

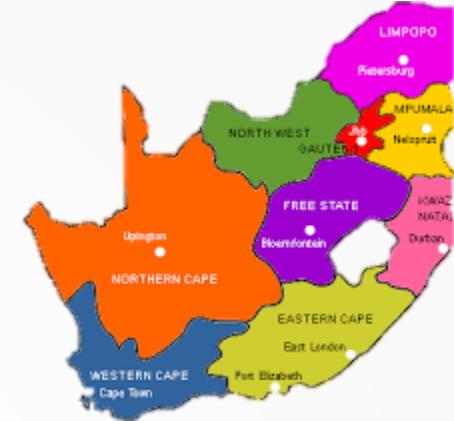


Students' Food Acquisition Struggles in the Context of South Africa: The Fundamentals of Student Development

Yasmine Dominguez-Whitehead
Wits School of Education
University of the Witwatersrand

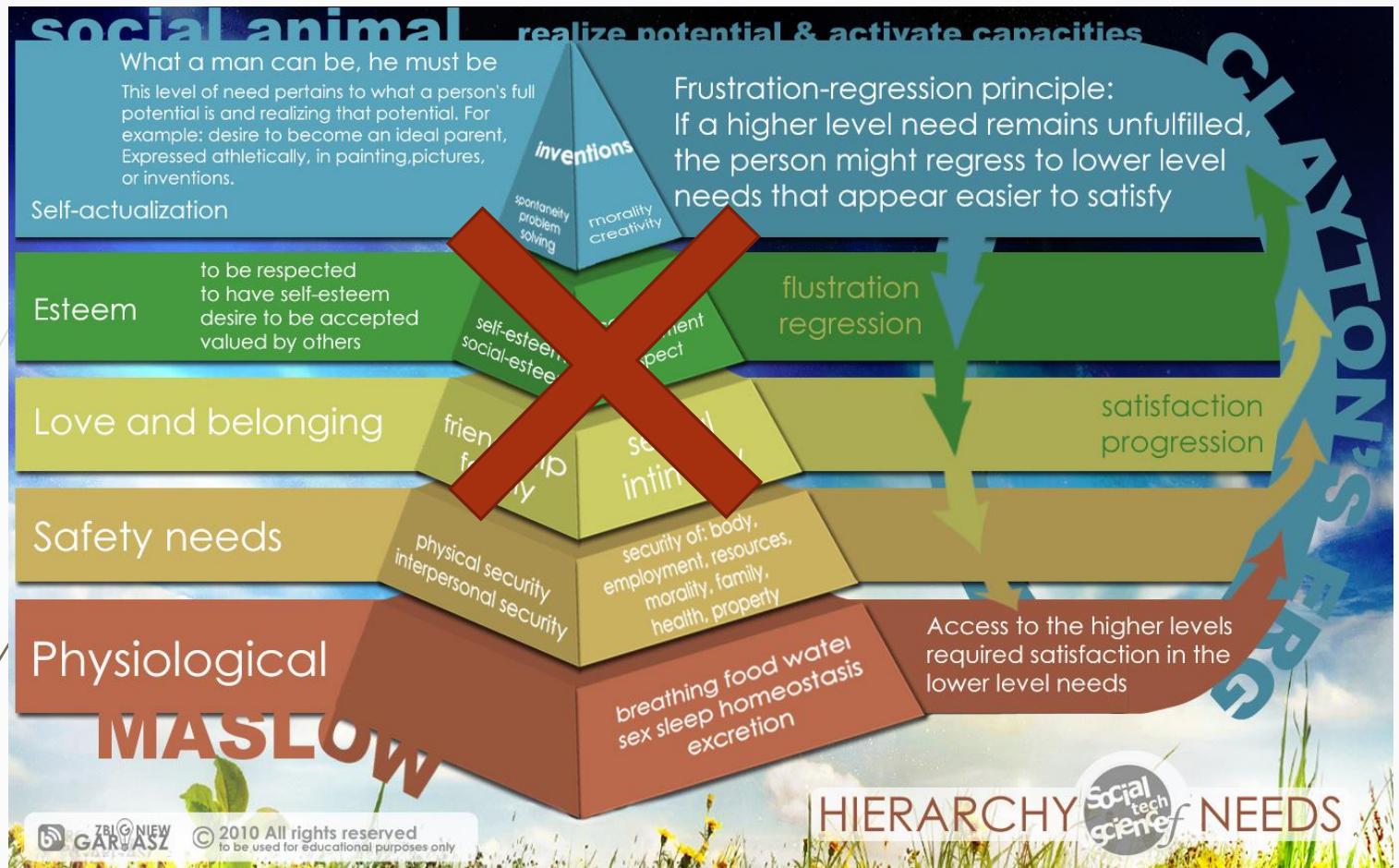


South Africa:



- ▶ one of the **wealthiest** countries in Africa
- ▶ among the **most unequal** countries in the world
- ▶ with severe **discrepancies between the rich and poor**
- ▶ since the **end of apartheid** the conditions of the **poorest 50%** of the population have **failed to improve**

(Bhorat, van der Westhuizen, & Jacobs, 2009; May, 1998; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Sanders & Chopra, 2006, Robins, 2005).



“if all the needs are unsatisfied, and the organism is then **dominated by the physiological needs**, all **other needs** may become simply **non-existent** or be **pushed into the background**” (Maslow, 1989, p. 21)

Studies among SA students:

Impoverished university students experience
hopelessness, internalized oppression, and shame



utilise strategies to **conceal their poverty**

Study by Siyakhana among Wits students found:

Students most vulnerable to hunger:

lived off campus and were **on financial aid**

They were **embarrassed** about their situation and would not easily admit to experiencing hunger.





Food Talk: A Window into Inequality among University Students

Dominguez-Whitehead & Kevin Whitehead

Struggling students:

“In order to make their funds stretch, students **purchase less expensive items** such as bread,”

“Inequalities between students are reflected and reproduced in their food-related troubles talk”:

Wealthier students talk about eating too much and wanting to keep their weight down,

Poorer students talk about “depleting their funds before the end of a term and not being able to purchase healthy food, such as fruit or vegetables,”



Mental stressors of studies and responsibilities combined with lack of material resources



Drop out

Approximately **70 %** of the families of drop-outs are classified as having **low economic status**:

