Participative Spatial Planning on marginalised campuses during transformational processes

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Preamble

Scientific publications acknowledge that geographical setting contributes greatly to the unique identity — and eventual sustainability and distinction — of a higher educational institution (as discussed in the articles that follow). This includes the marginalised — the satellite, secondary, branch, remote, rural or regional — campus. Transformational processes include the repositioning and realignment of higher educational institutions, which questions the customary assumption that the culture/sub-culture of a satellite campus community is or should be the same as that of the main campus. The repositioning of space and territory is intensified by a *new* interpretation of the category *space*: it is no longer a neutral category as it was between the 1960s and the 1980s, when it was mostly viewed as *a container for economic and social processes*, but it is seen rather as the result of social relations among people living in a certain area — a socially constructed territory — where culture and cultural influences play a crucial role (Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009: xxiii).

This study is presented in the article option and includes two journal articles, namely, *Alienation, reception and participative spatial planning on marginalised campuses during transformational processes* and *Spatial divided campus: Divided spatial subculture?* The researcher's choice of theme for this study was strongly influenced by her experiences on satellite — or marginalised — campuses. The researcher's experiences of alienation and exclusion, as well as others' experiences sensitised her to be aware of the effect of culture and community on the experience of spaces, including campuses. The researcher explores theories and narrates experiences, and reflects and philosophies about the influence if spatial planning on experiences of alienation and reception.

This qualitative research reports recognise the practice and policy of social research; it includes the first person perspective (I - the researcher), the second person perspective (you - the interviewee becoming a co-researcher) and the third person perspective (the other - the policy and decision-makers). This dissertation purposefully involves the researcher as well as the researched in participatory practice and pragmatism and therefore cannot not claim to be objective. The primary researcher is also part of the researched, and therefore uses first person reporting to invite the readers into the world and worldview of the study.

The question of whether differences in subcultures between a main campus and its satellite campuses should influence the strategic positioning of a higher education institution is explored in the second article.

It took on a life of its own as soon as the researcher started the interviews. She expected the interviewees to at least refer to some of the physical and visual components of the campus; however, they did not even mention it. Instead, they referred to culture and community — the invisible and less conscious dimensions of the spatial experience. Apparently, spatial planning and development are so strongly rooted in and contained by the cultural contexts or characteristics of a society that they surfaced spontaneously during the interviews. Planning is much more than an apolitical technical activity, and achieving sustainable planning goals is not possible without genuinely participation, striving to create deliberative contexts that, as far as possible, minimise inequalities of power and knowledge (Huxley, 2000: 369). Higher education institutions might benefit greatly if they establish optimal distinctiveness—a competitive position within the higher education sector, where the higher education institution (HEI) is similar enough to other institutions to be seen as legitimate, but different enough that it is perceived as having something unique to offer based on its own identity (Brewer, 2003).

The title of this study includes four key concepts that reveal my interest; participative spatial planning, marginalised campuses, higher education institutions and transformational processes. Although each of the two articles contains its own literature review, the following introductory literature review will clarify these concepts and their position in this study.

Participative spatial planning (PSP), collaborative planning (CP) and other related practices that emphasise *process* and the *sharing of power*, acknowledge the complexity and diversity of urban governance contexts and the importance for practical action of grasping the particularities of situated governance dynamics (Healey, 2003: 101).

Marx's critique of planning practice that maintains elitism and Habermas' support of collaborative planning provide the basis of my stance in this dissertation, while *The Image of the City* (Lynch, 1960) expresses it to the slightest nuances. This image of the city — and a campus adheres to Planning's definition of a city — is the product of how it is understood and perceived by its inhabitants (Lynch, 1960: 3), the facts and fancies that surround the space, and our immediate sensation and memory of past experience (Lynch, 1960: 4). Lynch elaborately describes and emphases the relationship between the city/space and its inhabitants, and not between the city/space and its managers:

> The need to recognise and pattern our surroundings is so crucial, and has such long roots in the past, that this image has wide practical and emotional importance to the individual . . . A good environmental image gives its possessor an important sense of emotional security . . . an harmonious relationship between himself and the outside world, the emotional satisfaction, the framework for communication or conceptual organization, the new depths that it may bring to everyday experience, [and] heightens the potential depth and intensity of human experience . . . the obverse of the fear that comes with disorientation (Lynch, 1960: 4-6).

Lynch refers to the public images, the common mental pictures carried by a city's inhabitants, as spaces that contain areas of agreement, interaction and a common culture, that must be sufficient, true, and practical, allowing the individual to operate within his environment to the extent desired (Lynch, 1960: 7). According to national and international policy documents, transformational processes participation of role-players is vital. However, community participation is often interfering with the project planning — including the financial and time management and only takes place only for purposes of compliance with legislation (Mautjana, and Makombe, 2014).

A marginalised campus is any campus that is not the main campus. The main campus often does not realise that the marginalised campus is, well, marginalised, side-lined, or less regarded. The marginalised campus needs to be represented and included in decision-making processes — if the institution aims to be diplomatically correct. However, because the marginalised campus is not part of the main campus and as it is somewhat different than the main campus and since only a-one-size-fits-all solution is considered, the average marginalised campus' representatives and their perspectives are marginalised as well. Even with the intention to include the different communities, the practical and procedural aspects of planning, each driven by a different set of values, co-exist uneasily (Samovar, Porter, and McDaniel, 2011: 210) and the principle of equality of opportunity often leads to greater inequalities, as it is applied in highly unequal context (Samovar, Porter, and McDaniel, 2011: 211). Authentic and renewed recognition of difference (not in racial terms) may be necessary to bring about real improvement to the individual and community during transformational processes.

Although globalisation and internationalisation are process or sets of processes of transformation, their values, aims and outcomes are opposing each other (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, and Perraton, 1999). Within the argument of globalisation versus internationalisation — one-size-fits-all versus differentiation, or melting

pot versus mosaic — this research is aligned with Internationalisation, as it values the continued existence of different cultures, in juxtaposition with globalisation's effect of creating one single culture at the expense of the existing cultures. In the melting pot metaphor, a heterogeneous society becomes homogeneous, with the different elements *melting together* into a harmonious whole with a common culture. With the mosaic metaphor different cultures combine, but remain distinct in some aspects (Samovar, Porter, and McDaniel 2011).

Globalisation refers to a intensifying of worldwide integration of formerly national economies and cultures. The different economies and cultures tend to dis-integrate to integrate into one globalised economy and culture — as designed by the West. Globalisation — as an economic and political influence — claims to liberate previously command economies through the restructuring of world economic and political systems to align to Western expectations.

Internationalisation, by comparison, acknowledges the accumulative importance of international co-operation — including trade, relations, treaties, alliances, etc. Inter-national refers to between or among the different nations. Internationalism claims to decrease international barriers in the long term, without the perpetuation of power and privilege in the hands of the western dominated economies as in globalisation. Internationalism rejects the globalisation with its tendency to disintegrate national cultures — and that for short-term benefits (Daly, 1999).

In addition, globally political leaders are devoted to transformation — with a democracy aspect in the South African context — and focus on redressing spaces that suffered under previous national policies. This viewpoint inspires decision-makers to envision alternative futures with ambitious new commitments to remedy mistakes of previous generations. However, this devotion to transformation poses questions about ethical values that should guide planning, and how universal or specific these should be (Harrison, Todes, and Watson, 2008: viii).

Given that the central elements of apartheid were the recognition and entrenchment of (racial) differences it is not surprising that the emphasis in the post-apartheid era is the fusion – in order to plan for equity on justice and thereby eliminate the inequalities of the past. There has been a strong emphasis, post 1994, on normatively driven planning and on the adaption of a clear ethical stance on planning matters. Conversely, modernisation, according to the development of the West, often disregards the *less-developed* cultures,

religions, ethnicities, rationalities, and ambitions (Samovar, Porter, and McDaniel, 2011: 204). Cultural differences are important and need to be recognised and affirmed and standardised policies should not be allowed to demolish what individuals and communities treasure. Appreciation of differences is non-negotiable in national and international policies and practices, but often remain abstract and idealised – and not taking practical processes in consideration.

Spatial planning, as a function of government, has long been used in South Africa to play both a managing role as well as a welfare (and modernising) role in spatial separation and spatial integration (Harrison, Todes, and Watson, 2008: 9). The issue was — and remains — to determine what to dispose of and what to preserve. Even though some of the higher education establishments resulted from apartheid planning, the locals deposited, invested and cultured their own values, identity and heritage in a space that essentially belong to them. While globalisation of higher education is a mainstream trend, surely it cannot be forced on communities, including campus-communities, because different spaces have different identities.

This study concluded that transformation within mainstream higher education institutions is defined by globalisation; Although the alternative—transformation defined by internationalisation—is equally valid, it is seldom a considered option.

