which low remuneration affects the livelihood of the workers as they resort to measures such as incurring debt at exaggerated interest rates and exploitative conditions. Since the income is too low, the participants lived on a hand to mouth existence which needed to be supplemented by other forms of income such as informal loans (Bachiesi, 2011).

> *… I do not like loans and I have always told myself that no matter how broke I get, I would not resort to it. But life is hardly in our control. So when my husband passed away, I had to take a loan to continue paying for my children's school fees that year. I resorted to making magwinya (fat cakes/vetkoeks) and having my oldest daughter who is unemployed sell them every mornings. I have taught her how to bake so when I leave the house for work she starts baking according to the orders we have. I wake up at 05:00 and prepare the vetkoeks so that my daughter can sell them from 06:00 until they are finished. That is the money I used to pay back the loan. I am not done yet but I will be soon (Marry, cleaning staff).*

According to Scully (2016) the working poor tend to have material interests beyond their place of work in order to maintain their livelihoods. Livelihood survival strategies vary for different people. Whilst others resort to borrowing money from micro-lenders in order to

fulfil the daily expenses in their households, people such as Marry prefer to be entrepreneurs through informal businesses. As a means of supplementing wage income she and her daughter make *magwinya* and sell them to the local community. In the context of social work's role towards poverty alleviation, social entrepreneurship is advocated for as a comprehensive means of connecting social development goals to market priorities in a manner that is beneficial to the broader society (McInlay, 2004).

> *.. the only way to be able to buy something big is if you can join mogodisano (stokvel). I was able to buy myself a TV (television) when it was my turn to get paid since the amount is a lump sum. The stokvel was between me and some of the colleagues here at the residence and others who are catering, maintenance and security staff. The money is helpful. I also have a society at home where we save R2000 every month so that in December we can buy groceries in bulk so that we can enjoy Christmas and new year. At times I would have to get a loan so that I do not miss the payments since you get a fine if you do not pay on time (Thobile, residence cleaning service staff)*

Due to increased domestic migration influenced by a change in the economy of South Africa and rapid industrialisation in the 1900s, extended family's role in providing an informal safety net through agricultural means faced erosion. As such those who had migrated to urban areas needed to continue the trend by joining *stokvels* which were social capital networks that also assisted in moments of need. Stokvels are societies are an informal social security mechanism or mutual aid systems whereby members make monetary contributions to save for contingencies or to cater for the gaps in formal social protection(Matuku & Kaseke, 2014). Stokvels originated in the nineteenth century in the Eastern Cape when funds were pooled by farmers from one stokvel to another in an effort to purchase cattle (Kritzenger, 2012). Following the discovery of gold migration of Black racially categorised people(especially men) took with them knowledge on stokvels, with specific focus on burial societies(Matuku & Kaseke, 2014). The significance of these stokvels was to ensure that their family members would be buried in a dignified manner (Matuku & Kaseke, 2014). According to Kaseke (2000) although *stokvels* are categorised as an informal social security structure, they have warranted the survival of many through periods of crisis. These societies are still very relevant in today's economy. Thobile mentioned that for her stokvels afforded her the opportunity of buying furniture and electronics in her house which she would not be able to afford with her meagre salary. The benefits of *stokvels* are not only the financial outputs but also the ability for those involved to form social networks. Social capital is the network inclusive of a person's relatives,

friends, and acquaintances who are an asset and a safety net in times of crisis or need (Lent, Cook & Burt 2001 as cited in Muberekwa & Nkomo, 2016). In the context of *stokvels,* the benefits are not only limited to the monetary contributions towards emergencies such as the loss of a loved one but the ability for the *stokvel* members to provide emotional support as well as labour in terms of funerals or other events where applicable.

> Thembi said: *... the money I send home is usually not enough. So you know what I do? I tell my 15 year old daughter to use the grant money to buy herself some toiletries and pay for her hair. If there is anything extra she can use it as pocket money.. my mother buys food with the money I send so at least the grant balances me..*

Thembi mentioned an important livelihood strategy which some of the participants also dependent on, namely: social grants. Because her child is still a minor, she qualifies for child social grant which she collects monthly. The significance of this livelihood strategy is that it is a social protection scheme in the "form of state philanthropy - an attempt by the state to deal with the 'plight of the poor and marginalised' (van Driel, 2009). Although social grants were a 'poverty alleviation strategy", critics argue that they reinforce poverty and inequality in society. In this case, social grants are a valuable livelihood strategy as they assist in meeting some of Thembi's daughter's need.

Experiences during outsourcing must fall

Whilst the protest demonstrations such as *#FeesMustFall and #OutsourcingMustFall account* highly for the achievement of insourcing at the University of the Witwatersrand and other universities in the country, it should be noted that the process also included important events such as numerous mass meetings, meetings with management at the universities, council meetings, trade union meetings and meetings with the government representatives in higher education and training. Observed at surface level, protest demonstrations are about the frustrations of workers in terms of low remuneration, insecure employment relationships and a call for improved working conditions. However, it is also desperate call for comprehensive social inclusion through access to the material benefits thereof and the right to be respected and taken seriously (Cambir, 2015). The participants gave accounts of their experiences during the process of attaining the goal of #OutsourcingMustFall in 2015 and they are presented below.

Participation in the #FeesMustFall and #OutsouringMustFall movement

All the participants that were interviewed mentioned that they participated in numerous gatherings as well as protests during the 2015 #FeesMustFall and #OutsourcingMustFall. The significance of being part of the strike is the opportunity for each of the workers to take a stand against management so that their concerns could be addressed. At the point of departure it should be reemphasised that albeit the *#FeesMustFall* and #OutsourcingMustFall movements were a turning point and a historical moment in the lives of many students and workers since 1976, the struggle itself has a history. As discussed in the literature review, protest action against the management at the University of Witwatersrand and other institutions alike, have been brewing since the turn of the century. In adequately capturing the history of the struggle for free education and insourcing which is the focus of this study, it should be noted that the role of historically-black universities such as Tshwane University of Technology, Fort Hare University as well as Cape Peninsula University of Technology deserves documentation. In 2009, the workers at Tshwane University of Technology protested against wages and the retrenchment of workers as they were employed under contracts with private companies. This was demonstrated through a shutdown as well as burning down of facilities.