Mostly students from **African families** earning **meagre wages**: some as little as R1 600/month

The Focus of this study:



Student-centered analysis:

- ▶ What are some of their **pressing concerns** with respect to food issues?
 - ▶ What are their **experiences** in relation to **food acquisition** and **consumption**?
 - ▶ And, to what extent is **food affordable** and **available** on campus?

Methods

Qualitative, case study design

- ▶ Part of a larger study

Selected case studies:

- ▶ **WITS** - historic university with an enduring legacy
- ▶ **UKZN** - newly formed promising university



WITS
UNIVERSITY



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

(Guba & Lincoln, 1994)



15 student focus groups : 10 at Wits; 5 at UKZN

Open-ended, non-invasive questions:

- favourite things about being university students
- strengths of the university
- challenges and difficulties experienced
- what could be done to improve their lives as students
- what kinds of events/incidents had been particularly important for them during their time as university students
- how their background and life experiences had impacted their university experience

Without students being specifically questioned about them:

Food acquisition and **consumption** emerged as significant →
points to food as a critical area of concern for students



focus group interviews allow
“research participants to explore the
issues of importance to them, in their
own vocabulary, generating their
own questions and pursuing their
own priorities”
(Kitzinger, 1995, p. 299)

2 student affairs officials

one from each university

- **purposively selected** based on them heading one of the multiple student affairs offices at their university
- based on them having **extensive experience** serving students' needs
- Participated in **individual interviews** (1 hour)
 - focused on the duties they perform,
 - the types of students they serve,
 - the challenges that they witness students experience



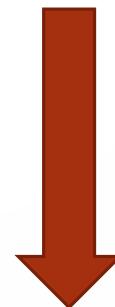


The data corpus :