While Transformation is defined as a *thorough or dramatic change in form or appearance* (Oxford Dictionary), UNESCO adds that these changes are to reposition the institution to compete for status and ranking, and funding. This specialised agency of the United Nations (UN) invest vast amounts of money in supporting and enhancing transformation in higher education worldwide, however it also warns that *while competition has always been a force in academe and can help produce excellence, it can also contribute to a decline in a sense of academic community, mission and traditional values* (Altbach, Reisberg, and Rumbley, 2009: iv).

South African's Green Paper on higher education transformation focus on the reconstruction and development of higher education in South Africa.
It aimed to preserve what is valuable and to address what is defective requires transformation.

> The system of higher education must be reshaped to serve a new social order, to meet pressing national needs, and to respond to a context of new realities and opportunities . . . the system of

> higher education must be both expanded and transformed, within the reality of limited resources. . . and to deliver the required results, access and redress are further imperatives (Bengu 1996: 2)

These definitions direct managerial decisions, even though it might not be based on the authentic culture of the institution or the campus. This study reminds HEIs to research the intrinsic cultures and subcultures of the different campus-communities of the institution involved, before making decisions or contracting an external company to position/reposition it. Alternative stances on transformation should also be researched to provide data for informed decision to the local as well as the international multi-dimensional higher education sector.

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CULTURE, MEDIA & FILM | RESEARCH ARTICLE

Alienation, reception and participative spatial planning on marginalised campuses during transformational processes

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Abstract: Scientific publications acknowledge that geographical setting contributes greatly to the unique identity—and eventual sustainability and distinction—of a higher educational institution. This includes the marginalised campus—the satellite, secondary, branch, remote, rural or regional. Alienation of the marginalised campus from the main/mainstream campus forms an international discourse. This conceptual article aims to make an interdisciplinary contribution to the theoretical basis for spatial planning of a marginalised campus by considering a combination of the participative spatial planning (PSP) approach and theories of alienation and reception from the disciplines of the performing arts, philosophy, sociology, economy, literary history, cultural studies and landscaping. Based on well-established theories of alienation and reception, as well as on the positive outcomes of the PSP approach, this conceptual article provides a novel motivation for considering the influence of participation and non-participation and the long-term consequences of alienation and reception to planning projects.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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Emmie Smit

PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

Scientific publications acknowledge that geographical setting contributes greatly to the unique identity and subculture—and eventual sustainability and distinction—of a higher educational institution (HEI). The main campus is often perceived as superior, because of the better access to resources and its image as better positioned in the globalised higher education sector. The opposite is often perceived of the marginalised campus because it does not fit into the mould of the main campus and has its own identity and subculture. The essence of the marginalised campus and its ability to contribute to the sector often gets lost due to the non-participation in planning processes. Two universities that became marginalised campuses of bigger universities due to government reformation (the Emdrup-campus of Aarhus University in Denmark and the QwaQwa-campus of the University of the Free State in South Africa) are discussed in the context of a range of literature relating to alienation and reception as applied to places.

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1. Introduction

It is difficult to design a space that will not attract people.
What is remarkable is how often this has been accomplished.
William Whyte (1917–1999)

With all the knowledge—especially in the Relationship Era versus the Industrial Era—planners should find it difficult to design a product that people are not drawn to. Even more so in designing expensive and high profile products like higher education spaces. Therefore, it surely is remarkable how often planners plan spaces that alienate people.

In order to understand this phenomenon, I revisited various theories of alienation and reception, as well as the marginalised campuses where I experienced alienation and reception: the Emdrup-campus of the Aarhus University (AU) in Denmark and the QwaQwa-campus of the University of the Free State (UFS) in South Africa. Although these two marginalised campuses are 10,000 km apart, their history and relation with their main campuses (both 400 km distant from the main campus) are very similar and both experience similar transformational—or diachronic—challenges. By adding the participative spatial planning (PSP) approach to a combination of the existing theories of alienation and reception, a framework resulted, easily transferable to the (re)planning project of any marginalised campus.

This paper was inspired by my experiences of alienation, while I was on a research fellowship on the mid-transformational Emdrupborg, the AU's satellite campus in Copenhagen and a proposed spatial planning project in the mid-transformational QwaQwa, the UFS's satellite campus in the Maluti Mountains.

Like all expats, I experienced estrangement. However, Emdrupborg's mid-transformational spaces, contributed greatly to excessive experiences of alienation. In addition, the locals on campus, the Emdrupborgians, made no secret of their experiences of alienation; we even shared the awareness of being subalterns. In conversations with staff on the marginalised campus, a variety of suspicions were offered as to why the changes on the Emdrupborg campus came as a surprise; why the leadership excludes the local community, the Emdrupborgians, from the decision-making, planning and even communication processes. The general perceptions are that the AU leadership, and perhaps even the staff of the main campus, see the staff on the marginalised campus as ignorant subalterns and subordinates and that the marginalised campus has been silenced by the AU leadership to streamline leadership and administration processes of the marginalised campus. These issues of power or *peripheral neglect* are linked to processes that include lower levels of education and lower salaries, and not only physically demarcated places (Regan, 2007, p. 68; Healey, 2011, p. 239).

The Emdrupborgians' concerns can be seen in a series of working papers that critique university transformation and transformational leadership practices, and also document the subaltern status of the Emdrupborgians. The research unit, *Transformations of universities and organizations*, under the editorship of Susan Wright, is housed on Emdrupborg, and provides a platform for research-in-progress in Denmark and an international network of scholarly work on higher education transformational endeavours (DPU, 2014).

By excluding the community from decision-making and planning of spaces, the reception of the project's end product is jeopardised. In interactive processes, the community is encouraged to participate in spatial transitions. In PSP processes, the community contributes to the project, and they become responsible for the collaborative process as well as co-owners of the project. Involvement of the community raises members' sense of belonging and influences how they receive the final

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Figure 1. This diagram indicates the layout of this conceptual article on spatial planning of a marginalised campus, by considering the theories of alienation and reception and how the PSP approach can reduce alienation and increase reception.
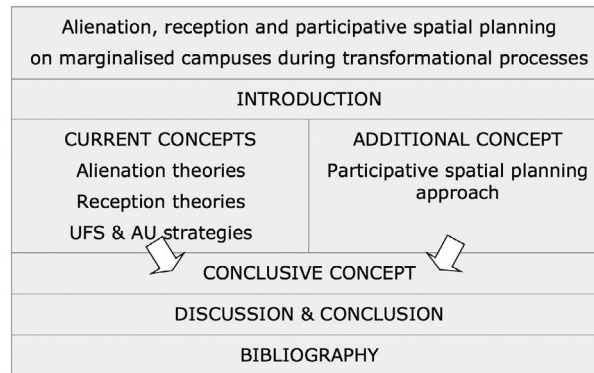
outcome of the project. In opposition to the PSP-model, there is the top-down model of spatial planning that results in alienation and rejection (Riedijk et al., 2006).

This paper discusses, firstly, Hegel, Marx and Brecht's theories of alienation, and, secondly, Jauss, Hall and Hunt's contributions to theories of reception. My framework for spatial planning suggests an alternative to non-collaborative transformation processes, and thereby encourages participation before and during decision-making in higher education institutions in order to plan spaces—more specifically, marginalised campuses—that attract people (Figure 1).

An additional objective is to discuss alienation and reception theories in relation to each other. This provides me with the opportunity whereby I, an alien sojourner and an outsider–insider participant, add my voice to those unheard voices on mid-transformational spaces.

Over the past two decades, the often-complex relationships within multi-campus higher education institutions resulted in a need for increased research. The Arts, Social Sciences, Humanities, Education, Business Administration and Management Sciences and Building and Planning Sciences contributed to a new understanding of identity and culture within higher education (Motter, 1999).

2. The phenomenon called the marginalised campus

A campus is a private public space, an ambiguous (Carmona, 2010b, p. 169) and complex space, both socioculturally and politico-economically. From a design perspective, it includes most of Carr's functional types of public spaces: public parks, squares and plazas, memorials, markets, streets, playgrounds, community open spaces, greenways and parkways, indoor shopping centres and food courts, everyday spaces and waterfronts or large water features (Carmona, 2010b).

According to Burgers' sociocultural classification of spaces, all of the domains of social sectors and interest groups apply to a campus: it is an erected public space, a displayed space, an exalted space, a coloured space, as well as a marginalised space (Carmona, 2010b). According to Dines and Cattell's sociocultural classification of spaces, all the domains of engagement and meaning-making of users apply to a campus: everyday places, places of meaning, social environments, places of retreat, as well as negative spaces (Carmona, 2010b).

According to Gulick's and Kilian's political–economic classifications of spaces, all of the domains of ownership and responsibility apply to a campus (Carmona, 2010b). In addition, it is a public space that is characterised by safety measures, externally or through third party regulation, but also by internal or self-regulation.