> **…***my experience of the strikes? Well, it was good. We always attended because we could not be left alone since we all wanted the same things. It was a good experience because we could express our anger and sing like the days of apartheid. I will never forget the 2015 strike…(Lindiwe, residence cleaning service)*

A distinct feature of the 2015 student and worker protests across South African universities which attracted both national and international attention was that the historically-white universities such as University of Cape Town and the University of the Witwatersrand were at the forefront of the picket line. The pioneers of these protests in 2015 was University of Cape Town's *RhodesMustFall* . *#RhodesMustFall* was subsequently followed by *#Open Stellenbosch* , the uprising gained crisis status when the University of Witwatersrand SRC initiated a movement called *#FeesMustFall* after conceding the discussion of a 0% fee increase with the council at Wits University (Commission of Inquiry into . A significant date to document for this study is the 21st of October 2015 when a renewed interest for the student protest was that of including the demands of university "support service workers".

Students and workers solidarity as a means of demands for insourcing. Amandla Awethu !

Another common theme among the participants was the importance of unity and solidarity in achieving the mandate of #OutsourcingMustFall. Solidarity for the participants was synonymous with "united we stand and divided we fall". They mentioned that a core component of the protests and the process of bargaining was ensuring that the picket line was full and that the workers were fully invested in the cause of ensuring that they would soon become full-time employees of the University of Witwatersrand. Ben mentioned that during the strikes they were cautioned of the danger in being found on the other side of justice (amagundwane- rats, informants). Although the literal translation of the term "amagundwane" means rats, in the context of protests, these are the informants who usually side with management or whoever the protest is against (Motshegoa, 2005). In the apartheid era, many informants were killed for the betrayal of the cause or movement which is a breach of solidarity.

> **…***the only way for action to be taken by management is for us to be in numbers. I think what made the strike to be taken serious was the fact that we were all so united. We were all serious about what we wanted. We all knew that we are stronger when we are united. Even other universities made sure that they continued striking until all of us were able to receive the money we deserved. Until we were insourced in numbers. Even in apartheid, we had to be united. We had to show up in numbers and at times we risked our lives. (Ben, dining hall catering service)*

Individual concerns alone would not account for the success of the 2015 #FeesMustFall and #OutsourcingMustFall protests in addressing the issue of worker exploitation at the different universities. The workers had a strict reliance on solidarity as a means of sustenance as well as ensuring that the protests continued till management at the different universities surrendered to their demand. Solidarity from students, workers, academic staff and the country at large ensured that not only was the story of the students and workers documented but it was attended to. Solidarity and unity was fostered across gender, cultural lines and employment status

> *… we were all united throughout the strikes. Especially in 2015. Some of the members in management tried to scare us but we showed up in numbers and that is what helped us achieve the goal of been insourced as complete staff of the University of Witwatersrand…we were not afraid because we knew what the end goal was..*

Ben emphasises the year 2015 since it was a turning point and the year where universities across South Africa finally conceded to the demands of the workers to be insourced. It was a significant year since the protest ended it "victory' as opposed to previous attempts such as #Hunger strike in 2012 because of the refusal to give in to any threats posed by the university management. An important characteristic of protest action is the experience of violence usually in terms of clashes with police officials. Similar to the historical apartheid experience of militancy from police force response to protest action, the #FeesMustFall and #OutsourcingMustFall protests were a site of violence and struggle (Khubeka, 2016).

Dynamics of the bargaining process: The bargaining tables as a 'male preserve'.

An important aspect of any protest and/or social movement, especially in the context of labour relations, it is important to address the role of trade unions. As mentioned earlier, the achievement of insourcing was dependent on protests but also trade union representation at the bargaining tables so that the concerns of the workers can be brought to management's attention. In all the historical labour rights movements in South Africa such as the May Day march in 1895 and the Marikana Massacre in 2012, the significance of trade unions was eminent**.** The role of trade unions in organized labour is the protection of worker rights through their provision of a progressively structured agenda for the demands of the workers and thus facilitate action towards achieving those demands (Bhorat, Gogga & van der Westhuizen, 2012). In the case of #InsourcingMustFall as well as the current protest at the University of the Witwatersrand there were numerous trade unions that represented the workers. Their role was to mediate between the workers they represent and the management of the University of the Witwatersrand.

In terms of the experiences of the protest, the participants mentioned that it was not always a space for individual concerns but rather a space whereby discussions were around issues deemed as collectively applicable. A theme that emerged within these discussions was that the bargaining process consisted of trade union representatives relaying information from their meetings with the university management. The face of trade unions were male and thus it created a disconnect for many women as it appeared that their roles in the struggle, were limited to supporting through chanting and singing.

> *…even in the apartheid days, it is the men who were in front addressing the police. It is them who are able to speak on our behalf as they are strong and can be listened to.*

As women we hardly stood in front and some of the concerns we voice out are not taken note of. When I raised a concern about issues concerning those of us who are considered as the "old-group", Mr Shipalane told me that it is not something that can be addressed right now since it has passed. But when Mr X who was also part of us the old group said the same thing in a different meeting they told him that they would look into it. I did not complain much as I know that usually leaders are men and they are often the ones that can be taken seriously. Even when speaking to the Vice chancellor, it is usually the men who do it...our role is to support them..*

A protest and other social movements alike are political spaces whereby although there is solidarity under one cause, there is also the presence of experiences embodied by interplay between race, gender, class, ethnicity and dynamics of power entrenched within that system. According to (Langa & Kiguwa, 2013) many labour protests are characterized by the existence of gendered practices which legitimize the dominant position of men and the subordination of their female counterparts as well as males who are considered as 'weak'. Within protests there is the existence of hegemonic masculinity which in this case is male domination over women as well as 'subordinate men' (Connell, 2005).