>14 hours of student video recordings
>2 hours of audio recordings with student affairs officials



transcribed and analysed



assessment and systematic examination of the data

Themes constructed

Results & Discussion

Three overarching food themes emerged:



Depletion of food funds

Excerpt 1
UKZN 8-15-08

P4: "There's this thing called financial aid, right? It's like, it's sponsoring us as a student...The money (.) I don't know how to put it but to me. I find it like it it's not enough. In meal allowance it's not enough (.) to me cause sometimes eh, eh, eh ((chuckles)) when there was this res I use to stay at, at Malherbe you know? Some eh, during those [days]"

P3: [Ey]

P4: "Sometimes ja, we like, we go like to sleep without chowing, without getting a food cause we've run out of money from like he said ((points to P1)) the background is not ok. Our parents doesn't have money. They don't have the money."



Depletion of food funds



- ❖ Parents and family cannot support food needs
 - ❖ Get a food allowance and aid, but its not enough
- ↓
- ❖ Often have to go to bed without food
(Note: hesitation and discomfort to disclose this information)

Depletion of food funds

Excerpt 2
UKZN 8-18-08

P3: And (.) at that time you don't have any kind of money.hh
((P3 laughs))

((group laughs))

P3: You're broke. You don't have any food. 15

P7: And something, sometimes, people sometimes s-steal .

P4: Ja, too much.

((group laughs)).

P7: In res, ah, in res you put your food in the fridge and sometimes it gets stolen.



Depletion of food funds



- ❖ Towards end of term: no money left for necessities
- ❖ No money for food

(Note: problematic as this is exam time)



- ❖ Often others steal your food in the res
(Points toward desperation surrounding food scarcity)

Associations were **not** made between a **lack of funds** and **struggles to acquire books, miscellaneous academic supplies, or entertainment**



Associations were made between
a lack of funds and **a struggle for food**

Acquiring food on campus

Excerpt 3
Wits 9-2-11

P1: Ay the shops are expensive"

P3: Ja

P2: ()

P4: Very, (everything) is expensive

P2: You'd rather go to Pick n Pay

P1: A simple banana is like five rand. ((group laughs))

P1: One banana, five rand. ((group laughs))

P1: [It's too expensive.

P4: ()

P3: So you'd rather just go outside



Acquiring food on campus



(Note: Some of the women in this group reported living in off-campus accommodation and others reported living in non-catering university residence halls)

These participants suggest that **due to the high cost of food** on campus they opt to **leave the campus to acquire food**

In particular, they complain about **the high cost of fruit**.

Acquiring food on campus

Excerpt 4

Wits 7-27-11

P: So (1.3) I eat good food. Like the food is great...Breakfast, lunch, and supper and th-they have all variety of things. Like if I don't want to eat fast food and chips I can go to the cooked food.

R: Mm.

P: You know I can go to eat some pap, like if I let's say I, aah, I miss my mom so I go for pap. My mom loves pap so I go for pap. But now, if I'm, if I'm in a hurry I take a pack. You know I just go there, five seconds I'm out. You know?

R: So the pack has like, what is, what is inside?

P: Oh, the pack it's like (.) you have (.) different options. You can have a pack with some sandwich and some cold drinks, some Simbas and chocolate. You can have a pack with some pie and juice. It's a variety of stuff, ja.



Acquiring food on campus



The participant in this excerpt reports that the food available to him at his **residence hall** is “great”

He has a **variety of options** at his disposal

He thus **indicates that he can make choices** about the kind of food he consumes and that **food is available** to him even **when he is “in a hurry”**

(Noteworthy: he **does not mention money** as a **resource / obstacle** to attaining this food.)

This is perhaps attributed to the **food being available at the residence hall** where he is housed

Note: majority of students live off campus however...

Acquiring food on campus



The participant in this excerpt reports that the food available to him at his **residence hall** is “great”

He has a **variety of options** at his disposal

He thus **indicates that he can make choices** about the kind of food he consumes and that **food is available** to him even **when he is “in a hurry”**

(Noteworthy: he **does not mention money** as a **resource / obstacle** to attaining this food.)