Geographical settings contribute greatly to the unique identity of a higher education institution. The main campus is often perceived as superior because of the better access to technological, educational and recreational resources. The opposite is often perceived of the marginalised, the

satellite, secondary, the branch, the remote, the rural or the regional campus, because the marginalised campus does not fit into the mould of the main campus, as it has its own identity, character and culture. The marginalised often aspire to be mainstreamers, and are even expected to aspire to be mainstreamers, as if it would prove their ambition and worth (Keillor, 2007, p. 84). However, the opposite is often true: Mainstreamers—e.g. urbanites—aspire to escape from the tightness of the physical and social features of the space (Carmona, 2010b), with its unbalanced and fast lifestyle, and become marginalised—e.g. "ruralites" (Jordan, 2013, p. 72).

Spatial planning processes and participation in spatial planning processes are usually based on the authentic characteristics and culture of the location in response to the needs of the society, economy and higher education community and may facilitate the attaining of social, cultural and academic goals and the sustaining of the relevant academia and its community. It might provide a vision that will translate into strategic priorities within the national and institutional boundaries of policies and goals (Turkoglu, Bölen, & Gezici, 2012). Designing secondary campuses in a strategic way (e.g. using a participatory process) is necessary to avoid alienation and assure reception (Hague & Jenkins, 2004).

Over the past four decades, the number of secondary—and marginalised—campuses increased dramatically all over the world. Universities often establish secondary campuses to increase revenue and to increase international recognition and local status (Becker, 2009; Kratochvil & Karram, 2014). Some universities establish secondary campuses to support regional development, while others establish secondary campuses to simplify research collaboration. However, the secondary campuses that I am involved in—the Emdrup-campus of the Aarhus University in Denmark and the QwaQwa-campus of the University of the Free State in South Africa—were autonomous universities that became secondary campuses due to government reformation of its higher education system. This resulted in the forced merging and incorporation of small universities into larger institutions (AU, 2006; HESA, 2005).

The secondary campus is seldom perceived as a "real" institution. It is often perceived as a faux, a quasi or a *wannabe* campus, which offers inferior or discounted degrees (Prather & Carlson, 1993), and produces an inferior practitioner (Chung, 2003). Students are less enthusiastic about the secondary campus experience and consider it substandard to the main campus experience (Forster & Rehner, 1998). This perception is enforced by the intent of the secondary campus to serve marginalised students and marginalised staff; students who are on the marginalised campus as a result of limitations and not by choice (Fonseca & Bird, 2007). In addition, internationally, marginalised campuses are often devalued by the perceptions of internal and external stakeholders (Donnelly, 2005; Larimore, 1969; Mulkeen, 2005).

Research confirms that companies and institutions with consistent, distinctive and deeply held values—institutions with a soul—often outperform those with less identified values, and externally directed approaches (Porras & Collins, 1994). In the same way, this reinforces negative experiences of inferiority, disadvantaged-ness and helplessness, of staff and students on the secondary campus. These individuals' motivation, productivity and achievement suffer under the marginalised atmosphere (Motter, 1999). Likewise, they experience alienation when their (in)authentic identity is not recognised and valued (Livingstone & Harrison, 1981).

Geographical separation might not only result in different institutional identities and in neglected strained relationships, but may also result that administration and managerial processes are unadjusted to serve a different campus community (Carmona, 2010a). However, the main influence on a secondary campus's success might not be on *how* the venture is undertaken, but rather on *why* (Kratochvil & Karram, 2014). It is necessary that the secondary campuses should not only be seen as an extension of the main campus of the HEI, but should be valued as a peer. As a mere extension of the main campus, the space might result in an under-utilised and lost space that will not contribute to goals of inclusivity and participation (Carmona, 2010a, 2010b).

Geographical separation influences the identity of the individuals as well as the institution. Staff and students at the secondary campus have different characteristics than those on the main campus, which include different value and belief systems. This might suggest a different approach to being and achieving, but not necessarily differences in intellectual ability (Exley, Walker, & Brownlee, 2008).

These attitudes and attributes of the authentic identity of individuals are often seen at institutional level as well, as formulated in the following quotation:

> The ideals of human perfectibility and of achievement are authentic antidotes to the existential anxiety of guilt. What is true for an individual is also true for our institutions. This understanding … will ultimately lead us to measure all institutions by the degree to which they support the development of human potential. (Ind, 2003, p. 219)

Although Sartre and Nietzsche emphasised the responsibility of the individual or the institution to take control of its individual authenticity, responsibility, free will, and values, instead of accepting externally imposed limitations and principles, the marginalised campus and its staff are often disempowered to contribute to their own survival (Gu, 2003).

According to Maslow (Newell, 1995), realising one's full potential is only possible when the individual has obtained self-actualisation, which depends on an authentic self-esteem that includes self-worth, self-regard, self-respect and self-integrity as well as the ability to develop and survive adversaries. An established and recognised identity defines an individual and/or an institution, and creates the confidence to be unique and distinct, and to carry oneself in the public domain. To own one's uniqueness increases one's self-esteem (Smit, 2013).

A variety of published reference materials (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Masolo, 2002; Monnet, 2011) acknowledge that geographical setting contributes greatly to the unique identity of a campus; that multi-campus universities are an international phenomenon; that the rationale for the establishment of a secondary campus is diverse; that the communication-gap between the main and the secondary campus often leads to the disempowerment of the marginalised campus; and that alienation from the main campus is a major research focus area internationally. However, literature exists that suggests a strategic, reciprocate and collaborative approach to spatial planning and research processes might contribute greatly to minimise alienation on/of the secondary campus, because of the sense of cooperation, belonging and ownership it creates (Arnstein, 1969, p. 222; Healey, 2011, p. 156; Innes & Booher, 1999, p. 413).

Nowadays, strategic spatial planning is the combination of interactively socially constructed concepts, procedures and tools (Sartorio, 2005, p. 26). In the 1950s and 1960s, spatial planning was merely a technical process of structural planning processes. In the 1970s and 1980s, rapid urbanisation and economic challenges forced spatial planning to include aspects of competitiveness to enable cities to perform as a system and a marketable entity. In the 1990s, the participation and responsibility within spatial planning enlarged to include role-players from a wider sphere: Civil society was invited to join in spatial planning endeavours. In the 2000s, spatial planning adopted an interactive, communicative and discursive approach, and a sociocratic approach that enhanced inclusivity and sense-giving (Sartorio, 2005). Although the importance of the inclusivity and participation approach became evident—and even trendy—the implementation thereof poses a variety of practical challenges.

In this conceptual article, I suggest that PSP could add value to planning that is conscious of practices—and not only approaches—that counteract and address alienation, and enhance reception on the marginalised campus. The new concept is not merely an association of similar theories, but the generation of a theory-based approach that is enriched by a combination of alienation and reception theories and the PSP process.

3. Current concepts: alienation, reception and strategy

Alienation and *reception* are well-theorised, much-debated and thoroughly written about concepts by some of the most esteemed scholars in an ever-growing variety of disciplines. This article is not an attempt to contribute to these scholarly works, but is rather an attempt to substantiate the application of these theories to the practical issue of spatial planning of a marginalised campus. In order to acknowledge just how diversely the theories of *alienation* and *reception* are adopted and valued, and to point out its relevance to this article, I very briefly note the theories as developed and applied in the work of six influential scholars.

3.1. Alienation

Alienation is a fundamental concept in present-day thought about the human being and his/her spatial and social environment. Alienation depends on transformation; without change-for-the-better, alienation cannot exist, and therefore the concept of transformation—and not mere change—must be understood before alienation can be understood. The concepts of transformation and alienation have only been current since the nineteenth century. The theories that form the original concept of *alienation* of this conceptual paper are those of Hegel, Marx and Brecht.

To Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), a German philosopher who lived through the French Revolution, *alienation* was a value-adding process of self-creativity and self-discovery, which is the origin of Hegel's idea of *entfremdung* (alienation and estrangement) as an *action to become other than oneself, to enter into what is other than the spirit* or to become an alien to oneself. Hegel saw alienation as an experience with positive or value-adding, long-term consequences.

Hegel focuses on mental phenomena—or images of the mind. Phenomenology of mind or spirit is a study of appearances, images and illusions throughout the history of human consciousness wherein the evolution of consciousness, of which *alienation consciousness* is one, is discussed. In *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), Hegel identified the progression of historic stages in the human *Geist* (mind or spirit) by which the human mind/spirit progresses from ignorance towards perfect self-understanding.

Within Hegel's domain of "Society and Culture", *objective spirit* is a synonym for the individual's local culture, or as Hegel summarised it: *I that is a We, and the We that is an I* (Trejo, 1993).