EXPERIENCES OF BEING INSOURCED

Although insourcing at the University of the Witwatersrand is still in its primacy, the policy implementation has begun. The experiences of the participants with regards to insourcing vary largely. In 2017, the University of the Witwatersrand brought more than 1500 workers into their payroll through insourcing as a concession of the demands made by students, workers and the society at large (Dlamini, 2017). The feasibility of the implementation of insourcing at the University of Witwatersrand was made possible by budget cuts on operational costs which included a 6% reduction from the faculty budget as well as an 8% reduction from the professional and administrative units at the university (Gumede, 2017). Outlined below are the benefits and limitations of insourcing experienced by the participants in the study.

Social Inclusion

The social inclusion embedded in a change from outsourcing to insourcing is the integration of the workers into a secure labour market with benefits so that they have an opportunity to access to stable income and comprehensive social protection (Saloojee, 2011)

…One of the happiest moments in my life was the day we wore our uniform for the first time. We felt like we are finally full members of the university we have worked so hard for. Looking back at my days when we were expected to use different toilets to change as well as a different entrance from the rest of the people in the university, I finally feel like I belong (Thembi, residence cleaning service)

Thembi expressed her experience of the first day she wore the navy blue uniform with the emblem of the University of the Witwatersrand with so much vigour. For her it not only brought great joy that she was finally recognized as a full member of the University of the Witwatersrand, it made her feel that she has been liberated. She mentioned an important point about how historically, they were expected to use designated entrances into the university which was a great means of separating them from the rest of the members of the university. This kind of system resembled the apartheid law that regulated the use of facilities, namely the Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953. It regulated the separate use of facilities such as public beaches, parks, toilets, public buildings and forms of transport between whites and non-whites in South Africa (Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953). Although this exclusion was not on the basis of race, the support service staff were made to feel inferior over those deemed as full members of the university; namely students, administrative staff, campus control(campus protection services) , academic and teaching staff as well as management. The feeling of wearing the blue uniform made her feel like a complete member of the university. In this case she felt that her dignity has been restored.

.. wearing uniform with the Wits logo was a great experience for me. I can proudly walk around with it before and after work because I am very proud. This is a struggle that took very long but in the end, it felt good to be recognized.. (Lindiwe, residence cleaning service).

Lindiwe shared the same sentiments as Thembi with regards to the experience of being insourced. She embraced the uniform and said that it made her feel very proud to be affiliated with the university as a recognized member. She too mentioned the word "struggle' to capture the journey towards insourcing. Social inclusion in this case also plays a major role in one's identity as well as the meanings they attach to their social life. Being insourced increased their affect and self-esteem. The importance of this subtheme is that not only were the workers included onto the payroll of the University of the Witwatersrand but they felt that they could now be part of the institutional culture.

Wage Increase

The guidelines set by the Department of Higher education and Training (DHET) indicated that in order for insourcing to be beneficial to the workers and feasible for the universities, salary and wage expenditure should range from 58% to 62% of the university's overall revenue (Commission of Inquiry into Higher Education and Training, 2016). This is not inclusive of research income and revenue generated through the third income streams such as commercial and entrepreneurial income and philanthropic contributions of the university (Commission of Inquiry into Higher Education and Training, 2016).

As such at the University of the Witwatersrand, the wages of the workers were increased from R3000 to a R7860,50 gross salary and R6000 after deductions (Dlamini, 2017).While literature suggests that secure forms of employment such as direct and permanent employment with benefits potentially leads to desired outcomes and employee satisfaction, the study found that participants have both shared and varying views in terms of their experience with insourcing at Wits University. Ben's experience of insourcing was as follows:

> *… I think insourcing is good. Although the money is not a lot, things are better. Phela they doubled our pay.. Being a man who cannot provide for his family is problematic…I had promised to marry the mother of my children but it was difficult to save up for lobola (bride price). At the end of 2018 I will make sure that she officially becomes my wife…I stay close to the CBD but originally I am from Venda... that is where home is and that is where my children are. Even with the little money that I have, I still have to send money home for my children to eat. Phela it must show that they have a father who is employed so insourcing will make that happen for me..(Ben, dining hall catering)*

A majority of the participants mentioned that for them insourcing was a step in the right direction. Ben expressed that for him, it was a good thing since his salary was doubled so he could now afford things that he could not with the previous salary. Ben was the youngest male in the sample whose experience evoked the importance of addressing the intersectionality embedded in experiences of young Black men in the poor working class. The global financial crisis as well as South Africa's socioeconomic conditions impact on the ability of young black men in achieving the ideals of masculinity which include having secure employment, getting married and/or having children in order to establish households of their own (Hunter, 2006). In the interview Ben shared that by virtue of his salary having increased, it meant that he could now afford to do the "manly" thing of being able to finally marry his partner as well as still be

able to take care of his children through monthly remittances. This was the positive impact that insourcing has had on his life which included providing him with a sense of dignity as a Black man and ability for an improvement in his livelihood. Marginalization and disempowerment as experienced by young Black poor working men requires interpretation at a level that takes into account micro-psychological issues such as self-esteem related to what it means to be a man as well as macro-sociological issues such as financial determinants of manhood (Xaba, 2001).

It should be noted that the wage increases also assisted those who are female household heads as not only did it provide an opportunity to cover expenses, it also created for a platform for liabilities in the form of loans or accounts at stores to be settled. Below is an account from Nomaswazi about her experience in terms of wage increases from insourcing.