This is perhaps attributed to the **food being available at the residence hall** where he is housed

Note: majority of students live off campus however...

Student involvement:



“devot[ing] considerable energy to **studying**, spend[ing] much **time on campus**, **participat[ing]** actively in **student organizations**, and **interact[ing]** frequently with **faculty members** and **other students**”



Contributes to academic and social development

Eating facilities are noted as one of the key factors:
Communal eating = social glue

Catered food facilities?



Access

Variety

Convenience

University students may not necessarily have the time or tools to shop for food and prepare their own meals

Within the past two decades many South African universities **have moved away from the catering model** to purportedly make university education more affordable

Has university been made more affordable at the expense of university students going without food?

Awareness of others' food struggles

Excerpt 5

Wits 9-2-11



P3: So (.) it's hard for some people cause you-

P2: Ja, cause there's [people (here who like) can't eat. [(We were discussing it in class today)

P3: Ja. That's-

P2: There's people who actually have no meal. They can only afford to just be here, (and) pay rent

P3: Ja.

P2: and that's it. They go for days, they (they can't afford to pay for their

P1: (Others think they) just cook pap. Eat it in the morning and then settle (for it) all day.

P2: ((Nods)) (I think[)

P4: [But I think that Wits is wasting a lot of money on entertainment.]

P2: Ja. ((laughs))

P1: ((laughs))

P4: Cause it's like (freshers) party, all res picnic, Engineer breakfast whatever.

Awareness of others' food struggles



- ❖ Some people at the **university have often have no food** and **go without** meals for days
- ❖ **Survive on pap in the morning**, and suggests that they eat **nothing else all day**

- ❖ Implies that the **university does not act responsibly**
- ❖ Alludes to the university having resources to assist needy students, but not **taking adequate steps** to do so.

Awareness of others' food struggles

Excerpt 6
Wits 8-20-08



P2: Um, (.) for the course, and then you get charged for n- course notes. You get charged about I don't know three hundred, two hundred rand (.) a semester for course notes (.) And I dunno- someti[mes] I don't know (.) where that

P5: [Ja.]

P2 : [money goes because]

P1: [Ja, we don't get any] [of that.]

P5: [We don]'t get any.

P2: We don't- you don't see that money. (0.4) They put up slides and you copy down or whatever, but you still get charged for [those no]tes.

P1: [It's like] score a extra two hundred rand from [all] the [people at varsity] and

P2: [Mm.] [Each student.] And I mean uh- n- uh- [we're um]

P1: [For each course.] (0.6)

P2: .hh We're sort of (.) lucky enough that it doesn't make t- I mean a huge difference in our life, but some of the students there are- like two hundred rand is the difference between eating and not eating that month.

Awareness of others' food struggles



- ❖ P2 displays **ownership of the group's food privileges**. She notes that they are fortunate enough that the cost of course notes does not make "a huge difference in" in their lives.
- ❖ Speaks not of a particular student going without food, but **about a group of people that share a similar experience**.
- ❖ This **possibly signals** that **food acquisition among students is a known about problem** that is not attributed to the specific circumstances of a singled-out student, but is perhaps instead **a systemic problem in need of being addressed**.

Student affairs officials

Also **aware of the food struggles** experienced by students who had **very few resources** at their disposal.

Reported **bearing the burden** of **helping students** with **few institutional resources** at their disposal.