To be invited into a desired social or cultural space, which is not the individual's local culture, requires extreme discipline in courtesy, education and achievement. Hegel calls the self-sacrifice and strenuous effort it requires *alienation*. Hegel's *alienation* is the extra effort needed to raise an individual to another and desired level of culture—like the newly acquired social mobility of the social groupings he observed after the French Revolution. Only a few individuals attain *alienation consciousness,* because appreciating a foreign culture seems remote and unreachable, and even humiliating for the average individual. However, alienation consciousness bridges the gap(s) between cultures. Hegel's *alienation* is a conscious and intrinsic choice of an individual with a positive outcome for the individual and his/her society and culture over the long term. It is alienation from fellow human beings, which is different from Marx's iconic response to Hegel's *theory of alienation.*

To Karl Heinrich Marx (1818–1883), philosopher, economist and sociologist, *alienation* was a forced separation of things—not other people—that naturally belong together, or antagonism between those who should be in harmony, with damaging long-term consequences. Marx's well-known illustration describes the alienation of the production-line worker who is alienated—and deprived—from the products of his labour: profit, satisfaction, feedback and creativity (Forster, 1999).

Marx attributes *alienation* to the capitalistic economic system where the worker is a puppet in the hand of the capitalists. The individual workers do not have any choice in what to produce and how to produce and are therefore alienated from the product they produce. (Dogan, 2008, p. 99). Marx's alienation is a negative experience of perpetual deficit.

Hegel's and Marx's alienation refers to unintentional and gradual processes, whereas Brecht's alienation refers to a deliberate and immediate process. Whether alienation is the result of a gradual or an immediate and deliberate process, the experience is the same: an experience of dissonance and a desire to move towards the old or a new space of comfort. To the playwright, Eugen Berthold Friedrich Brecht (1898–1956), *alienation* is the distancing and estrangement effect or *Verfremdungseffekt*, when the audience was hindered from simply identifying itself with the actions and utterances of the performers when techniques designed to distance the audience are used or when using innovative theatrical techniques to de-familiarise the familiar in order to provoke a social–critical audience.

The Brechtian approach identifies *acceptance* or *reception* as the opposite of rejection or alienation. To alienate is therefore the deliberate choice of an artist on the reaction of the audience: to receive or to not-receive. He describes it as playing in such a way that the audience was hindered from simply identifying itself with the characters in the play. Acceptance or rejection of their actions and utterances was meant to take place on a conscious plane, instead of … in the audience's subconscious. (Willett, 1964, p. 91). The artist challenges the audience-member therefore to venture into an unfamiliar space and to experience alienation in order to encounter the unknown. Brecht's alienation might be an instantaneous distancing experience, which might have a slow-developing positive or negative long-term effect. To Hegel, Marx and Brecht, *alienation is the process whereby people become foreign to the world they are living in.* Another powerful experience is *reception*—the opposite of *alienation*.

3.2. Reception

Reception theory addresses the readers' response towards creative work. The act of reception includes to receive, to welcome, to celebrate, to respond, to acknowledge and to recognise. In everyday life, as in law, receivership is being held by a receiver, an appointed person to receive and to take responsibility for others and/or the property of others. In contrast with reception is non-reception or alienation (Bennett, 1990; Eagleton, 1996).

This philosophy values the audience as an essential element to understanding the fuller meaning of the message. It includes the process of interaction and reaction between the sender and the receiver of the message. Reception is more likely within a shared cultural background and the less shared heritage there exists, the less reception will be experienced (Bennett, 1990; Eagleton, 1996).

To Hans-Robert Jauss (1921–1997), a literary historian, *reception* was related to studies that are concerned with the ways in which readers received literary works. The term *reception theory* originated from his work, which argued that creative works are not passively received, but that the receivers act on and react to the work. *Reception* refers to reader-response criticism in general, but it is associated more particularly with the *reception-aesthetics* that suggests that a literature work is received because the readers are able to see the aesthetics of the literature, and are therefore fulfilling the expectations and presuppositions of the readers (Jauss, 1982).

To Stuart Hall (1932–2014), a cultural theorist, reception is about the scope for *negotiation* and *opposition* on the part of the audience in media and communication studies (Hall, 1980). The meaning of a work is not inherent within the work itself, but is created within the relationship between the work and the audience/reader, which interprets the meanings based on their individual cultural background and life experiences. Hall argues that an individual's identity is dynamic and always being shaped by the surrounding environment (Weimann, 1975). Hall also referred to Brecht, when addressing the importance of social positioning in interpretation: the *Brechtian alienation effect* [is a way] *of seeing the messy life that you have lived yourself rehearsed from the place of the Other* (Regan, 2007; *The Conversation*, 2014).

To John Dixon Hunt (born 1936), a landscape historian, public *reception* of gardens and landscapes is vital to the survival thereof. Mainstream writing on landscapes inclines to focus on the intentions

of the designers, the influences on the design and the building process, where reception theory tends to use space-specific descriptions of the landscape and de-emphasise commonly used terms of description of the landscape. The motives of visitors and the factors influencing their visits are important in the reading of a landscape because motives and influences are diverse and a single reading of a landscape cannot articulate every individual's response (Hunt, 2004).

As with *alienation* theories, *reception* theories are embedded in cultural identities and historical changes, and are necessary for successful development and even survival of the individual and society. The community's identity influences the planning of a space, equally and spatial planning influences the planning of space. Even though these theories started to evolve more than two centuries ago, *it is remarkable how often spaces that will not attract people are designed* and how often the planning of spaces is not aligned with the strategic planning of the institution (Lynch, 1960, p. 4).

3.3. Strategic plans

3.3.1. University of the Free State
The UFS's Strategic Plan 2012–2016 focuses on the transformation of *space*. Philosophically, the post-2009 UFS is seen as an exciting *place* to be that captures the imagination of people all around the world. The UFS's uncompromising attitude towards enhancing academic performance is seen as a place—*a critical space*; *a democratic space*; *an integrated space*; a *space for discussion, dialogue, and dissent*. Challenges are lecture hall space and spaces for *integrated student life and academic pursuit*:

> A revitalised university in terms of physical and social infrastructure on all three campuses so that the new and inclusive architecture, buildings, symbols and spaces together create vibrant and interactive communities of staff and students learning and living together. Institutional transformation is also reflected in architecture, buildings, symbols and spaces. The campus needs new residences, new lecture blocks and offices, and these commitments have been made across all three physical campuses. These will be chosen to create vibrant and interactive communities of staff and students learning and living together. (UFS, 2012, p. 55)

The UFS's Strategic Plan is based upon the philosophical functions and purposes of physical and social spaces, whereas the basis of the AU's plan is mainly an inventory of functional spaces.

3.3.2. Aarhus University
According to AU's Strategy 2008–2012, *top-class facilities and infrastructure* and *a state-of-the-art infrastructure* is vital *for an international research university*. The university has a considerable amount of building space, as well as *advanced laboratories, laboratory equipment, technical equipment, a number of national databases and research ships*. Impressive IT networks and library networks cover the different locations around Denmark. Ten buildings count under the most important *architectural icons in Denmark in the Canon of Danish Art and Culture* (AU, 2008).

The University of Aarhus is in the process of preparing a vision plan for the physical development of AU up to 2028 based on the academic strategies and the foreseen changes in student enrolment and staff. Although the social function of the physical spaces is not mentioned upfront, the emphasis thereof in Danish spatial planning is an internationally known characteristic (AU, 2013; Östergård, 2009).

4. Conclusive concept

4.1. Motivating a PSP approach

> Participation in planning is not just about asking a lot of people questions about what they felt, but a negotiation where the planner has to engage with the contributors. Participation is

not abdication of the responsibilities and contributions of the professional, but an on-going exchange where all sides should contribute. That sort of participation needs to be based on trust, and that takes time … (Adapted from Forbes Davidson Planning, 2012).

Participation, engagement, involvement and collaboration (between the researcher and the re-searched) are the key ideas in the critical theory tradition (Babbie & Mouton, 2010, p. 39). This tradition developed from Hegel, via Marx and eventually via Habermas over more than two centuries. The

Table 1. The relationship between WORLD 1: Metasciences of social phenomena, WORLD 2: Science and methodological paradigms and WORLD 3: Everyday life and metatheories of social sciences (Babbie & Mouton, 2010, p. 48)

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN METASCIENCE, SCIENCE AND EVERYDAY LIFE			THE RELATIONSHIP-MODEL (LEFT) AND THIS STUDY
WORLD 1: METASCIENCE Paradigms in philosophy of science Paradigms in research methodology			*"Philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it."* Marx 1845
WORLD 2: SCIENCE Body of knowledge Theories, models & typologies Concepts & definitions Findings & data Instrumentation, scales, tests & questionnaires			Researchers and community members have valuable knowledge that may be combined to generate findings and data—backed by theories, models and typologies; explained by concepts and definitions.
RESEARCH PROCESS PROBLEM STATEMENT – DESIGN – METHODOLOGY - CONCLUSIONS			
WORLD 3: EVERYDAY LIFE Social/practical problems Intervention, actions, programmes, therapy			Experiences and perceptions of alienation and reception on/of marginalised campuses. Participative action research project.
WORLD 3: METATHEORIES OF SOCIAL SCIENCES			Critical metatheory insist that science become an emancipatory and transformative force in society (Babbie & Mouton 2001). Likewise, science is employed in this study to emancipate the marginalised campus from perceptions and transform the space into an inspiring and facilitating higher education (learning, teaching & researching) environment.
POSITIVISM	PHENOMENOLOGY	CRITICAL THEORY	
To predict To test New theories New knowledge	To interpret To construct New theories New knowledge	To emancipate To improve New nature, motivation, results, emphasise of knowing	
WORLD 2: METHODOLOGICAL PARADGMS			
Quantitative paradigm	Qualitative paradigm	Participatory action paradigm	Selfreflection—as a emancipatory cognative interest—determines the meaning of the validity of critical theory. The drive towards social relevance, individual empowerment and political emancipaton necessitates participation and collaboraton (Habermas 1972).
WORLD 1: SOCIAL PHENOMENA			
OUTSIDER	INSIDER	PARTICIPANT	Participatory involvement, action, transformation, encounter, dialog of the benefactors of the research (Babbie & Mouton 2001).