> *... for me insourcing has been helpful .. This December was the first time I was able to buy my children a lot of clothes. I even bought them Nike sneakers so they could also look nice. Unlike in the previous years where the salary was too low, I was this year was not black Christmas..so far I have managed to close my account at Jet. I paid it off in November and I asked them to close the account.. I even asked them to cut the card in half.. from now on I will buy clothes for my children in cash. I only have two more accounts to pay off and a loan which I am hoping to do in the next year and a half at least.. it is relieving to be able to see a debt being fully paid. I did not anticipate this. I want to focus on saving and start buying things cash with stokvel money..(Nomaswazi, residence cleaning service).*

Nomaswazi mentioned that for her, insourcing was very beneficial because it allowed her to increase the level of consumerism which otherwise would have not been possible. Consumerism as a Marxist concept captures the ability of the worker to participate in mainstream economic activities such as buying goods and accessing services that would not be possible under low income (Firat, Kutucuoglu, ArikanSaltik & Ungel, 2013). She also mentioned that with the increase, her experience of the Festive season, particularly Christmas was very pleasant. Generally, in Black South African communities, *Christmas* is a holiday were family members gather together and cook meals that are referred to as (7 colours) because of the variety of foods involved (Ngwane, 2003). This type of meal is not available on a daily basis for families that are impoverished and as such it is an important tradition. Furthermore, the significance of Nomaswazi's reference to Christmas is the notoriety of the expression: "wait until 'Christmas time" when a child makes a request that requires money (Ngwane, 2003). This

echoes the experience of many children living in the rural areas with parents working in the city who defer their receiving of gifts or clothes to the Festive season as that is the time when the money they will have saved throughout the year will be enough to buy the clothes (Ngwane, 2003). Another very important aspect that she mentioned was the ability for her to use the money from the salary increase to be able to settle her debts by paying off her clothing accounts. The significance of this with respect to livelihoods is that she felt that she would now not be dependent on credit in order to buy clothes for her children. Her excitement and use of the term "relieved" in this case can be analysed as a feeling of liberation especially when she asked a staff member at the retail store to cut the card in half and close that chapter completely. This she would not have been able to do with the previous meagre salary. Furthermore, although the increase in salary has not allowed her to pay of all her accounts ll at once, she is still optimistic that she will be able to pay of the rest of the money. The level of assurance embodied in insourcing allows her to feel that great things lie ahead.

Secure employment

In the event that an organization needs to reduce operational costs it is those employed casually, on a contract basis or as temporary staff who are at risk of dismissal or retrenchment (Coetzee, 2000). As such income security is a benefit of insourcing that the workers at the dining hall and those who clean residences are able to enjoy. Income security is defined as the access to adequate and regular income so that a stable and decent standard of living can be maintained (World Labour Report, 2017 as cited in the ILO report 2017). When the workers were outsourced, their job status was insecure as they could face retrenchment any time with no access to trade union representation.

> *….Eish, its only now that we are under Wits that they can't just fire us like we do not matter. Back then they didn't beg. They will tell you straight that "I can get rid of you now and tomorrow there will be someone standing where you are standing.' For me I always felt like I did not have rights. Right now it is better. Even waking up in the morning is easier. ' (Ben, dining hall catering).*

The insourcing of the dining hall catering and residence cleaning staff at the University of the Witwatersrand afforded them an opportunity to be covered under section of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (No. 75 of 1997) which stipulates the obligation of the employer to provide the employee with a contract. Details in the contractual agreement should provide the details of the employment conditions and the details of the institution so

that the employee can be protected from unfair dismissal in the event of a potential disagreement with the employer in whose hands lie the purse strings. Ben mentioned that while under Ukweza management, it was quite easy for one to be dismissed or retrenched under circumstances whereby a contract would have protected the individual. This shows the nature of insecure forms of employment as they lead to individuals being treated as though they are disposable. Job insecurity is not only a necessity in terms of protecting the worker in the case of inevitable crisis but also increases self-esteem, self-respect and ability for the worker to have improved attitude towards their job.

> *…I am just happy that at least now we can't be retrenched over simple things like striking when my rights are abused. When I was retrenched in 2015, it was a very painful experience because I did not receive any salary.. I am glad that the contracts we signed now protect us from being fired as though we have nothing important to offer.. (Lerato, dining hall catering)*

The significance of secure employment through insourcing is also accounted for by the feeling of being taken seriously. Lerato expressed that for her retrenchment was a dehumanizing experience as she felt that in retrenching them, management did not respect their dignity as well as their worth in terms of the company. She felt as though she was disposable. As such, signing a permanent contract that protects workers unwarranted dismissal is a form of reassurance of respect and dignity for the workers.

Employee benefits

Access to benefits such as bursaries for their dependants was among the themes shared by the participants in the study**.** These are benefits that were only accessible to permanent staff members such as the administrative, campus control (campus protection services), academic staff and management.

> *'…my son got four distinctions. He was doing matric in 2017. The tears I cried when a student here at the university explained his results to me were enough to fill a bucket. He sent me a message and I asked the student to explain what it meant. I am cleaner and I only went up to standard 4. So I cannot really understand the difficult English words…… He was in matric and is now accepted at Wits. Since the university promised us bursaries for our children, I am hopeful he will be able to study. He is my last hope*

at really escaping this life of poverty. At least if he can study and get a good job, he will not end up like me' (Nomvula, dining hall cleaning service).