One of the student affairs officials noted that there are *"insufficient systems in place to deal with very real and disconcerting problems."*



Recommendations

Student affairs professionals should be **activists** that **champion students' most basic needs**, particularly those directly related to food acquisition and consumption



Care must be taken that these endeavors are:

- **sustainable**,
- **formal**,
- **institutionalised**, and
- that they take into consideration **human dignity**

Efforts with a focus on **charity, donations**, and **unreliable funding**:

- helpful in the **short-run**
- likely place **high demands** on a relatively few staff members,
- be **unsustainable**, and
- be **potentially damaging** for students



Careful reassessment based on realistic cost of living

Although insufficient funding and scarce resources have been the mantra of the higher education system in South Africa

If the system is experiencing dire inefficiencies
Which may contribute to the devastating drop-out rate
(50% in SA)

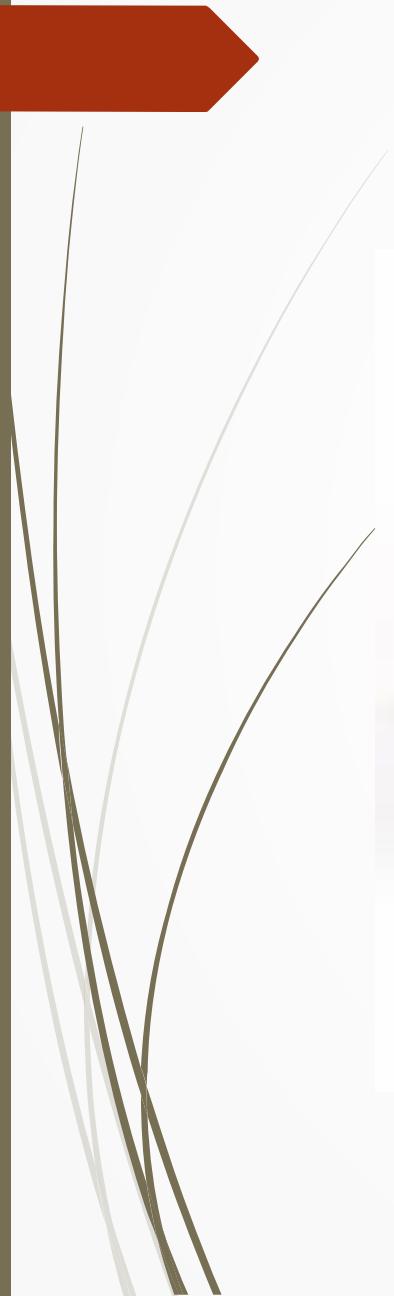
It **translates to a massive waste of national resources**

References

- Africa, H. P. (2005). *Audit: Student failure, report to ukzn*. Durban, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Astin, A. W. (1999). Student involvement: A developmental theory for higher education. *Journal of College Student Development*, 40(5), 518-529.
- Bhorat, H., van der Westhuizen, C., & Jacobs, T. (2009). *Income and non-income inequality in post-apartheid South Africa: What are the drivers and possible policy interventions?* Cape Town: Development Policy Research Unit. 30
- Branan, J. M. (1972). Negative human interaction. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 19(1), 81-82.
- Charmaz, K. (1983). The grounded theory method: An explication and interpretation. In R. Emerson (Ed.), *Contemporary field research* (pp. 109-126). Boston: Little Brown.
- Chickering, A. W. (1969). *Education and identity*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Chickering, A. W., & Reisser, L. (1993). *Education and identity* (2nd ed. ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Conyne, R. K. (1983). Models for conducting student organization development. *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 61(7), 394-397.
- Counihan, C. M. (1992). Food rules in the united states: Individualism, control, and hierarchy. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 65(2), 55-66.
- Erikson, E. H. (1959). Identity and the life cycle. *Psychological Issues*, 1, 1-171.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Firfirey, N., & Carolissen, R. (2010). 'i keep myself clean. At least when you see me, you don't know i am poor': Student experiences of poverty in south african higher education. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 24(6), 987-1002.
- Fulkerson, J. A., Neumark-Sztainer, D., & Story, M. (2006). Adolescent and parent views of family meals. *Journal of the American Diet Association*, 106, 526-532.
- Graneheim, U. H., & Lundman, B. (2004). Qualitative content analysis in nursing research: Concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness. *Nurse Education Today*, 24(2), 105-112.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 31