critical researcher ultimately aims to relate socially and to emancipate politically. The difference between qualitative and quantitative research and critical research is not about the methodologies, but about the interaction between the researcher and the researched (Table 1). The individual researcher within the social phenomena is an outsider in positivism (quantitative paradigm), an insider in phenomenology (qualitative paradigm) and a participant in participative action research (PAR), drawing on the paradigms of critical theory and constructivism (Chisholm & Elden, 1993).

The main justification for defining PAR as a distinct methodology is not methodological, but epistemological. PAR not only creates new theory and knowledge with a different rationale—to promote practical problem solving—but also in a different way (Babbie & Mouton, 2010, p. 61). These include the *shift in the nature of knowing* when the knowledge is co-constructed between the planner (as researcher) and the researched/students; the *shift in the motivation of knowing* when the knowledge is constructed for research and political interest; the *shift in the results of knowing* when science, as well as productive work, are produced; and the shift in the *emphasis of knowing* when the experiential knowing become as important as theoretical knowing. Contemporary planning approaches are postmodern, post-structuralist and post-positivist; they have developed further than the modernist, structuralist and positivist approaches (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 3). The future of planning theory is probably embedded in a critical—and even post-critical—engagement with a thrust of communicative and collaborative planning.

Apart from the information generated through quantitative and qualitative research, *information becomes gradually embedded in the understandings of the actors in the community, through processes in participants, including planners, collectively creat[ing] meanings* (Innes, 1998, p. 53). Through communicative, collaborative, and participative planning, conventional information is substantiated by alternative information that does not merely provide evidence, but is *embedded in understandings, practices and institutions* (Innes, 1998, p. 52). *Participative planning* implies *communicative planning* and *collaborative planning.*

According Albert Einstein*, our theories determine what we measure,* collaboration and consensus among stakeholders have the potential to pave the way towards more strategic and feasible strategies, as well as borderless tangible and intangible possibilities (Innes & Booher, 1999, p. 412). PAR's repetitive theme of communication, involvement and participation—engagement and encounter—includes the *political dimensions of the social sciences*: the sharing of power (Babbie & Mouton, 2010, p. 58). With whom the power is shared is determined by the tradition in which the PAR functions: either the *Northern* tradition—referring to the Global North or First World where power is shared with equals—or the *Southern* tradition—referring to the Global South or Third World—where power is shared with less-equals (Ferreira & Gendron, 2011; Wilmsen, 2008, p. 10).

An example of one major influence in these traditions is the literacy of the participants. In this article, the Northern tradition applies to the Emdrupborgians of Denmark, a country with a 99% literacy level, whereas the Southern tradition applies to the QwaQwa-campus community of South Africa, a country with a 71% literacy rate (Pretorius, 2015). However, both communities of participants are staff and students from a higher education institution, and the literacy rate of their countries will probably not severely influence the participation and will surely not diminish the value thereof. Different influences add different characteristics, different motivations, different results and different emphases of knowing to the new knowledge and new theories that emerge from the study (Table 1: WORLD 3: Metatheories of Social Sciences). Another example of a major influence is the level of participation of the participants. The planning of participation is therefore of vital importance.

Participation could be at any or at all of the different steps of the project, including planning, coordination, analysis and evaluation, as well as communication and dissemination. Participatory planning aims to engage stakeholders—communities and individuals with an interest in the project or its outcome—on common issues, to identify problems and opportunities, set objectives and to

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develop actions related to institutional roles and responsibilities. Participative planning encompasses collaborative planning (Healey, 2003; Innes & Booher, 1999), communicative planning (Forester, 1990, 1993; Healey, 1997), as well as transactive planning (Friedman, 1987); empowered participation, manipulation and non-participation (Arnstein, 1969).

Participation—irrespective of the individuals' position, education or any other factor—encourages creative thinking, holistic decision-making, the development of workable ideas, the taking of ownership in projects and the outcomes thereof. Participation and responsibilities diverge over the life and stages of a project. Equal and continual participation is not necessary throughout the stages of the project; strategic planning processes can identify the stage where participation will be uniquely beneficial to the specific project.

Participatory planning processes provide a mechanism to produce a *common mind* in the planning process. Participants with interests in regional development, the institution, natural and historic heritage, commerce and tourism, transportation, infrastructure, energy and logistics, housing and quality of life, urban risks and governances will add valuable dimensions and dynamics to the project. By aligning PSP with alienation and reception (Table 2), the resemblance between PSP and reception is 67%. By adding the positive effects of Hegel's alienation, the resemblance is 84%.

Table 2. Alignment of PSP with alienation and reception (indicators from: Forbes Davidson Planning, 2012)		
PSP	**Reception**	**Alienation**
Acts as a safeguard against autocratic action	✓	
Allows input from marginalised	✓	
Open to manipulation		✓
Create conflict with elected representatives	✓	Hegel
Leads to conflict of views and objectives	✓	Hegel
Provides base for acceptance of responsibilities	✓	
Speeds development by addressing objections		
Strengthens community cohesion	✓	
Creates ownership of plans and actions	✓	
Ensures community priorities are respected	✓	
Gives individual chance to influence priorities	✓	
Develops suitable programmes and projects	✓	
Aligns with requirements for participation	✓	
Increases chance of support for actions	✓	
Increases potential resources	✓	
Individuals priorities may be over-ruled	✓	Hegel
Conflicts with existing social structures		✓
May still be difficult for individuals to influence	✓	Hegel
Develops more apt programmes and projects	✓	
Develops base for partnerships	✓	
Requires maintenance of project leaders		
Requires skill and motivation	✓	
Takes time and effort	✓	
Does not necessarily ensure representative		✓
Laks support to facilitation of participation		✓

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Participation is seen as normative and vigorous, as can be seen in current literature, with special reference to John Friedman on transactive planning, Sherry Arnstein on empowered participation, Pasty Healey, Judith Innes and David Booher on collaborative planning and Johan Forester on communicative planning. Even though participation is generally uncritically accepted, it might create obstacles in reality. Additionally, the appearance of participation often matters more than the actual participation, as pointed out by the findings of two South African studies (Gumbi, 2012; Ralukake, 2013).

Community participation in planning processes was institutionalised by the South African White Paper on Local Government of 1998 (Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development) and the South African Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000, as well as the Danish Planning Act of 2007 (Danish Ministry of the Environment, 2007). All these documents delegate most municipal/community planning responsibilities to local governments, and aim to involve the public in the planning process as much as possible, even stipulating minimum rules on public participation.

Research on the outcomes of the South African document found that conditions were created for public participation and in some cases participation was even encouraged, however, it was not purposeful, nor was it strategically integrated in the process (Gumbi, 2012; Ralukake, 2013).

Research on the outcomes of the Danish document found that the volume of public participation is very low, that the media is a valuable partner to communicate plans and strategies to the community, and that participation through the Internet is especially successful (Hentilä & Soudunsaari, 2008).

To invite participation is politically demanded and socially desired, but often managerially bypassed or inhibited (see Mautjana & Maombe, 2014). Even though participatory planning adds value to different aspects of the outcomes and the process—including accountability and rightfulness, effectiveness, recognition and fairness—it is all too often used to legitimise and fast-track predetermined decisions, especially in the Southern tradition.

5. Discussion and conclusion

The main objective of this article is to make a cross-disciplinary contribution to the theoretical basis for spatial planning of a marginalised campus. From the disciplines of the performing arts, philosophy, sociology, economy, literary history, cultural studies and landscaping, well-established theories of alienation and reception were identified and assimilated with the PSP approach.

The worldwide, rapid increase in the number of marginalised campuses in the transformation and internationalisation of higher education (often unintentionally) continues to increase the alienation of staff and students. This lack of belonging influences integrated student experience and academic pursuit negatively.

Adopting a PSP approach to spatial planning projects on marginalised campuses might change experiences of alienation (not belonging, antagonising, depriving and rejecting) to experiences of reception (belonging, accepting, celebrating and acknowledging). In addition, the institution will profit through the creative contributions, and the continual ownership and responsibility towards the project and its outcomes.