Nomvula provided an account of the day she received the news that her son had passed his matric (grade 12) with a university exemption. Her limited command of the English language as well as limited literacy skills made it difficult for her to understand the text message sent by her son so she had to ask one of the students at the residence where she is a cleaner. She could not contain her level of joy when she realised that since she is employed permanently, she has access to a university scholarship for her son. The employee benefit of a university tuition subsidy for dependents of the workers can be looked upon as a step in the right direction in terms of reaching the transformation goals of the University of the Witwatersrand. It provides access not only to the university space but an opportunity for Nomvula's son (and children of other workers who are eligible) to remedy the situation at home. Furthermore, a long-term contribution could be that through obtaining a university qualification, her son is in a better position for class upward mobility. According to (Tonheim & Matose, 2013) qualifications obtained through tertiary education provide a platform for access into the skilled labour for and enhances one's chances of a career debut with a relatively high salary as opposed to the unskilled sector. Upward class mobility is the ability to ascend into a higher social class due to access to economic opportunities and other commodities such as assets (Solon, 2002) Upward class mobility is also affected by the economic background with research showing that those from poor backgrounds tend to move up the social class ladder at a slower pace than those from privileged backgrounds (Tonheim & Matose, 2013). Although education is not a direct determinant of upward social mobility, it provides the platform for access into a skilled labour force that has better remuneration, social protection and coverage than the unskilled labour force. In the case that Nomaswazi's son completes his studies and becomes employed, he has the potential to assist in terms of the livelihood at home by providing an added source of income. This is the long-term benefit of insourcing which the support service staff at the university will receive.

Social Protection

Secure forms of employment are not only characterized by decent remuneration in the form of decent salaries or wages, but also include access to social protection schemes for workers (Cohen& Moodley, 2012). It is worth noting that South Africa's social security system is not comprehensive and was referred to by The Committee for a Comprehensive Social

Security Inquiry (2002) as 'loosely woven'. That is to say, the social security system in South Africa, especially social insurance does not yet adequately cater for the needs of all its citizens especially those who live in impoverished settings and those with insecure job relations. A point worth noting is that at the 2016 NEDLAC EXCO meeting, a reform paper for a comprehensive social security system in South Africa was tabled by the government (Comprehensive Social Security in South Africa, 2016). The document presented South African government's prospects at achieving a comprehensive social security system which includes the introduction of minimum benefits for all workers such as Unemployment Insurance Fund.

One of the benefits of insourcing that the participants were able to speak of was the issue of social protection benefits part of the employment package such as the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) and Provident Fund. When the participants were employed on a contractual basis through external private companies, they had no access to these benefits and thus were not protected in the case of loss of employment. It sure be noted that 70% of the participants had experienced retrenchment at some point in their time of employment by UKWEZA. Two of the participants mentioned that they were retrenched on the basis of striking instead of fulfilling their duties in one of the dining halls in Parktown. They were unemployed for three months and only reinstated after the #InsourcingMustfall protests in 2015 when the students and the Wits Solidarity Committee petitioned against management. Now that they have been insourced, the participants mentioned that they accepted UIF with gratitude as it could protect them or at least cater in the case that they would be unemployed. Social insurance is a vital component of social protection which Kaseke (2011) refers to as an "anti-poverty form of social security which prevents insured individuals from sliding into poverty in the event of being exposed to a social risk". The ever-changing economy and the nature of the employment relationships in South Africa make the possibility of someday being retrenched or for individuals suffering job loss an inevitable experience. In that case, it remains imperative for employees to be covered through safety net for contingencies whereby a stable flow of income is disturbed. The Unemployment Insurance Fund operates through the payment in the form of deductions of 1% from the employee's salary as well as an equal contribution by the employer as a means of insuring the worker in case of unemployment (Unemployment Insurance Amended Act, No 32 of 2003).

*For me I am glad that we now at least have UIF and provident fund. Phela under contract we did not. Many of the people who worked here during the earlier years with me still have nothing to show that they worked at Wits. We once went to a funeral of our colleague, after 10 years at Wits and his funeral was at his home which was a shack. Imagine, after all those years (*Lerato, dining hall catering, 2018).

Lerato mentioned that a benefit she was grateful for was the Unemployment Insurance Fund as well as Provident Fund which are workplace social insurance benefits. In most African countries, the ability for workers to access the social insurance system is hindered by the low wages as this would mean utilizing income that would otherwise be used to cater for basic needs in their households (Kaseke, 2005 as cited in Triegaard, 2005). Under the Unemployment Insurance Act, 63 of 2001 and the Unemployment Insurance Contributions Act, 4 of 2002 employers are required to register all employees with the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF). Since the workers who were outsourced have now been brought onto the payroll at the University of the Witwatersrand, it is the institution's responsibility to ensure that they all have access to Unemployment Insurance Fund Benefits.

…I am grateful that at least now we have UIF and provident fund. What our trade union leader explained was that every month there would be deductions from our salaries which would help us save for our pension. At least now I know that when I finally retire, I will have a lump sum to build a house for my children. This is a benefit that did not exist under Ukweza management. Even when we were retrenched in 2015 for striking, we did not get any money. At least now I was told that UIF will give me some money nyana during times when I am unemployed… this is comforting to know… (Thando ,residence cleaning service).

Now that the workers have access to Provident Fund, it allows them to save in anticipation of their pension so that they can receive a lump sum which would not be possible under the outsourced contracts with their previous employers. In South Africa, workers in the informal wage economy or unskilled and low wage employment are not covered by the Provident fund which is a form of social insurance for retirement from an occupation (Triegaard, 2012). Provident fund is a safety net or social insurance mechanism achieved through employer contribution in the form of a lump-sum benefit paid out to workers when they retire from their jobs or a payout to their dependents in the event of their death (Manamela, 2015).

Limitations in the implementation of insourcing at the University of the Witwatersrand:

Lack of recognition for long-service of workers

Even as the majority of the participants shared a positive response to insourcing and felt that it had improved their livelihoods, there are a few who believed that implementation of this policy did not take their interests into heart. Zenande shared her experience of insourcing where she expressed feelings of disappointment and using terms such as "betrayal".