- Jama, M.P., Mapesela, M. L. E., & Beylefeld, A. A. (2008). Theoretical perspectives on factors affecting the academic performance of students. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 22(5), 992-1005.
- Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation* (pp. 13-23). Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kitzinger, J. (1995). Introducing focus groups. *British Medical Journal*, 311, 299-302.
- Krefting, L. (1991). Rigor in qualitative research: The assessment of trustworthiness. *The American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 45(3), 214-222.
- Letseka, M., & Maile, S. (2008). *High university drop-out rates: A threat to south africa's future*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council Policy Brief.
- Lincoln, Y. S. (1995). Emerging criteria for quality in qualitative and interpretive research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1(3), 275-289.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In Y. S. Lincoln & N. K. Denzin (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (Second ed., pp. 163-188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Love, P., & Talbot, D. (1999). Defining spiritual development: A missing consideration for student affairs. *NASPA Journal*, 37(1), 361-375.
- Maile, S. (Ed.). (2008). *Education and poverty reduction strategies: Issues of policy coherence: Colloquium proceedings*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3, 551-558. 32
- Marquis, M. (2005). Exploring convenience orientation as a food motivation for college students living in residence halls. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 29(1), 55-63.
- Maslow, A. H. (1943). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50(4), 370-396.
- Maslow, A. H. (1989). A theory of human motivation. In H. J. Leavitt (Ed.), *Readings in managerial psychology* (pp. 20-35). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Mathison, S. (1988). Why triangulate? *Educational Research*, 17(2), 13-17.
- May, J. (1998). *Poverty and inequality in south africa*. Durban, South Africa: University of Natal.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Milner, H. R. (2007). Race, culture, and researcher positionality: Working through dangers seen, unseen, and unforeseen. *Educational Researcher*, 36(7), 388-400.

- Mitchell, R., & Hall, C. M. (2003). Consuming tourists: Food tourism consumer behaviour. In C. M. Hall, E. Sharples, R. Mitchell, B. Cambourne & N. Macionis (Eds.), *Food tourism around the world: Development, management and markets* (pp. 60-80). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Munro, N., Simpson, H., & Quayle, M. (2008 September). Vulnerability to and effects of food insecurity in university students, Paper presented at the annual Southern African Association for Counselling and Development in Higher Education conference.Durban, South Africa.
- Nattrass, N., & Seekings, J. (2001). Democracy and distribution in highly unequal economies:The case of south africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 39(3), 471-498.
- Ochs, E., Pontecorvo, C., & Fasulo, A. (1996). Socializing taste. *Ethnos*, 61(1-2), 7-46. 33
- Jama, MP., Mapesela, M. L. E., & Beylefeld, A. A. (2008). Theoretical perspectives on factors affecting the academic performance of students. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 22(5).
- Posel, D. (2001). Race as common sense: Racial classification in twentieth-century south africa. *African Studies Review*, 44(2), 87-133.
- Robins, S. L. (Ed.). (2005). *Limits to liberation after apartheid: Citizenship, governance and culture*.Oxford: James Currey.
- SAIRR. (2008). *South africa survey 2007/2008*.Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.
- Sanders, D., & Chopra, M. (2006). Key challenges to achieving health for all in an inequitable society: The case of south africa. *American Journal of Public Health*, 96(1), 73-78.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Whose text, whose context? *Discourse and Society*, 8(2), 165-187.
- Schlossberg, N. K. (1981). A model for analyzing human adaptation to transition. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 9(2), 2-18.
- Schlossberg, N. K., Waters, E. B., & Goodman, J. (1995). *Counseling adults in transition* (2nd ed. ed.). New York: Springer.
- Taylor, S. J., & Bogdan, R. (1984). *Introduction to qualitative research methods* (Second ed.). New York: Wiley.
- Vaughn, S., Schumm, J. S., & Sinagub, J. (1996). *Focus group interviews in education and psychology*.Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Weaver-Hightower, M. B. (2011). Why education researchers should take school food seriously. *Educational Researcher*, 40(1), 15-21.
- Wilkinson, S. (2006). Analysing interaction in focus groups. In P. Drew, G. Raymond & D. Weinberg (Eds.), *Talk and interaction in social research methods* (pp. 50-62). London: Sage.



THANK YOU