Participants might experience a spur of Hegel's alienation—a conscious and intrinsic choice of alienation from fellow human beings by individuals—during the initial process, but is highly unlikely to experience the lasting effect of Marx's alienation—an unpremeditated and extrinsic choice of

alienation from spaces they should belong to. Even though the experience of alienation is dynamic and might eventually be replaced by the experience of reception, higher education institutions cannot ignore the effects of the initial experience of alienation.

Similar to all participative projects is the prerequisite for well-defined and actual participation, and not only the appearance of participation (Arnstein, 1969). The tradition in which the PAR functions might require innovative designs for participation, but will still contributes greatly towards the project and its outcomes on the marginalised campus.

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Spatial divided campus: divided spatial subculture?

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ABSTRACT

The culture of the higher education institution should influence the planning and positioning of that institution. However, differences in subcultures between main campuses and their satellite campuses should also be considered. The identified differences underline how radical these strategic positing differences might be on campus communities. Qualitative interviews with students from and trends that emerged from enrolment and completion statistics from the relevant institutional research office provided the data. Differences in the subcultures indicated a potentially dramatic influence in the strategic planning and positioning of the institution among the influence of internationalization, globalization, commodification and massification. Higher education leaders are encouraged to practice knowledge-based planning and positioning, by considering the difference in subcultures in order to capitalize on the strength of their diversity. The ability to value diverse perspectives allows the flourishing of separate and unique subcultures, while contributing to the achievement of a larger purpose.

Introduction

[Policy change] has brought into focus the differentiating spatial effects of unequal provision … it has drawn attention to the ways in which the geography of schooling is part and parcel of the strategy of choice (Ball et al. 1995; Taylor, 2001; Vincent and Martin, 2002; Ball, 2003). This also encompass areas such as educational policy change around questions of identity (Vincent et al. 2004), including 'race' and 'class' (Ball et al. 1998; Gulson 2006; Lipman, in print) … has forced educationist to consider the spatial dimensions inherit the marketiszation of educational provision … [and] globalization. (Gulson and Symes 2007)

Processes of internationalization, globalization, commodification and massification continuously drive transformation in Higher Education. Education is globally connected and what happens in one area reverberates elsewhere. The ripple effect of these processes influences students' destination choices (Calderon 2015) and experiences, not only on choice of higher education institution, but also on choice of a specific campus of the institution. Choices include the main campus or secondary campuses, alternatively called, satellite, rural, distant, branch, and marginalized campuses. Currently, enrolled tertiary students exceeds 200 million globally, compared to 47 million in 1980 and will in all probability exceed 660 million by 2040 (Calderon 2015). Higher education participation will continue to increase, predominantly in emerging and developing countries. The projected number of students internationally could be between 9.1 million and 15.7 million by 2040 (Calderon 2015). Despite these trends governments' spending on tertiary education is declining and students demand reduced and/or even free tertiary education. Therefore, institutional recruitment strategies need to be sensitive of past and current trends, and also be proactive to deal with the unexpected. Strategic and

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transparent management will be vital and needs to be substantiated by the authentic identity, branding and reputation of the higher education institutions (HEIs) and even its separate campuses.

Most South African universities that were established around the 1900s are urban universities, with either English or Afrikaans as the only medium of instruction and mainly served white students. In the second half of the 1900s, various homeland universities were established. These universities served the local bantustan or indigenous population in rural areas with English as the only medium of instruction. Around 2000, the urban and English medium technikons that were established towards the end of the 1900s became universities of technology or universities of technology and science (Bunting and Cloete 2010). These three types of institutions formed the higher education sector in South Africa.

For generations, these institutions educated different racial and geographical groupings of the South African population. Mainly due to government reform of its higher education system in 1994, many of the homeland universities lost their autonomy when they were incorporated into the traditionally white universities. Thus, they became marginalized satellite campuses of the main white university campuses, which retained the centralized management and decision-making processes.

This article discusses the differences in subcultures between an urban main campus and its urban and rural satellite campuses and whether the subculture should influence the strategic positioning of the higher education institution. An interdisciplinary contribution is made to the international discourse on the influence of a secondary campus on the higher education institution's strategic positioning by considering the students' experience of their respective spaces and communities.

Literature review

Geographical history

Within the area of spatial planning, group identities differ because of differences in geographical spaces, which influence culture, experiences and achievements (Lynch 1960, 1961, 1972, 1976, 1981; Lynch and Banerjee 1977; Lynch and Southworth 1990; Kunzmann 1985, 1993, 1999, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2009).

Additionally, geographical setting contributes greatly to the unique subculture of a particular institution. Group identity and subculture in turn contribute to the unique leadership and management style of a particular institution. Research indicates the need to adapt leadership decisions in different geographical areas, especially on higher education campuses to reflect the specific needs of each campus (Rendón and Hope 1996; Kezar and Eckel 2008). However, higher education institutions often apply the same leadership style, management decisions and choices to all their campuses.

This article concerns the three campuses of the University of the Free State (UFS) in central South Africa, each with a unique origin (Figures 1 and 2). The main campus is an urban and residential campus in the city of Bloemfontein, a small city with 370,000 residents with the greater Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality with a population of 650,000 and with a variety of higher education

Figure 1. UFS' South campus (left) is situated in an industrial area on the outskirts of Bloemfontein; the main campus in a residential area in the heart of Bloemfontein (middle); and the Qwaqwa campus in a high altitude rural area 350 km east of Bloemfontein (Google Maps).

institutions (Statistics South Africa 2011). The UFS has 31,000 students with 28,186 on the main campus and the rest on the South and QwaQwa campuses (UFS 2015). The South campus is an urban and non-residential campus situated on the outskirts of Bloemfontein and the Qwaqwa campus is a rural, remote and residential campus, about 350 km away from the main campus. The Qwaqwa campus and the South campus are satellite campuses of the main campus.

The University of the Orange Free State (UOFS – pre 1994) was established in 1904 with Afrikaans as the only medium of instruction and mainly served white students from the Free State, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and Namibia. The University of Qwaqwa (UniQwa) was established in 1982 with English as the only medium of instruction, and mainly served black students from the Eastern Free State. The South campus was established in 1981, originally as a satellite campus for Vista University, with English as the only medium of instruction and mainly served black students from central South Africa.

For generations, these universities educated different racial and geographical groupings of the population predominantly from central South Africa. However, the UOFS and UniQwa had merged colleges of education. Due to government reform of its higher education system in 1994, UniQwa lost its autonomy when it was marginalized and incorporated into the UFS (post 1994). Thus UniQwa was effectively excluded from decision-making processes and its unique subculture not taken into account during decision-making processes.

The South campus was incorporated into the UFS post 1994. Being the fastest growing of the three UFS campuses, this campus has experienced immense growth in distance learning and bridging programmes and projects (Nothling 2015). The majority of the South campus students are distance learners. Online courses include advanced certificates in teaching.

The UFS university was called the 'main campus' after the reformations and incorporations of 1994. The name was later reconsidered, but the UFS leadership decided to stay with the original decision because it houses the institutional headquarters.

Campus leadership diversity

Considerable diversity may exist on different campuses of the same higher education institution. Moreover, the respective leadership and management approaches differ greatly (Seman and Zulhamari 2012; Sapienza 2008; Lawrence, Dale, and McKinney 2014). United States colleges and university organizational culture were compared and aspects such as the diversity agenda and institutional subculture became a fascinating prophecy of practices to come (Baldridge 1978). Smith (2004) proposes that understanding diversity and addressing disparities will require enhanced intercultural competences by all role-players in the higher education sector.

Smith (2015), Kezar and Eckel (2008), and Astin (1993) focus on how the choice of leadership strategies influences institution-wide diversity agendas, and how this affects students. The Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) reviewed higher education institutions commitment to the educational value of diversity at leadership and management levels, and developed the Inclusive Excellence Change Model. The rationale for the development of the model was that diversity and change in higher education are too often perceived to occur in a rational and ordered manner … and detached from the academic and social context of the institution (Williams, Berger, and McClendom 2005, 3). Locks et al. (2008) found that the direct and indirect effects of positive interactions with diverse peers enhanced a sense of belonging and prepared the campus climate for diversity and transition.

In response to the South African government's decision on affirmative action, inclusion and excellence of higher education are priorities in the sector (Milem, Chang, and Antonio 2005). The integration of diversity and quality are at the core of institutional functioning, and should be managed to benefit higher education institutions. Furthermore, Milem, Chang, and Antonio (2005), Berger and Milem (1999), and Chang (1999; 2002) reported on the contemporary phenomena of continuous private and public funding and support for diversity programmes and initiatives on

the higher education campus and its wide-ranging integration in higher education policies and practices.