> *.. for me insourcing really breaks my heart… yazi my child, I do not even like talking about it because it brings me so much pain. I have been working at Wits University since 2002. This means that I was one of the people who were initially outsourced to Ukweza and were earning R1200. Due to the number of years I worked at Wits, my salary kept on increasing with those R50's and some years R1000. So when they finally implemented outsourcing and raised the amount to R600 for everyone, to me it didn't make a difference because I was already earning that amount. How does someone who worked for 15 years get the same salary as the one who just came this year?(*Zenande, dining hall catering)

Zenande mentioned that she felt as though the system was unfair towards her and that the policy was implemented unfairly. Considering the fact that she had worked for the university for over twenty years and had experienced the transition from being a permanent employee to being retrenched then absorbed by the private company Ukweza and finally being insourced; she felt cheated by the system. She felt that although they were all meant to receive decent increases, workers such as her who had work experience of over two decades deserved long-service recognition. She felt that since she had been at the University for very long (1993-2018), her salary was almost R6000. In that case, when they increased the amount so that everyone could be on equal footing, it was an unfair case. As such, her experience of outsourcing was negative. Be that as it may, it is worth noting that one of the points on the agenda of the meeting with NUMSA was that of considering workers who had been with the university longer than ten years so that they can get long-service recognition (observation, January 25, 2018).

Compulsory medical aid deductions from salaries

According to Naylor (1988) in the year 1988 medical aid schemes and the private healthcare sector co-opted a very limited proportion of black racially categorized people due to rapidly increasing cost of private healthcare in contrast to limited access to medical aid coverage for the black racially categorized. During that period, access to private healthcare services was racially determined since the white racially categorised had the privilege of prepayment plans subsidized by the government and private companies (Domisse, 1988). Although there are significant improvement in the number of Black racially categorised people with medical aid coverage, access is not equal for all South Africans due to the structure of the medical aid schemes.

> *…I am very pleased with my salary but the only problem I have is the medical aid issue. We were told that it is "compulsory". Yes, that is the English word that was used. They told us that we have to get medical aid cover which will be deducted from our salaries. This means that after they have taken that money, I will be earning the way I used to back then… (*Joseph, dining hall catering services)

One of the agenda points for the worker protests at the university of the Witwatersrand was the issue of medical aid being compulsory for the workers. The tone with which Joseph used when referring to the medical aid cover as a "compulsory" deduction is underpinned by a feeling of oppression. He, like the other workers who were part of the protest expressed disapproval of this cover as it would be too expensive to cover with the current salary (participant observation, January 23, 2018).

> *.. I do not understand why we are being forced to get medical aid. I always go to the clinic when I am sick and that's where I take my children too. What bothers me the most is that even with that huge amount that will be deducted; it only covers me and not my children. So what is the point? I really do not mind going to the clinic when I am sick..*(Nomaswazi, dining hall catering services).

Nomaswazi mentioned that for her there was no need for medical aid as she was used to going to the clinic whenever she was ill. It felt like a form of oppression. Although clinics and public hospitals are generally notorious for poor service, staff shortages, shortages in terms of medication as well as poor facilities, the participants opted for them since they were at their level of affordability (Harrison, 2009). For many of the poor working class, their low purchasing power in contrast to heightened prices of private healthcare, the use of public

hospitals and clinics in times of ill-health is normalized (Basu, Andrews, Kishore, Panjabi, Stuckler, 2012). Nomaswazi expressed disinterest in the medical aid due to the amount of money that will be deducted from her salary which will limit her purchasing power and destabilize her newly established livelihood under insourcing. She increase in wage income will be compromised by the deductions and

Discussion of findings

The analysis of the experiences of the dining hall catering staff as well as the residence cleaning staff from before, during and after insourcing display numerous experiences of intersectionality entrenched in the daily experiences of many Black racially categorized poor working class South Africans. Before insourcing, the participants mentioned that experienced both social and economic burdens that affected their ability to maintain a stable livelihood. As literature suggests, those embedded in a system of insecure labour practices such as outsourcing are vulnerable to contingencies such as unwarranted job loss such as retrenchment. Firstly, the prevalence of intergenerational poverty pushed many of the participants into finding jobs are insecure as a means of generating income even if the income was not sufficient to sustain a stable livelihood. The intergenerational poverty indicative of the historical imbalances in the South African economy and the ability for upward social mobility. Due to low remuneration under outsourcing the participants relied on multiple sources of income generation such as informal loans from mashonisas (microlenders), stokvels to save money as well as entrepreneurship in the informal sector. These are the livelihood strategies that the participants used to supplement the low income from the universities. Migration into Gauteng province from their respective homelands also contributes to the low numbers of urban property ownership as the low income needs to be further distributed to family members in the rural areas (homelands). Furthermore, the lack of social protection prohibited the participants from getting housing loans in order to pay for mortgage as such the majority of them rented backrooms or flats. These experiences substantiate the literature review sources that emphasize the burdens faced by outsourced support service staff at the University of the Witwatersrand.(van der Walt, Bolsman & Martin, 2002, Bezuidenhout & Fakier, 2006). The participants also spoke of their experiences of alienation and exploitation which included extended working hours with payment rates at an 8-hourly rate. They also mentioned how before they were insourced, they anticipated job loss since it was as though they were disposable.

The experiences during the process of achieving insourcing are also an interesting site as they display experiences of struggle, resistance, violence, solidarity and persistence of the workers in achieving their demand for insourcing. As a site of political practices it displayed the role of trade unions in representing the workers and negotiating the terms of the contracts with the management at the university of the Witwatersrand. The role of trade unions is still significant in 'post-apartheid' South Africa as in historical times since the labour force is still a site characterized by racial, class and social struggles for many South Africans. The significance of protests in 'post-apartheid' South Africa is that they heighten the pressure towards management or other structures of power conceding to the demand of the workers as was the case with #OutsourcingMustFall. Within these protests the participants also mentioned experiences of gender politics were the bargaining tables were seen as a male preserve since the representative both in meetings and on the picket lines were men. Women workers felt sidelines but due to cultural ideologies of power, normalized the experience of patriarchy.

The experiences of insourcing were expressed with positive emotions such as happiness, excitement, relief and hope. The majority of the participants felt like they had benefited from being insourced. Not only did they receive increased salaries and benefits, they also became fully integrated into the university space. It brought about a sense of belonging as well as hope that going forward, things would improve. The participants were also happy about their access to social protection through the Unemployment Insurance Fund and Provident Fund it ensured that they would be catered for in the event of contingencies. The significance of Provident fund was that historically, there were staff members who worked for the University of the Witwatersrand yet during retirement, did not receive a lump-sum. In effect it was as though they never worked for the university. The participants were also grateful for the university grant to subsidize the tuition fees of their dependents to study at the University of Witwatersrand if academically eligible. The increase in salaries also assisted some of the participants in settling liabilities such as clothing accounts and would increase the chance of them paying off other debts as well. Although the accounts shared by these particular participants on their experiences are not enough to generalize, they do offer insight into the experiences of the insourced workers at different universities.

The participants also expressed their disapproval of the university making medical aid contributions "compulsory". They expressed that they are not yet in a financial position to afford medical aid considering that their salaries were still not relatively low. They felt that the

deductions would reduce the salary to the same amount under outsourcing which would render the insourcing process futile. Two of the participants also mentioned discontent with lack of recognition after having served the university for more than two decades. Since in other organizations long-service is recognized through incentives, job promotions and other means of acknowledgment, the participants felt deserving of such recognition. In the trade-off between the benefits and limitations the analysis of the experiences of the Insourced University of the Witwatersrand depict a prevalence of the benefits. The

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter provides a critical summary of the discourse within the findings in relation to the literature in an abridged manner. Lastly, recommendations that take into account the dynamics of insourcing as well as general policy implementation. In effect, this chapter provides a synopsis of the entire study in a manner that provides **great insight** into the discourse of insourcing as a mechanism of secure employment through the shared experiences of the participants and their relationship to literature.

Conclusion

This study has investigated and analysed the academic ideologies about outsourcing as proposed in literature in relation to the subjective experiences of insourcing of the participants in the study. Participation of the researcher in the protests, attendance of trade union meetings, engagements with documents (such as the Memorandum of agreement between the University and the workers and student bodies), the Insourcing report, academic literature and newspaper articles on insourced workers at the University of the Witwatersrand provided great insight into achieving the aim of this study.

The greatest source of information in this study were the experiences shared by the participants as it afforded the researcher an opportunity to also document the links and the disconnects between literature and the stories of individual participants. The literature suggests that there is a connection between secure forms of employment and the ability for individuals to survive any social or economic risks aimed at their livelihoods.

This was validated by the experiences shared by the participant's which indicated that the change in the nature of their employment relationship from outsourced to insourced has brought about many positive changes into their lives. Although the policy itself has its limitations such as medical aid deductions from workers made compulsory as well as lack of recognition of staff who served the university for many years, insourcing is definitely a step in the right direction.

As mentioned above, the participants have expressed changes in their livelihoods such as the ability to pay off micro-lenders and to also participate in mainstream activities such as shopping for Christmas necessities. It has increased their opportunity for consumerism. The benefit of university scholarships for the dependants of those insourced is also a contribution of insourcing that is worth documenting as it allows the worker the privilege of someday serving their own children at the dining hall or cleaning their children room at the university residence.

The significance of this depiction is that the Marxist concept of alienation previously faced by the participants whereby they cleaned facilities which they were did not have complete access to which is a component of structural exclusion. It allows enhances the potential for upward social mobility for the families involved in that the education of their dependants can potentially provide another source of income to assist in maintaining household needs.

Recommendations

Within this scope of research, the researcher was able to acknowledge the benefits and limitations of the current study. It remains critical to take into consideration the primacy of the implementation of insourcing at the University of the Witwatersrand also take into account that as with any policy that is implemented, shortcomings are inevitable. Bearing that in mind and through careful engagement with literature and the findings from the study, the researcher presents the following recommendations:

The experiences narrated by the dining hall catering staff with specific reference to their working hours, nature of work and remuneration require careful attention and consideration. The researcher suggests that the management of the University of the Witwatersrand as well as other structures such as the Insourcing committee involved in policymaking revisit the working conditions as well as the working hours of the staff employed at the dining hall. In the event that reducing the working hours is not feasible, then the staff should be remunerated for overtime at 0.5 % of their hourly rates as well as double for Sundays.

The researcher challenges the university to work towards progressive policy-making that reflects a transformative philosophy whereby remuneration for work reflects consideration of the imbecility, futility, arduousness of the particular job. It is not sufficient for the university to provide pedagogical advocacy for insourcing workers whilst presenting and implementing policies that constrain the worker's potential to live decent lives. Since the working conditions and the remuneration of the staff impact on the type of livelihoods they have, it is the responsibility of the University of the Witwatersrand to ensure that the 'quality of life' of all the employees are prioritized.

As a component of the transformation process in the University, the researcher challenges the university to address systematic and policy constraints such as the undervaluation of insourcing support service staff. Discourse into the classification of the workers who provide non-academic or administrative services to the university should also be prioritized in order to adequately understand the significance of their services in the universities and other institutions alike. Although they are not the core of the university's services, it should be noted that the institution would not be able to function effectively without these services.