In addition, authors from the African continent also focus on a wide spectrum of topics. These include the process of institutionalizing campus diversity (Cross 2004), and how the leadership skills of staff and students, mostly individuals of diverse origins themselves, developed to cope with the diversity (Antonio 2001a, 2001b). The theory and practice of equity and excellence in diversity developed (Cassim 2005), and relating conditions that promote and support a diverse campus community (Hanassab 2006) has also been researched.

However, the diversity on culture and identity within institutions seems not to be considered in the strategic positioning of the institution –including aspects of cultures, subcultures and identity – but rather draw from international trends (Herman 2011; Murphy 2012).

The terms community, subculture and campus community are often used interchangeably even in academic literature, though, there are subtle differences between the three concepts. Community tends to suggest a more permanent populace. By contrast, campus community and subcultures are often temporary and aligned to peers equal in abilities, worldview, qualifications, age, background, and social status (Gelder and Thornton 1997). However, both are defined in the broadest sense as groups who have something in common. Slightly more descriptive, a community is a group of individuals sharing a space (including geographical, virtual, institutional, cultural and historical) and sharing a particular characteristic, a feeling of fellowship, and common attitudes, interests, and goals (Sheridan 2007; Othengrafen 2012).

The value of diversity-related campus communities and the positive influence thereof on student achievement is acknowledged (Milem, Chang, and Antonio 2005; Denson and Chang 2009; Garces and Jayakumar 2014). Additionally, research on student diversity and inclusivity guides administrative leaders to build, sustain and improve campus communities (McDonald 2002; Laufgraben and Shapiro 2004; Maurrasse 2002; Welburn 2010; Burt 2015).

Subcultures on campuses are also viewed as challenges that are well-worth having (Harman 2002), such as ethnic groupings that function as a campus subculture, which assists minority student adjustment (Museus and Ravello 2008). This is mainly due to the students' experiences of being cared about, valued and accepted as part of the community (Chang 2002). However, when students experience a lack of care, valuing and acceptance, a subculture can also nurture discrimination, domination and encourage anti-social behaviour (Cabrera et al. 1999).

Because of size, population, and the various multifaceted activities taking place on higher education campuses, they can nowadays be regarded as small cities and therefore the literature that discusses urban planning aspects of cities is also relevant. A city is a construction of space, of what the eye can see and of even more than the eye can see (Lynch 1960). The image of the space is important in relation to the historical, cultural and sociological context of a specific city, and influences their

Figure 2. This collage of the main buildings on the three campuses is on the Department Strategic Communication's webpage (http://www.ufs.ac.za/templates/newsroom).

consequential and symbiotic relationship with the populace (Sheridan 2007). A good environmental image gives the possessor an important sense of emotional security (Lynch 1960, 4), enable harmonious professional and personal relationships and networks, and positive experiences (Lynch 1960) and motivation to avoid illegal subcultures (Snyder 2006). The differences in the images of the UFS spaces are clearly visible in Figure 2.

Interdisciplinary contributions to the international discourse of the planning and management of secondary campuses are extensive and extremely varied. The diversity of students and staff subcultures and their communities and the experience of their respective spaces and communities are considered. This provides a theoretical framework for discussing the differences in subcultures on different campuses of the same institution and whether it is significant enough to consider them during strategic decision-making.

Methodology

This qualitative research, with quantitative components, involved collecting data by interviewing 121 students of the UFS divided into 60 students from Qwaqwa campus, 28 students from the main Bloemfontein campus and 33 students from the South campus. Existing statistical data on student enrolment and completion rate received from the UFS institutional research office were used to identify trends in student communities on the different campuses.

The researcher interviewed the interviewees as unidentified volunteers. The interviewees were randomly approached and invited to participate in the research. Some participated individually and some in groups of up to nine individuals. During the interviews some of the students' referred to their faculties and/or study programmes, but the participants stayed anonymous and unidentifiable.

During the interviews, the students were encouraged to use their personal voice and experience. Open-ended questions were asked about what makes the campus attractive, what makes the interviewee proud of the campus, what influences their sense of belonging, and what they perceived as the legacy of the particular campus.

Open coding was used to analyse the data and themes that emerged from the data were identified. These themes were compared with trends found in the institutional statistics, which also helped to refine the final themes. Academic literature about subcultures on higher education spaces in the internalization milieu provided the theoretical basis of the analysis.

Findings

Geographical setting contributes greatly to the unique identity and subculture, and eventual sustainability and distinction, of a higher educational institution. The three campuses have very distinct identities and subcultures. During data collection, the visual differences were obvious.

Even in the dry winter season (all three campuses share similar climates) the main campus was a green oasis with various pleasant water features, a large collection of public art and a variety of seating facilities in the well-kept gardens. The public transport waiting area is an attractively designed building, which provides comfort and shelter. The building styles vary from classical to post-modern that portray the serene, yet vibrant atmosphere associated with a campus more than a century old.

The Qwaqwa campus was covered in a straw-coloured winter garden. The fairly modern face brick buildings blended in with the surrounding landscape. Students sat on concrete benches, without the option of shelter from the weather even though QwaQwa's high altitude makes it prone to snow and icy winds. The public transport waiting area next to the main entrance is a new building, which provides comfort and shelter, and a great view of the surrounding mountains.

The effect of the winter was less evident on the South campus because the space is smaller and covered by buildings, roads, paving and asphalt. The shrubs were still green and the brick structures of the landscaping doubles as seating areas for the students. The fairly modern face brick buildings

overlook an industrial area and a high crime residential area. The lack of a public transport waiting area is surprising, especially when considering that the campus is situated in a less-safe location. The students of this non-residential campus commute and queue at least twice a day for public transport just outside the main entrance.

Despite the vast differences in the visual appearance of the campuses, all the students were equally delighted with their facilities. The students were not only conversant and knowledgeable about the campus they attended, but also about the other campuses as well. Without being prompted in any way, interviewees on all three campuses mentioned that they appreciate and brag about the appearance and facilities of their respective campuses. Students clearly experience a sense of belonging and non-neutrality in their respective educational spaces (Hemingway and Armstrong 2012). The interviewees on the main campus specifically mentioned the lush gardens, the multi-million Rand collection of public art and the vibrant atmosphere: I just love the social spaces in the garden areas.

However, the non-main campus interviewees appreciate their campuses despite the lack of the aesthetics that are synonymous with the main campus. I realized later that the interviewees view their campuses in relation to other spaces in their surroundings, and not compared to the main campus or other major campuses. Even though I felt that sheltered seating areas on the higher altitude campus with its inhospitable wind and temperatures, as well as landscaped gardens with statement pieces of public art and artefacts would definitely be on the interviewees' wish lists, it was not even mentioned once.

Students from the two satellite campuses appreciate what they called an academically conducive lifestyle. Their shared sentiments mainly related to the lack of disturbances on these campuses. They specifically mention the lack of politics and social pressure: we are here to pass, not to dress-up; we cannot afford the lifestyle on the main campus. The Qwaqwa interviewees often refer to the threats and interference that a sugar-daddy, boozing, partying and political activities have on academic successes. Most of the females mentioned the derailment that sugar-daddy pregnancies cause in the lives of the female students, referring to individuals that they know personally. The majority (98%) of the interviewees applaud the dry-campus policy of the Qwaqwa campus where alcohol is banned, regardless of the seniority of students or whether they might consume it elsewhere. Only 5% of the students saw a competitive learning environment as desirable; something they assume is the trend on the main campus. The rest appreciate the lack of competition on the Qwaqwa campus, as they do not want to be forced to compete with themselves or with others during the learning process. They admit that a little competition might be motivating, but believe that the competition on the main campus is too much and therefore counterproductive. On the main campus, however, the students prefer the pressure: I like the excitement that the pressure of high academic standards and competition bring.

Cross-cultural experiences were enthusiastically discussed and the students insisted that it was cultural, and not of a political or racial nature. On the Qwaqwa campus, two ethnic groups, Zulus and Sothos, peacefully thrive next to each other, but seldom integrate because of the uncomfortable language barrier. However, when necessary, they communicate in English (e.g. during class interaction).

The Bloemfontein students, both on the main and the South campus, were very excited about the cross-cultural experiences: I love the vibe and the challenge that diversity creates; The diversity challenges me to learn and to reconsider my perceptions; The diversity of language and culture keep life interesting; The diversity of people is impressive; Diversity at Kovsies is handled well: I don't find the racism everybody is talking about; and I can tell the true story about what is going on here at Kovsies, because outsiders believe that politics are everywhere on campus. Students from the South campus gladly communicate in English. Although English is the first language of only 9.6% of South Africans and 2.94% of the Free State inhabitants, almost everybody can speak the language (Statistics South Africa 2011). In addition to the difference of languages, differences in culture are also pertinent on the South campus, because the South campus has far the greatest cohort of international students, mainly from nearby Lesotho.

The students spoke very affectionately about their campuses, those who had a choice as well as those who had no choice. The students of the main campus call themselves Kovsies, a nickname

that developed in the 1940s from the former Afrikaans name of the UFS: Universiteitskollege van die Oranje-Vrystaat. The Qwaqwa students still call their campus Uniqwa, the (former) official name of The University of Qwaqwa, and the students from the South campus call their campus Vista, the (former) official name of the Vista University, all dating back to pre 1994. These nicknames developed in post-colonial South Africa are still popular – despite the post-apartheid efforts by the government and higher education leadership to move away from such names. The students' use of semiotics does not seem to refer to exclusivity and marginalization, but are rather meaning - making meaningful communication regarding their subcultures.

Students from all three campuses believe that their campuses have remarkable heritages. The students confidently assured the interviewer that the faculties, departments and programmes that they are involved in are of high standard and with high rankings. Students from the main campus identified the UFS' legacy as its quality–equity–diversity–humane character; the fact that diversity is working and academic standards, sports achievements and cultural accomplishments.

Although students from all the faculties are well-pleased with the academic standard of the Qwaqwa campus, they view the impact of the campus on the regions' education as the legacy of the campus. The respondents unanimously, and without hesitation, identified that Uniqwa's legacy is the excellent teachers it produced over many decades. They fondly spoke of how they were encouraged and motivated by their schoolteachers to, firstly, complete their school education and then, secondly, to move on to higher education. Most of the students said that their schoolteachers that were trained at Uniqwa, compared exceptionally well with teachers that studied elsewhere. Some even said that if it were not for the Uniqwa-taught teachers' encouragement and mentoring, that they would probably not have completed their schooling and qualify to study at a higher education institution. The highly esteemed winter-school presented by Uniqwa to the local schoolchildren was also mentioned as contributing to the legacy of Uniqwa. Statistics confirm that more than 80% of the teachers in this geographical area are alumni of Uniqwa (Statistics South Africa 1991). The UFS institutional statistics also indicate that education is a legendary component of the Qwaqwa campus, and while the main campus' education enrolments have decreased by more than 50% over the past few years, Education applicants on the Qwaqwa campus had to be redirected to other disciplines in 2015.

The South campus students were openly grateful for a second chance and even redemption after my messed up school education. The campus offers programmes that enable students to ultimately enter the mainstream curriculum after completing the preparation courses. With tangible camaraderie between the students, they declare that the additional opportunity to achieve their full potential and to realize their dreams are the legacy of the South campus.

On both the Qwaqwa and South campuses, the interviewees were identifying with a subculture that developed over time, and a clear sense of localism. Because the satellite campuses do not seem to support the internationalization, globalization, commodification and massification trend adopted by the leadership of the UFS, the main campus, and the university as a whole, might perceive it negatively. Hence this is not uncommon, as culture (and therefore subculture) usually operates at two distinct spheres, the official and the community spheres, but both are associated with different subcultures of a same space and time (Sheridan 2007).

The Qwaqwa students' hometown community is also their geographical community and they believe that their involvement in higher education empowers them to be employees in their local community. Most of them took their inspiration from their teachers: Just like our teachers encouraged and inspired us. Interviewees are proud to be associated with Uniqwa, a higher education institution that earned the respect and appreciation as a partner of the local community: I am proud to be part of an institution that empowers individuals to make a difference in its community.

The South campus students referred with equal sentiments to their hometown community and their geographical community, which for most of them are two different communities. They expect their higher education institution to transform them into enabled and well-prepared citizens to contribute to their (regional) communities.

Conversely, the main campus students view their community first and foremost as their national and international peers or student communities. Their local campus is their geographic community of which they are currently temporary members. Their campus-specific expectation is to be empowered as future members of a variety of types of national and international communities. Their hometown community was mostly mentioned in relation with misconceptions: Off-campus people (parents, friends, community members) often believe that Bloemfontein is a racial divided campus and some believe that it is a white school with white people and Black students are often asked about the racists' practices on campus.

The Main and the Qwaqwa campus communities never once referred to the other campuses or its communities – neither positively nor negatively. When I asked the Qwaqwa students about their relationship with the main campus, they describe it as a different institution, rather than a different campus. The South campus views the main campus as their next campus community, but did not mention the Qwaqwa campus.

Discussion

As the students from the three campuses spontaneously identified what they value their respective campuses, clear pictures emerged. Three utopias arise, one from each of the different campus communities and each with a distinct local character, which developed intrinsically. The rationale behind the existence of utopias is explained by Kepplova (2015, 10):

> Often a clear orientation towards idealness and utopianism emanates from the desire of subcultural groups to establish a heaven on Earth, where there are no conflicts and generation after generation of happy people live in harmony with nature, each other, and themselves. Utopianism has always been connected to real problems, as it is difficult to find a universal mode of existence for all people or even a group of people. Any break with reality decreases the possibility of realising utopian visions and the results may in reality become rather unexpected.

The differentiation of the three different communities on the campuses points towards the differentiation of three different campus subcultures. Each has its shared experiences and common features that lead to a common outlook on reality, values and perceptions.

The mere existence of a subculture, community or a campus community, the collective sense of community and belonging that welcomes being part of their in-group rather than to be part of a group of outsiders (Cote and Levine 2002) adds value to a higher education institution:

> We have at our disposal one of the greatest vehicles for community building known to humankind -- the one called education. (Palmer 2002, xv)

A higher education institution should have an inclusive strategic position. However, decision-makers should also realize that one institution might have a variety of different subcultures. Some of these subcultures might be place-specific and therefore will have a subculture that is related to the geographical space. The institution's main culture need not oppose the institution's subcultures, but should rather enhance them.

The uniformity of the researcher's findings not only confirms the existence of various subcultures, but also underlines the strength of the subcultures. This phenomenon suggests multi-representational meaning-making, multi-attribute decision-making (which deals with preferential choice and probabilistic inferences) and multi-dimensional strategic positioning of the institution (which appreciates the strength of diversity). To prevent discriminating against any of the subcultures on the campuses, bottom-up processes to identify possible options ought to be considered by the higher education institution's leaders.

In addition to the three different subcultures mentioned above, Lefebvre's trialectics of space (Soja 1996) is apparent on the campuses: The first space is the objective space where the planners and constructers created the campuses; the second space is the conceived space where the management creates the local globalized three-campus-university; and the third space is the lived space

where the staff and students function. However, one might wonder whether the multiplicity of these geographical sites is fully realized.

Elements of Culture Theory (see Serrat 2008) and Critical Theory (see Fuchs 2016) can be found within the findings. Culture Theory draws from the objectivist style of comparative anthropology, and semiotics (the study of meaning-making and meaningful communication) to explain how humans interpret their physical and social environment and it defines the heuristic (problem-discovering) concept of culture in both operational and/or scientific terms.

Critical Theory aims to create a more 'humane' environment (in this case a higher educational site) where self-reflection, collective development and individual opportunity are encouraged, through the uncovering of communication practices, whether they be interpersonal, group-based, or institution-wide (including strategic positioning statements), that serve to maintain domination and inequity and to limit equity in higher education institutions. These practices include the institution's stance as a site of domination, power (imposed will upon the behaviour of others), hegemony (predominant influence over others) and concertive control (adherence to socially constructed norms and values developed by an institution as an attempt to structure the environment).

One might argue that the subcultures are already considered in the strategic positing of the higher education institution. However, because the UFS' vision, mission and value statements position the institution internationally, one can make the assumption that the regional positioning the institution is not important for the decision-makers. The current positioning of the UFS relates with the subculture of the main campus, but not with those of the two satellite campuses.

Seeing that internationalization, globalization, commodification and massification dictate the positioning of a higher education institution in order to be relevant in the international higher education sector, the researcher expects that cultures and subcultures to be considered as less prominent in most instances. Therefore, this article should be relevant to institutions internationally and encourage institutions to research the subcultures of their own campus communities, and invest in their diversity.

The UFS' virtual students were not included in this study. By replacing the randomly selected interviews with an online survey, a further study on the virtual students' experiences of spatial hierarchy and subculture marginalization will provide a deeper insight into this spatial divided campus and related trends.

The interviewer perceived that the students seem to be visiting their non-residential campus more often than expected. Therefore, additional study on the causes, symptoms and effects of 'liquid modernity' might make for an insightful look at the three campuses.

Conclusion

While researching the differences in subcultures between an urban main campus and its different satellite campuses to establish whether it should influence the strategic positioning of a higher education institution, on each of the three campuses a very distinct subculture was identified: each with its own expectations, experiences and perceptions. The subcultures on the different campuses undoubtedly experience the differences in identity between the different campuses, and of non-neutrality of space, but also of belonging and of inclusion. This latter two experiences are authentic and spontaneous and not influenced by their institution's strategic positioning, strategic communication or other attempts of control.

This researcher encourages an audit into the subcultures of different campus-communities of the same institution to establish the assets that might be available in positioning the institution and capitalizing on the strength of their diversity. The ability to value diverse perspectives allows people and groups to maintain their separate and unique identities, while at the same time contributing to the achievement of a larger purpose.

Disclosure statement

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