Research into insourcing should also be prioritized so that it can implemented in a manner that allows the concerns of the workers to be met while not compromising the institution's ability to function effectively. This includes readjustment of the budget and an exploration

into new areas of income generation for the university to subsidize the funds allocated to worker remuneration as well as their employment benefits. The university should formulate an insourcing model that embodies basic principles of economics whereby ensuring that provisions made to workers through benefits yield a return on investment for the university to ensure the sustainability of insourcing at the University of the Witwatersrand.

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APPENDIX A

Biographical questionnaire:



UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG



Kindly complete this form:

I _____ agree to participate in this study.

Biographical Questions:

1. *Sex*	
2. *Age*	
3. *Race*	
4. *Religion*	
5. *Citizenship*	
6. *Marital status*	
7. *Number of children*	
8. *Number of people in your household*	
9. *Place of Residence*	
10. *Highest level of education*	
11. *Job title*	
12. *Number of years working at University of Witwatersrand*	

APPENDIX B

Participant information sheet:





My name is Thato Mokoena. I am conducting this study for the purpose of fulfilling the requirements to obtain my Honours degree in Social Work. The focus of my research is the impact of insourcing on University of Witwatersrand support service staff. For the purpose of this study I have chosen to concentrate on the cleaning and dining hall staff that was previously employed by Ukweza. The aim of this research is to explore the experiences of the insourced workers in order to establish whether or not it was beneficial to the workers.

I would like to invite you to participate in this study. The study will take place in the form of interviews which will be one hour long. I also ask for your permission to record the interview using a voice recorder. This will not have negative consequences as the audio recordings will be used for this study and will be deleted thereafter.

There are no rewards or direct benefits for participating in this study. There are also no penalties or disadvantages if you do not consent in participating in the study. Furthermore, you are allowed to withdraw from participating at any point of the study and will not penalised for it. The interview will be confidential and will take place at a setting that is within the premises of University of Witwatersrand but not close to your work area. Your participation will be represented using a nickname so that your identity is protected. The data gathered through your participation will be documented in the form of a research report which will be submitted to the Department of Social work, University of Witwatersrand. There is a potential for the results of the study to also be published and this will not have any

negative repercussions for the participants. If you would like to receive a summary of the results when at the completion of the study, please feel free to inform me.

For any further questions please do not hesitate to contact me on the details below. If there are any queries with regards to ethics you can enquire with the Human Research Ethics committee(non-medical) ,Shaun.schoeman@wits.ac.za, 0117171408.

My contact details:

Cellphone number: 0760133561

Email: 757320@students.wits.ac.za

APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

UMTHOMBO WOPHUHLISO LOLUNTU
SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-TAPING OF THE INTERVIEW

I hereby consent to consent to tape recording of the interview. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me.

I understand that:

- The recording will be transcribed and any information that could identify me will be removed.
- The recording will be stored in a secure location with restricted access to the researcher and the research supervisor.
- After completion of data analysis and documentation of the research study is complete, the audio-recording of the interview will be kept for a maximum two years following any publications or for six years if no publications emanate from the study.
- Direct quotation derived from this interaction, free from any data that could implicate me may be cited in the research report or other write-ups of the research.

Name of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX D

Semi structured interview schedule:



UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG



The purpose of these questions is to explore your experience of insourcing at the University of Witwatersrand.

1. When did you start working for the University of Witwatersrand?

2. What was your job title as well as job description from the time you started working to the current job description. Please include the working hours in your response.

3. How has your experience of treatment from the management of Ukweza? Was the previous employer reasonable in terms of negotiating annual increases, leave days and sick days? Were you allowed to take family responsibility leave? Was the employee understanding in terms of absence due to family emergencies such as illnesses and deaths in the family?

4. Please describe a typical working day for you. This includes a description of activities from the time you wake up to the end of your day.

5. Did you participate in the #FeesMustFall or #InsourcingMustFall protests and gatherings? How was the experience? What was the significance of joining the

movement for you, personally? Which trade union was representing you and what were your thoughts during the negotiations?

6. Now that you have been insourced, how have things changed? What are the benefits of being a University of Witwatersrand employee?

APPENDIX E

Permission to conduct study at the University of the Witwatersrand

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND JOHANNESBURG

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY REGISTRAR

12 January 2018

Ms Thato Mokoena
Student number 757320
School of Human and Community Development

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

"Experiences of insourced University of the Witwatersrand Workers"

This letter serves to confirm that the above project has received permission to be conducted on University premises, and/or involving staff and/or students of the University as research participants. In undertaking this research, you agree to abide by all University regulations for conducting research on campus and to respect participants' rights to withdraw from participation at any time.

If you are conducting research on certain student cohorts, year groups or courses within specific Schools and within the teaching term, permission must be sought from Heads of School or individual academics.

No research can commence before ethical clearance has been obtained. Kindly forward a copy of the clearance certificate to this office.

Nicoleen Potgieter
University Deputy Registrar

Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050, South Africa | T +27 11 717 1204/3 F +27 86 553 2271 | www.wits.ac.za

APPENDIX F

Ethics Clearance Certificate

SOCIAL WORK
THE SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (SHCD)

DEPARTMENTAL HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SOCIAL WORK) CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: SW1/17/10/02

PROJECT TITLE: Experiences of 2017 insourced workers of the University

RESEARCHER/S: Mokoena, Thato (757320)

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT: SHCD Social Work

DATE CONSIDERED: 24 October 2017

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE: Approved

EXPIRY DATE: 24 October 2019

DATE: 24 October 2017

CHAIRPERSON: Dr F. Masson

Cc: Supervisor: Mr Oncemore Mbeve

DECLARATION OF RESEARCHER(S)

To be completed in **DUPLICATE** and **ONE COPY** returned to the Administrative Assistant, Room 8, Department of Social Work, Umthombo Building Basement.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorised to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the committee. **For Masters and PhD an annual progress report is required.**

SIGNATURE

17/01/2018
DATE

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES