Keamogetse Gladness Morwe

Culture of Violence as a Mechanism to Solve Problems with Authority among Students at South African Universities

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Supervised by
Professor Dr Elisa García- España
and
Associate Professor Thierry M. Luescher

AUTOR: Keamogetse Gladness Morwe

http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1151-7422

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29071
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E-mail: doctorado@uma.es

Dedication

To my inspirational father, Mokgoganyi Morwe, who planted the seeds, my tenacious mother, Mirriam Morwe, who nurtured the seed to maturity and my brothers who live to see the fruits of the seed that our parents planted. To my nieces and nephews.

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List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
BC	Black Consciousness
BDS	Ban, Disinvest and Sanction
BLF	Black First Land First
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CPUT	Cape Town University of Technology
DSD	Department of Social Development
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
EFFSC	Economic Freedom Fighters Students Command
ERS	Educational Renewal Strategy
#FMF	#FeesMustFall
GEAR	Growth and Economic and Redistribution
HBU	Historically Black University
HE	Higher Education
HWU	Historically White University
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
JSS	Jewish Student Society
MDHET	Minister of the Department of Higher Education and Training
MMR	Mixed Methods Research
NCHE	National Council on Higher Education
NDP	National Development Plan
NMMU	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NSFAS	National Students Financial Aid Scheme
NP	National Party
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
NYDA	National Youth Development Agency
NWU	North-West University
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
OECD	Organisation of European Development
PAC	Pan African Congress

PASMA	Pan African Students Movement of Azania
PTSD	Post -Traumatic Stress Disorder
PYA	Progressive Youth Alliance
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
#RMF	#RhodesMustFall
RU	Rhodes University
SANDF	South African Defence Force
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
SASO	South African Students Organisation
SASCO	South African Students Congress
SASU	South African Students Union
SMU	Sefako Makgatho University
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SASCO	South African Students Congress
SRC	Student Representative Council
SU	University of Stellenbosch
TUT	Tshwane University of Technology
Turfloop	University of Turfloop
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDW	University Colleges of Durban Westville
UFH	University of Fort-Hare
UFS	University of the Free State
UJ	University of Johannesburg
UKZN	University of KwaZulu Natal
UL	University of Limpopo
UOFS	University of the Orange Free- State
UNISA	University of South Africa
UP	University of Pretoria
UPE	University Port Elizabeth
RU	Rhodes University
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WB	World Bank
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand
YCL	Young Communist League
VC	Vice –Chancellor

Abstract

Violence has increasingly become part of South African student protests, and the #FeesMustFall (#FMF) movement was no exception. The peaceful student movement, which, began at the University of the Witwatersrand in October 2015, quickly spread to all public universities. As it became increasingly violent, it lost its cross-sectional appeal. The study seeks to establish why university students resort to violence when they have problems with authority. It adopts a mixed-methods convergent design to address the research question. A multi-variation sampling procedure differentiates participants according to university, faculty, status, and decision making power from three public higher education institutions in South Africa. A total of 177 participants partook in the study, including an online survey with 154 of these students and interviews with 23 Undergraduate, residential students, enrolled in the faculties of the Humanities, Social Sciences, Arts and Law, in their second, third or fourth year of study, completed the survey and were selected using a non-proportional stratified sampling procedure. Self-selection, purposive, and snowball techniques were procedures used for the qualitative part. Survey data were analysed concurrently using factor analysis and multinomial regression while content, constant comparison, and thematic analysis were used for narrative data. Study findings confirmed that historical and socio-economic reasons were key determinants of student protests turning violent. Interesting findings were that some students considered violence as fun, inconsequential, and a normal part of political participation. Female students bore the brunt of the protests as they were sexually harassed or threatened with such, female activists/leaders readily acknowledged the emotional effects of the violence they witnessed during the protests. These outcomes indicate that some South African students may have become de-sensitised to violence as seen in violent community protests and that such de-sensitisation is critical for understanding why student protests turn violent. Moreover, the outcomes also illustrate the value of mixed methods research in understanding the essence of violent student protests.

***Keywords*: Higher education, protests, student activism, university funding, tuition fees, violence**

Resumen

El movimiento sudafricano de lucha contra las tasas universitarias, conocido en las redes sociales con la etiqueta #FeesMustFall (#FMF) e inicialmente pacífico, derivó en el uso extremo de la violencia durante las protestas estudiantiles, lo que provocó la necesidad de comprender los motivos de aquella. En esta tesis se aplica un diseño de método mixto paralelo convergente para comprender por qué los estudiantes universitarios de Sudáfrica recurren a la violencia cuando tienen problemas con las autoridades universitarias. Se usa el procedimiento de muestreo no proporcional estratificado, con una relación multinivel para seleccionar 177 individuos de diferentes estados de tres universidades públicas. Las herramientas de recolección de datos utilizadas consistieron en una encuesta en línea y entrevistas con informantes clave. El análisis factorial y el análisis de regresión multinomial fueron las técnicas para analizar datos cuantitativos, mientras que la comparación constante y el análisis temático se utilizaron para el análisis de los datos cualitativos. Los resultados revelaron que la raza, la institución y la edad fueron determinantes de las actitudes de los estudiantes hacia el uso de la violencia; algunos incluso lo caracterizaron como una parte regular y "divertida" de la participación política. Se descubrió que la historia sociopolítica de Sudáfrica era fundamental para dar forma a las percepciones de los estudiantes. Posteriormente, los participantes reconocieron que las protestas violentas eran un modo productivo de satisfacer las necesidades. En general, los resultados sugieren que el contexto social juega un papel significativo en la insensibilidad que algunos estudiantes sudafricanos muestran ante la violencia. El estudio alcanza la conclusión de que hay una necesidad de compromiso entre las autoridades y los estudiantes universitarios. Además, la política estudiantil debería estar separada de la influencia de los partidos políticos, ya que esto parece alimentar las tensiones entre los universitarios interesados.

Palabras clave: educación superior, protestas, activismo estudiantil, matrícula, financiación universitaria, violencia.

Cultura de la violencia como mecanismo para resolver problemas con autoridades universitarias entre estudiantes universitarios sudafricanos

A nivel mundial, los estudiantes universitarios han utilizado las protestas para conseguir beneficios para ellos y su sociedad. En los últimos años, los estudiantes protestaron contra las elevadas tasas de matrícula, que emanaron de las respuestas de sus gobiernos a la recesión económica mundial de 2008. La falta de respuesta de los gobiernos resultó en una disidencia estudiantil prolongada, que, con el tiempo, se volvió violenta, como ocurrió en Gran Bretaña, Canadá y otros países, aunque con resultados diversos (Cini y Guzmàn-Concha, 2017). Este también fue el caso en Chile, Alemania y Noruega, donde se cambió la decisión con respecto a las tasas de matrícula tras las protestas prolongadas de los estudiantes (Brooks, 2019; Smith, 2014). Este tipo de movimiento se repitieron en Sudafrica en octubre de 2015, durante el movimiento estudiantil para la eliminación de las tasas conocido como #FeesMustFall (#FMF).

A pesar de ser una iniciativa reciente, el movimiento buscó desde el inicio una solución para asuntos a largo plazo: exclusiones académicas, tasas demasiado elevadas e insuficiencia de dormitorios universitarios (Congreso de Estudiantes de Sudáfrica (SASCO) 2010). Con su longevidad y difusión, el movimiento pacífico se convirtió en violento. Durante este período, los arrestos, las exclusiones académicas y los daños a la propiedad, así como las lesiones físicas y emocionales recayeron sobre los estudiantes y personal implicado de la universidad (Habib, 2019). Esta tesis revela una compleja red de factores sociales y políticos que ha desencadenado el uso de la violencia durante las protestas estudiantiles. Los desencadenantes de la violencia incluyeron la falta de respuesta de las autoridades a las quejas de los estudiantes, la habituación de la violencia en las protestas y el uso de fuerza indebida en los estudiantes por parte de los agentes de policía. Las protestas violentas en curso son un indicador de falta de diálogo y de relaciones fracturadas que conducen a la desconfianza entre las autoridades universitarias y los estudiantes (Bradford, Jackson y Milani, 2018). Se confirma también en esta investigación que con frecuencia son grupos pequeños lo que instigan a la violencia y que instrumentalizan esta para alcanzar sus objetivos concretos. Los resultados revelaron que (algunos) estudiantes percibieron la violencia como divertida; un hallazgo que no se sostiene para las estudiantes que sufrieron experiencias de acoso sexual y otros impactos emocionalmente abusivos. En general, la tendencia de las autoridades a prestar atención a los problemas de los estudiantes cuando estos protestan violentamente refuerza la combatividad. La tesis alcanza la conclusión de que existe necesidad de un mayor compromiso

de diálogo entre las autoridades y los estudiantes universitarios. Además, la política estudiantil no debería estar guiada por los intereses partidistas de los grupos políticos de la nación, ya que esto parece alimentar las tensiones entre los estudiantes universitarios interesados.

La base de las protestas violentas en las instituciones de educación superior de Sudáfrica

La política de Apartheid, que estableció universidades segregadas según la raza y el idioma, generó relaciones raciales volátiles en el sector de Educación Superior (HE). Sin embargo, el estado reprimió los esfuerzos de los estudiantes negros para oponerse a este tipo de discriminación. Eso provocó que las tensiones universitarias aún persistan durante la era democrática. El hecho de que las autoridades no respondieran a los problemas de los estudiantes derivó en que los estudiantes emplearan un cóctel volátil de estrategias no violentas, disruptivas y violentas (Chikane, 2018). Las protestas que habían afectado principalmente a las universidades históricamente negras (HBU) antes del movimiento #FMF 2015 sufrieron cambios después de la llegada de estudiantes negros a las universidades históricamente blancas (HWU). Posteriormente, los estudiantes negros se centraron en las costosas tasas de matrícula en HWU y en la reducción de subsidios gubernamentales. Los esfuerzos de transformación de sus universidades y las tarifas inasequibles fueron fundamentales para la formación del movimiento estudiantil #FMF en la Universidad de Witwatersrand (WITS), una destacada HWU liberal (Chikane, 2018).

La dinámica de la violencia en las protestas de estudiantes universitarias[1]

Los manifestantes utilizan varias estrategias para obtener concesiones de las autoridades. Estas estrategias pueden ser no violentas, disruptivas o violentas. Bohler-Muller, Roberts, Struwig, Gordon, Radebe y Alexander (2017) enumeran entre las tácticas no violentas acciones como firmar peticiones, proporcionar memorandos a funcionarios interesados, asistir a manifestaciones y marchas oficialmente autorizadas. Las tácticas disruptivas incomodan al público, ya que los manifestantes pueden bloquear las carreteras con neumáticos o rocas, utilizar altavoces durante los compromisos públicos u ocupar oficinas. Sin embargo, las protestas violentas implican la destrucción de propiedad privada o pública, lesiones físicas o amenazas (Bohler-Muller, Roberts, Struwig, Gordon, Radebe y Alexander, 2017). En 2016, 3.542 protestas de la comunidad sudafricana fueron violentas (Paret 2016), y en una lista de 50 países con las economías más grandes del mundo, Sudáfrica ocupó el undécimo lugar en protestas por capita (Louw, 2017). Según Spiegel (2015a, 2015b), parece que la oposición que existe a nivel mundial en relación con

los valores capitalistas y neoliberales alimenta la tolerancia a las protestas violentas en las universidades. En Sudáfrica, entre los años 2015 a 2018, 800 millones de rands[1] se perdieron por daños a la propiedad. La pérdida financiera entre 2015 y 2016 fue de 462.4 millones de rands, con 42 millones asignados a reclamaciones a las aseguradoras (Kahn, 2018; SASRIA, 2018). Además de los incidentes incendiarios, algunos manifestantes amenazaron a los estudiantes y los sometieron a daños físicos; por ejemplo, se prendió un autobús WITS con estudiantes dentro (Nkosi, 2017). Ocasionalmente, algunos estudiantes celebran los actos violentos, según Ndebele (2016), lo que implica que asocian la violencia con el dominio y la competitividad. Duncan (2016) clasifica los daños incurridos durante las protestas estudiantiles violentas como indicativos de un sentimiento anti-institucional.

Esta tesis utiliza el modelo de justicia procedimental de identidad social para explorar los factores personales, universitarios y sociales asociados con las protestas violentas de los estudiantes.

Identidad social y justicia procedimental

Las teorías de identidad social y justicia procesal sostienen que la formación y cristalización de la identidad es relacional. Reicher, Templeton, Neville, Ferrari y Drudy (2016) señalan que la identidad social es una constelación de auto estereotipos y categorizaciones. Los grupos que experimentan un trato favorable por parte de las autoridades desarrollan el orgullo de sí mismos y un sentido de pertenencia al grupo influyente. Las autoridades que involucran a sus seguidores en los procesos de toma de decisiones y muestran genuinidad durante los compromisos se denominan justas y equitativas en la aplicación de los procedimientos. En consecuencia, una identidad social positiva legitima la autoridad de los grupos dominantes porque no son egoístas. Bradford, Jackson y Milani (2018) afirman que esta legitimidad se basa en el deber moral y la creencia de obedecer a los que están en el poder. Cuando las autoridades son legítimas, el comportamiento deseado se normaliza sin coacción ni persuasión, ya que los seguidores confían en que las autoridades actuarán en su mejor interés. La priorización de los valores del grupo también se aplica al grupo menos poderoso.

[1] 1 Rand = 13,21 dólares (2018 rates)

En las universidades sudafricanas, la raza y la clase siguen conformando las relaciones de confrontación entre las partes interesadas. Los estudiantes negros, a diferencia de los blancos, los de color y los indios, comparten una identidad con las autoridades, que se refleja en el medio de la instrucción y la cultura institucional. Sobre la base del análisis anterior, estas teorías reflejan el estado de las relaciones en las instituciones terciarias.

Materiales y método

Esta investigación de métodos mixtos (MMR, por sus siglas en inglés) utilizó como fundamento la convergencia dando igual peso a los datos numéricos y narrativos. La integración se produjo en la fase de discusión. El estudio adoptó el procedimiento de muestreo de la variación con una relación multinivel entre las unidades de la muestra. Los aspectos de la variación fueron: la muestra, la naturaleza de la protesta y la ubicación geográfica de las universidades, la historia institucional y la cultura (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). Los criterios de inclusión en la muestra fueron: el cierre del campus, los daños a la infraestructura y la presencia de la policía en el campus durante las protestas. La adhesión a esos criterios significaba que tres de las seis universidades seleccionadas, la Universidad del Estado Libre (UFS), el WITS y la Universidad del Cabo Occidental (UWC) podían participar en el estudio. Se utilizaron procedimientos de muestreo estratificados, no proporcionales y de autoselección para seleccionar a los encuestados del cuestionario en línea, mientras que para la reunión de datos cualitativos se aplicaron métodos intencionales. Tanto el enfoque descriptivo-inferencial como el enfoque fenomenológico interpretativo (IPA) fueron modelos para los diseños del estudio. Esos dos diseños captaron el alcance de las protestas violentas, proporcionando significados contextuales y personales sobre el tema. En la tabla 1 que figura a continuación se presenta una sinopsis de la demografía de los estudiantes que participaron en la encuesta en línea.

Demografía

Tabla 1: Demografía de los encuestados

Variable	N	Minimo	Maximo	Media	Desviación estándar	Diferencia
Institución	154	1	3	1.93	.724	.524
Facultad	153	1	3	2.11	.694	.481
Sexo	154	1	2	1.34	.474	.225
Edad	154	1	3	1.29	.559	.313
Raza	152	1	4	1.98	1.226	1.503
Patrocinio	152	1	4	1.75	1.031	1.063
Nivel de estudio	105	2	4	2.56	.720	.518
Valido (listwise	N 102					

Los datos registrados en la Tabla 1 ilustran el número total de estudiantes que completaron la encuesta en línea, incluyendo los valores perdidos que oscilaban entre el 1,3% y el 32%. El estudio se dirigió a los estudiantes universitarios, mujeres y hombres matriculados, residentes entre las edades de 18 y 28 años, de segundo a tercer o cuarto año en las facultades de Artes y Ciencias Sociales, Humanidades y Derecho. Luescher-Mamashela (2015) afirma que la edad, la facultad y la residencia en el campus determinan la participación en la protesta. La participación está sesgada hacia los estudiantes de WITS, de la Facultad de Derecho, mujeres y negros. El comienzo del movimiento #FMF en WITS vio una alta proporción de mujeres en el sector de la educación superior y la prominencia de las estudiantes como líderes del #FMF. Con respecto a los estudiantes negros, ellos, a diferencia de sus compañeros, tienen más probabilidad de abandonar la universidad debido a la exclusión financiera (Stats SA, 2019).

Un total de 23 informantes clave participaron en las entrevistas. Del total, 14 eran estudiantes, dos eran estudiantes ordinarios que habían completado previamente la encuesta y el resto pertenecía al Consejo Representativo de Estudiantes (SRC) o activistas. Los nueve participantes restantes entrevistados eran miembros del personal (tres por campus): académicos/activistas, altos directivos o funcionarios de asuntos estudiantiles.

Fiabilidad y legitimidad de los instrumentos de investigación

El análisis factorial exploratorio (EPT) extrajo los siguientes factores: satisfacción con las condiciones generales de la universidad; normalidad de la violencia; dinámica de la violencia; niveles de tratamiento y factores de autoeficacia. La EPT es apropiada cuando la consistencia interna no indica confiabilidad ni unidimensionalidad (Lakens et al., 2018). Además de esto, la Medida de Adecuación de Muestreo de Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin fue de 0.539, y la prueba de esfericidad de Bartlett fue significativa, lo que justifica el uso de EFA (Taherdoost, Sahibuddin y Jalaliyon, 2014). El alfa de Cronbach fue de 0.423 debido a la muestra homogénea y al bajo número de preguntas (Gie Yong y Pearce, 2013). La realización del estudio en diferentes lugares, la realización de un seguimiento de auditoría y la realización de verificaciones de los encuestados legitimaron los datos recopilados (Korstjens & Moser; 2018). El estudio utilizó el método de selección de regresión multinomial hacia adelnate para ver qué variables se ajustaban al modelo. McDonald (2014) afirma que, aunque el método de selección directa se basa en el juicio, es apropiado para muestras pequeñas. Los datos generados se presentan en tablas y cuadros de frecuencias. Para los datos cualitativos se utilizó el método de integración contigua, ya que los resultados cuantitativos y cualitativos se separaron hasta la fase de debate (Fetters, Curry y Creswell, 2013). A continuación se examinan los hallazgos del estudio.

Resultados del estudio

Tanto los datos numéricos como los narrativos confirmaron que las protestas en los tres campus mencionados fueron violentas y perjudiciales, incluyendo el vandalismo que se extendió a los incendios provocados y la quema de propiedades, así como el boicot y la interrupción de las conferencias. Los directores ejecutivos captaron los matices del movimiento y la violencia en sus universidades de la siguiente manera:

"... si no fuera por la invasión y asalto de Shimla Park, UFS no habría tenido ninguna protesta significativa. Hubo relativamente pocos trastornos. Creo que esto tiene que ver con el foro abierto en el campus entre la administración y los estudiantes, un nivel inusualmente alto de inversión en estudiantes desde un punto de vista de liderazgo, y el relativo aislamiento de la UFS de las principales fuerzas políticas urbanas y de múltiples universidades alrededor del campus de Bloemfontein." Prof. Jansen, M, C, VC, UFS.

"El movimiento ha sido muy pacífico; fue hasta noviembre de ese año, luego comenzó a convertirse en violencia pero luego lo logramos. Realmente se volvió violento en lugares como UWC "Prof. Habib, M, I, VC, WITS.

Los ejecutivos de ambas universidades presentan a sus universidades como algo alejado de la violencia experimentada en otros campus. Para el UFS, las estructuras efectivas fueron pertinentes para contener la violencia, que ocurrió debido al evento de Shimla Park. Lo mismo se puede decir de WITS, que fue capaz de controlar la violencia. Al establecer los factores que contribuyen a las protestas violentas, los estudiantes citaron varias razones, como se muestra a continuación en la Figura 1

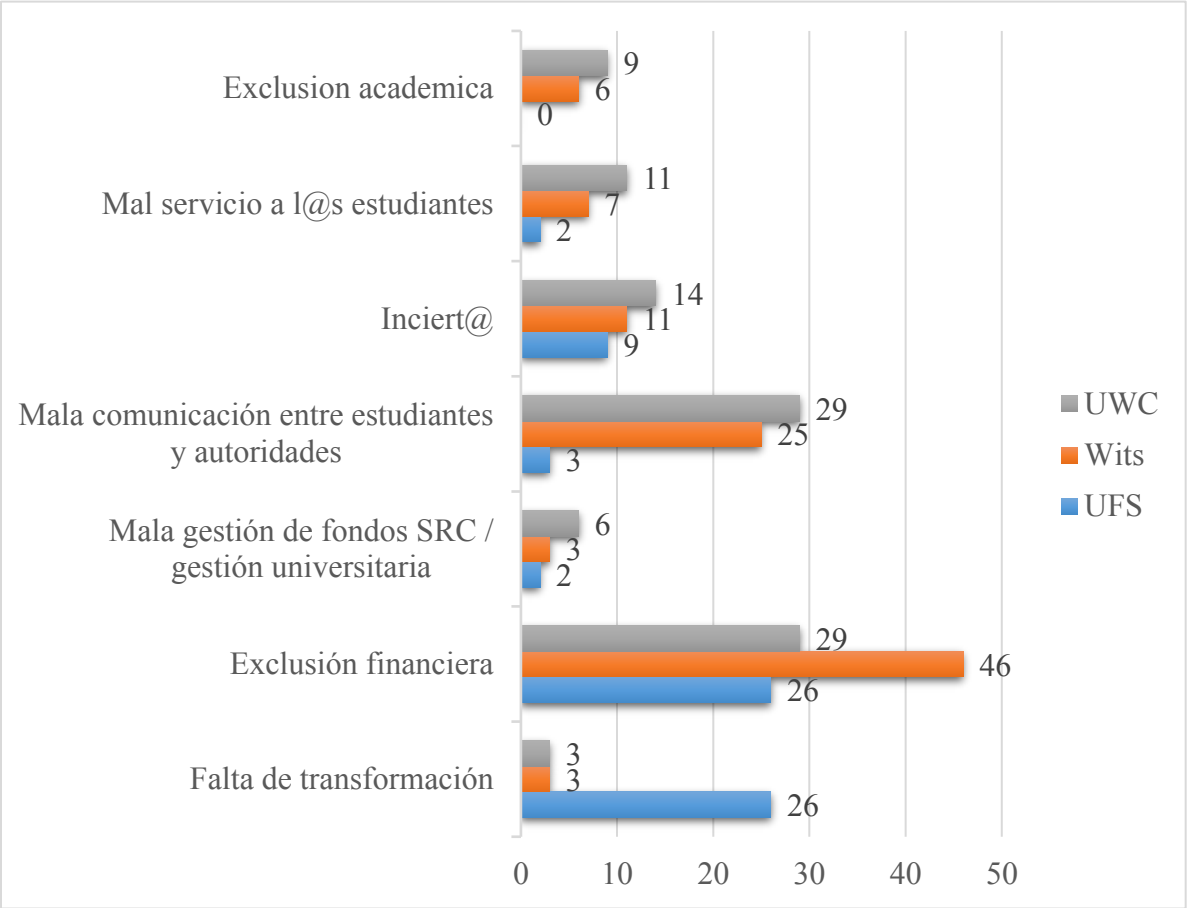

Figura 1: Factores que contribuyen a las protestas violentas

La Figura 1 revela que los estudiantes de UFS tenían más probabilidades de mencionar la falta de transformación (26%) y menos probabilidades de ser inciertos (2%) como contribuyentes a las protestas. El clima y la historia de la institución parecen haber contribuido a las respuestas de los estudiantes. Para los estudiantes de UWC, la exclusión financiera (29%) y la falta de comunicación (29%) fueron razones críticas para las protestas. Los resultados de UWC se aplicaron a WITS (46% y 25%), respectivamente. La proporción de probabilidades (OR) de que los estudiantes negros estuvieran en desacuerdo en lugar de estar satisfechos con las tasas que se cobran en sus instituciones era casi tres veces mayor (292%) en comparación con los estudiantes de color, indios y blancos, OR=3,921, p=0,002. Estos datos reflejan que los estudiantes estaban insatisfechos con las autoridades.

Las probabilidades de que un estudiante negro no esté de acuerdo (en lugar de estar de acuerdo) en que los estudiantes universitarios se esfuerzan por promover relaciones positivas con

los estudiantes fueron OR = 20.01, p = .000. Las percepciones discrepantes pueden estar relacionadas con razones históricas, donde las instituciones eran instrumentos que perpetuaban la exclusión racial y la subyugación, pero también con la falta de resolución de problemas. Es importante destacar que los estudiantes mencionaron el desprecio que experimentaron por la gestión universitaria. La siguiente declaración explica las razones que hay detrás de las afirmaciones de los estudiantes negros sobre la indiferencia de la administración universitaria:

"*Nosotros dijimos: 'Por favor, respétennos' ya sabes. Los estudiantes cantaron una canción que cantan cada vez que están muy enojados. 'Le entse ka bomo, ha se lebaka le re tlwaela masepa, le entse ka bomo' (Lo que hiciste fue deliberado, nos están dando por sentado). Y luego rechazó el memorándum" Gugu, F, B, L, UFS.*

Las autoridades universitarias obtuvieron la aportación de los estudiantes al verse a sí mismos como accesibles para los estudiantes, incluso llegando a interactuar con ellos en las redes sociales. Además, la disponibilidad de estructuras universitarias contribuyó a los esfuerzos de las autoridades para construir relaciones positivas con los estudiantes. A continuación se presentan dos de las respuestas de las autoridades universitarias:

"No hay otra universidad en Sudáfrica que tenga una política de puertas abiertas más consistente para estudiantes y líderes estudiantiles en todos los niveles de la institución, desde la Oficina del Rector hasta el Instituto para la Reconciliación y la Justicia (IRSJ) (creada específicamente para este propósito) y Asuntos Estudiantiles ", Prof. Jansen, M, B, VC, UFS.

"Sí, comprometo a los estudiantes; Soy muy activo en Twitter porque muchos de los estudiantes viven allí [sus vidas]. También tengo reuniones en el ayuntamiento, que los activistas políticos dominan" Prof. Habib, M, I, VC, WITS.

Los aportes de estas autoridades indican que creían que las estructuras y sistemas que desarrolló la universidad eran adecuados para abordar los problemas de los estudiantes. Ambos comparten los esfuerzos personales e institucionales realizados para mejorar los compromisos con los estudiantes, aunque el profesor Habib afirma que sus esfuerzos no satisfacen a todos los estudiantes. Su declaración implica que los activistas políticos pueden ignorar las voces de los estudiantes que representan.

Los resultados del análisis de las motivaciones para los estudiantes que participaron en protestas incluyeron: "nada", presión de grupo y / o miedo a represalias, razones morales y razones personales. Las probabilidades para un estudiante negro de posicionarse en "nada" en lugar de

"razones personales" son entre 0.021 y 0.309 veces mayores que las de un estudiante de otras razas, o sea .080, p = .000 frente a razones morales y nada, en comparación con las respuestas de estudiantes de color / indios / blancos.

Los estudiantes de entre 18 y 22 años se inclinaron a compartir que las "razones morales" eran su motivación en comparación con los estudiantes mayores, quienes citaron las "razones personales" como su motivación.

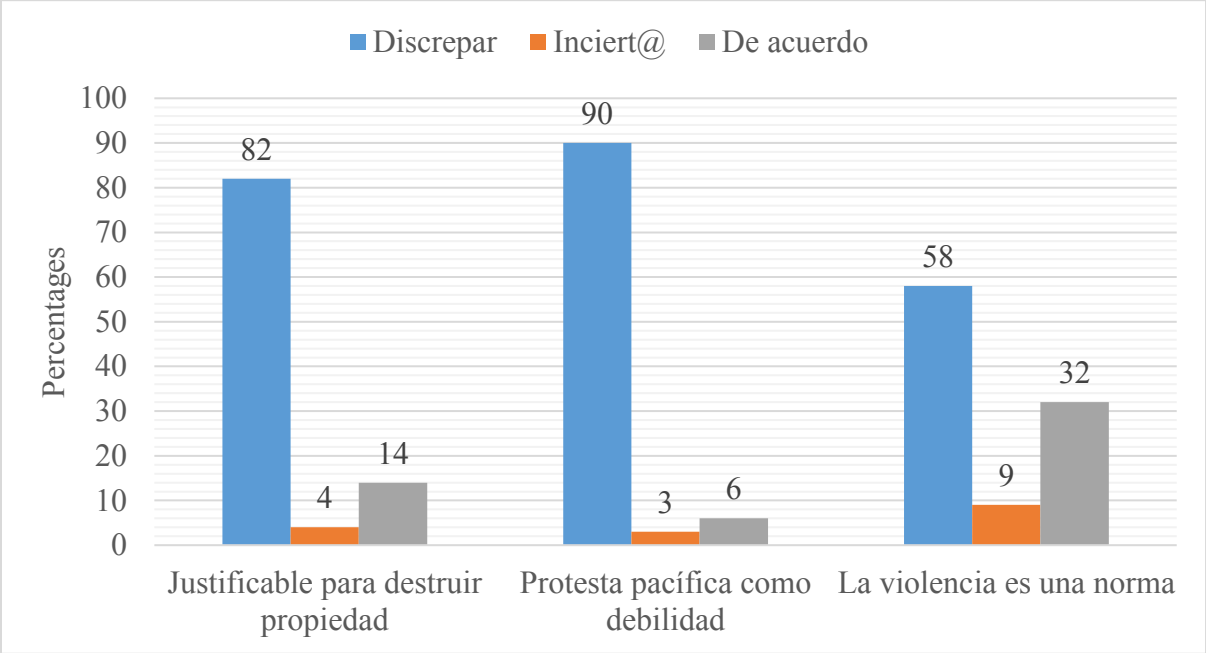

Figura 2: Normalidad de la violencia.

La Figura 2 muestra los elementos que normalizan el uso de la violencia durante las protestas estudiantiles. Las preguntas formuladas fueron si (i) las protestas pacíficas eran un signo de debilidad; (ii) si hay justificación para destruir la propiedad cuando está enojado; (iii) y si la violencia es una norma en las protestas estudiantiles. La mayoría de los encuestados (82%) indicaron que no creen que sea justificable que los estudiantes destruyan propiedades para demostrar su enojo, y no estuvieron de acuerdo con la afirmación de que "un ataque pacífico es un signo de debilidad" (90%). En general, los estudiantes entrevistados parecían estar en contra de la violencia; sin embargo, un análisis descriptivo de la institución y la pregunta reveló que los estudiantes de WITS y los estudiantes negros estaban de acuerdo con la declaración. El pequeño tamaño de la muestra arrojó una prueba de chi-cuadrado de importancia poco confiable ya que más del 20% de las células esperaban frecuencias menores a 5.

"¿No es la tendencia que, a menos que queme 22 escuelas [quemada en la aldea de Vuwani en 2016], el gobierno no actuará?" Joy, F, C, SA, WITS.

El funcionario de Asuntos Estudiantiles indicó que, en general, las autoridades refuerzan la violencia a medida que abordan los problemas de la comunidad cuando ocurre la violencia, haciendo de la violencia un medio para su fin. Para Sine, la violencia está arraigada en la vida diaria, por lo tanto, es inverosímil que los estudiantes no la usen para cambiar el status quo. Es importante destacar que la declaración de dicho estudiante revela que la violencia es aceptable cuando se usa contra otros grupos, lo que justifica su uso. Las opiniones de Sine se presentan a continuación:

"Nuestra vida diaria es violencia. El fuego nos liberará porque estamos alterando la propiedad de las cosas que sentimos son opresivas. De cualquier manera que saquemos al opresor de la escena, es una liberación para nosotros "Sine, Male, líder de #FMF y miembro de PASMA, UWC.

Además, confirmando la normalidad de la violencia está la creencia de que la violencia es divertida. Descubrir la violencia como diversión revela que algunos estudiantes fueron insensibles a la violencia. Por lo tanto, no son reacios a usarlo. Mpho compartió los siguientes sentimientos:

"Algunos piensan que cuando las personas corre, es divertido, esto incluye romper las ventanas del auto, quemar llantas, basura y papeleras" Mpho, M, B, S, UFS.

Acompañando a lo anterior, encontramos que participar en la violencia provoca una sensación de euforia y descarga de adrenalina. Aparentemente, estos actos de violencia ocurren en un estado apresurado mientras la gente corre. La conclusión podría ser que estos estudiantes son conscientes de las consecuencias de la violencia, por ahí su prisa por huir a un lugar seguro después de participar en estos actos destructivos.

Contrariamente a la afirmación de Mpho sobre la diversión en la violencia, las líderes estudiantiles femeninas y otras estudiantes que participaron en el movimiento, experimentaron lo contrario. Elas fueron acosadas sexualmente y amenazadas con violencia sexual. Este último se utiliza como táctica de reclutamiento.

"Algunos hombres aprovecharon la oportunidad para 'tocar a tientas' y las estudiantes compartieron que 'no me inscribí para ser violada". Joy, F, C, SA, WITS.

"Nuestras estudiantes fueron informadas por estudiantes varones que formaban parte del grupo de protesta" no seremos responsables de lo que ocurra en esta sala esta noche". ¿Puedes siquiera empezar a imaginar el efecto que tiene en la psicología de la estudiante? Kyle, M, I, SA, UWC.

Las declaraciones anteriores demuestran que los estudiantes varones acosaron sexualmente a las estudiantes que fueron o no parte de las protestas. Joy indica el tipo físico y directo de acoso sexual, mientras que la declaración de Kyle se refiere a los efectos psicológicos del acoso. Ambos casos reflejan las terribles experiencias de las alumnas, hayan participado o no en las protestas. Estas citas revelan en primer lugar que la dinámica de poder en los movimientos estudiantiles se centra en las relaciones de género. En segundo lugar, sugieren que los activistas estudiantiles varones pueden subvertir el propósito original de justicia social en la búsqueda de su causa, representando por la violencia, dominio y agresión a través de su acoso psicológico y sexual a las mujeres.

Tanto los datos numéricos como los narrativos anteriores revelan la discrepancia en las percepciones que los estudiantes y las autoridades sostienen sobre las medidas para frenar las protestas violentas. En general, los resultados indicaron que los estudiantes consideraban que las medidas aplicadas por las autoridades eran punitivas. Sin embargo, cuando se agregan según la raza, los estudiantes indios, de color y blancos estos se posicionaron del lado de las autoridades. Los participantes sugirieron las siguientes soluciones para frenar las protestas violentas (véase la tabla 2).

Tabla 2. Soluciones propuestas para reducir las protestas violentas

Variable	**Chi square estatistica**	**D.F**	**P value**	**Porcentaje de frequencias esperadas inferiores a 5**	**Minimo frequencias esperadas**
Nivel de estudio	6	6	0.404	50	2.16
Raza	31	6	0.000	28.6	3.28
Institución	24	12	0.021	52.4	1.83
Facultad	15	12	0.237	52.4	1.53
Sexo	6	6	0.368	28.6	2.72
Edad	5	12	0.951	57.1	0.42
Patrocinio	12.94	6	0.044	28.6	2.54

La prueba de significación chi-cuadrado reveló que existe una relación significativa entre la raza p = .000 y la institución p = .021 y las soluciones propuestas para reducir las protestas violentas. Los estudiantes negros tienen más probabilidades de citar la transparencia (53%) en el gobierno de las universidades y la retroalimentación periódica de las autoridades (25%). Es probable que los estudiantes de color / indios y blancos opten por la suspensión académica (21%), el arresto (18%) y la expulsión académica (21%). Estas respuestas discrepantes demuestran que los estudiantes negros habían disminuido la confianza en las autoridades, destacando su necesidad de comunicación abierta. Los datos cualitativos confirmaron los sentimientos de los estudiantes negros, ya que también pidieron apertura de las autoridades universitarias. Las autoridades también apoyaron el diálogo como medida para frenar las protestas violentas.

"Responda a las necesidades de los estudiantes, las demandas de los estudiantes, eso es todo". Vongani, M, B, A, UFS.

"Compromiso, sentido de propiedad y consultas significativas. La violencia es compleja y no puede explicarse linealmente ". John, M, B, SA, oficina de DVC, UWC.

Discusión de hallazgos

El estudio tuvo como objetivo explorar por qué los estudiantes universitarios recurren a la violencia cuando tienen problemas con las autoridades universitarias. Los datos numéricos revelaron que la raza, la institución y la edad eran variables demográficas clave que configuraban las actitudes de los estudiantes hacia la violencia, mientras que los factores contextuales aparentemente acentuaban las creencias de los estudiantes. Ambas vertientes de datos confirmaron que los repertorios de protesta eran dinámicos; sin embargo, los datos cualitativos se inclinaron por la naturaleza violenta de las protestas. Los resultados indican que los manifestantes utilizan un continuo de tácticas para lograr sus objetivos y los éxitos anteriores determinan esta trayectoria (Tilly, 2004).

Las razones de los estudiantes para participar en protestas diferían según su institución. Los estudiantes de UFS mencionaron la falta de transformación, mientras que las exclusiones financieras se dieron como motivo para otras instituciones. Estos resultados reafirman los hallazgos recientes de que las tarifas inaccesibles generaron protestas estudiantiles (Brooks, 2019; Cini y Guzmàn-Concha, 2017). La exclusión financiera era particular para los estudiantes negros; por lo tanto, negaron la autenticidad de las autoridades universitarias para establecer relaciones positivas. La mayoría de los estudiantes negros sintieron que las autoridades les faltaron el respeto. Bradford, Jackson y Milani (2018) comparten que el respeto genera cooperación con la administración universitaria. En este caso, los estudiantes negros cuestionaron la legitimidad de las autoridades, en consecuencia, hubo una falta de comunicación y los lazos sociales débiles entre estos dos grupos. Según Philipps (2016), la falta de una identidad compartida debilita las relaciones sociales y desencadena conflictos y propensión a la violencia.

Curiosamente, este estudio reveló la medida en que estos estudiantes fueron insensibles a la violencia, ya que algunos compartieron que participar en la violencia era divertido. Esta afirmación se suma a la lista de técnicas energizantes, como el canto y el baile que utilizan los movimientos para crear un sentido de comunidad y propósito (della Porta y Diani, 2006; Jasper 2012). Asociar la violencia con la diversión también contradice la afirmación de que las protestas violentas indican ira e indignación moral (Jasper, 2014). Etiquetar las protestas violentas como divertidas es un área poco explorada en las protestas sudafricanas, aunque un estudio irlandés llegó a la misma conclusión (Leonard, 2010). Otro hallazgo importante de este estudio es el grado de acoso sexual que enfrentan las estudiantes, independientemente de si son parte del movimiento estudiantil o no. Aunque los movimientos sociales apuntan a salvaguardar los derechos de los demás, el movimiento #FMF fue un conducto para la discriminación y la represión de género. Este hallazgo indica que los miembros del movimiento social tienden a priorizar su causa, con poca consideración de cómo puede afectar a otras partes (Habib, 2019).

La historia política de Sudáfrica ha moldeado las percepciones de violencia de los estudiantes y la respuesta de las autoridades a las protestas parece desempeñar un papel en la normalización de las protestas violentas. Los resultados del estudio confirmaron que la violencia es instrumental; lo que es una característica común en las protestas estudiantiles. Otros investigadores, como Booysens (2016) y Bohler-Muller, Roberts, Struwig, Gordon, Radebe y Alexander (2017) también afirman que la población negra aprueba más las protestas violentas que las pacíficas, porque las autoridades, tras la violencia, aceptan sus peticiones. Por lo tanto, las acciones de los estudiantes reflejan lo que ocurre en sus comunidades. Cabe señalar que estos hallazgos no son peculiares de Sudáfrica, ya que un estudio realizado con jóvenes de Hong Kong también se compartió que las protestas deberían ser violentas (Ng & Chan, 2017).

Las soluciones sugeridas para frenar las protestas violentas dependían de la raza y el estado. Los estudiantes negros, a diferencia de los estudiantes de color / indios / blancos, optaron por reformas institucionales, en lugar de sanciones, porque no creían que los procesos universitarios fueran justos y transparentes. La creencia en las sanciones sugiere que los otros grupos raciales pensaban que las autoridades eran legítimas y justas. Estos resultados requieren la necesidad de un diálogo accionable para armonizar las relaciones entre los estudiantes y la administración de la universidad.

Conclusión

El propósito de este estudio de métodos mixtos fue investigar por qué los estudiantes universitarios se involucran en violencia cuando tienen problemas con las autoridades universitarias. Un procedimiento de muestreo multinivel apuntó a tres de las seis universidades que participaron. Los resultados del estudio señalan que el uso de la violencia en las protestas es generalizado y normalizado en Sudáfrica. Los factores personales (raza y edad) e identidad social (institución) fueron las principales variables encontradas que configuran la propensión de los estudiantes a la violencia. Sin embargo, la historia sociopolítica de Sudáfrica sentó las bases para la aceptabilidad de la violencia en situaciones de conflicto. Ello ha derivado en su normalización, lo que lleva a la percepción (para algunos hombres) de que es divertido. Para las estudiantes, las protestas tuvieron impactos psicológicos, físicos (acoso sexual) adicionales, cuestionando la concepción general de los movimientos estudiantiles y las tácticas de reclutamiento utilizadas. El uso del investigador del diseño paralelo convergente fue clave para estos hallazgos. El estudio concluye que las protestas violentas pueden ser emocionantes o provocar estrés; por lo tanto, se necesita más investigación sobre los factores que alimentan este estado.

Chapter One: Overview of the Study

No one would have predicted that the 2015-2016 academic year would be a memorable one in the higher education (HE) sector. From March 2015, South Africa witnessed an unprecedented and volatile wave of protests at 24 of the 26 public HE institutions after proposed increases for tuition and boarding fees. Police officers and security personnel violently dispersed most of these protests, which ultimately led to different periods of closure at these institutions. The South African government appointed two commissions to investigate students' grievances, one by the Minister of the Department of Higher Education and Training (MDHET) and another by the then President Mr. Jacob Zuma (Bond, 2015; Karodia, Soni, & Soni, 2016). Students continued to protest against the imposition of tuition fees, and further opposed the national blanket 6% fee increase that the Minister and the university vice-chancellors (VCs) had earlier presented as a concession toward ending the impasse in 2015. Irrespective of the discussions, negotiations, and strategies to deal with this situation, protests were banned and institutions shut down. Some students were arrested, and some suspended or expelled. The environment of surveillance affected student freedom of movement and association. In all of the campuses, private security and police officers came in to help counter the protests (Furlong, 2016; Kamanzi, 2016; Nicolson, 2015b). The resultant securitisation and "militarisation" of the campuses did little to subdue the tensions. In some cases, students and the private securities engaged in altercations, and during these, either of the parties was ready to secure their position (Oosterom, 2016; van der Westhuizen, 2014; Zeilig & Ansell, 2008).

Violent student protests and coercive measures to deal with such are a common and persistent feature at South African universities that began before democracy in 1994 (Boren, 2001; Davies, 1996; Rupert, 1991). Measures used during the 2015-2016 academic year were the same as those used during the apartheid era as these ranged from closing the university, calling the police officers to defuse the protests, suspending or expelling student leaders, or those thought to be the ringleaders of the protest. Differences were that neither the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) was on the campuses nor students forced to reapply for readmission en-masse (Badat, 1999). However, these measures proved ineffective as they angered students and increased the level of violence at some institutions.

For example, private security guards earned themselves the name 'bouncers' for harassing and beating students on and outside campus indiscriminately (Nicolson, 2015b). Students do not solely instigate violent protests. Government, political opposition parties or, even opportunists, often infiltrate movements (Lloyd, Rossouw, Lynch, & David, 2014; Mzamane, Maaba, & Biko, 2004). These counter movements often operate within the ambit of student movements even though they aim to discredit the student's cause, polarise them from the community and offer the government ample backing to use the police to quell the protests. Hence, the socio-political environment is an essential issue to consider.

Research Purpose

The purpose of the study is to explore the reason why university students resort to using violence when they have problems with those in authority. The study is both appropriate and relevant as, despite a democratic dispensation, South African universities have been unable to untangle from their violent historical narrative. While such narrative is most common at Historically Black Universities (HBUs), it now occurs at all universities irrespective of their historic racial identity.

Research Goal and Objectives

The goal of the research study is to examine the reasons student resort to violence when they have problems with the university authorities. Objectives of the study are as follows:

- To investigate the nature and extent of violent behaviour of South African students when dealing with authorities within the university environment.
- To examine the contributory factors of student violence from the point of view of those in authority.
- To appraise the perceived benefits of violence from the students' perspective.
- To explore mechanisms to delink problems and violence.

Research Questions

Why do university students use violence when they are having problems with those in authority? The study has the following sub-questions:

Sub-question 1: What is the nature of the violent behaviour that the students direct to the university management?

- What are the typical problems of students on campus?
- How do these problems affect the students?
- What are the typical violent behaviours that the students engage in when seeking to be heard?
- How should these problems be expressed?

Sub-question 2. What can be attributed to be the contributory factors of the violent behaviour of the students?

- What are the support structures available to deal with the problems of the students?
- How effective are the existing structures to address the problems that students' face?
- Are there programmes available to foster a common campus identity between students and those in authority?

Sub-question 3: What are the benefits of using violence/ protests for the students?

- What are students' attitudes to the use of violence?
- How does the university respond to violent protests?
- How effective are the measures used to deal with the use of violence?

Sub question 4: What can be done to reduce the students' use of violence when they have problems with authority?

- What are the social values that can contribute to reducing violence?
- How can institutional grievance procedures maximise violence prevention?
- How can education be used to promote a non-violent approach to problem solving?

Subsequently, the research looked at the issues that dominate student–authority relations, the violent or nonviolent modalities of responding to these and lastly to explore and suggest alternative means that can aid to restore relations between the concerned parties.

Statement of the Research Problem

Although violent university protests are a common feature at African universities and the world over, contradict the essence of HE, which is to train caring and considerate students to secure the future of South Africa (Altbach, 1984, Buthelezi n.d; Brown, 2010; Chege, 2006; Cloete & Maasen 2015). In South Africa, protests and violence in such settings have been increasing at an alarming rate. Between 2002 and 2004, there were 149 protests at HEIs, 109 at Historically Black Universities (HBU), and 45 at Historically White Universities (HWU) some sustained and others not (Koen, Cele, & Libhaber; 2006). In 2014, damage to property at 15 of the 25, universities amounted to R14 million ($ 105, 6217.40), thus escalating insurance costs (Parliamentary Monitoring Group [PMG], 2014; Maape, 2014). This data illustrates that violent protests are costly and may render the HE system unsustainable. Rapatsa (2017) asserts the above, pointing out that intimidation, damage to property, racial exclusion, threats, and a generalised level of ill-discipline often accompany student protests. These repetitive violent behaviours damage the moral fibre and cohesion of society (Priestland, 2015).

With the contribution of university students undeniable and given the pressure they exert, governments have variously considered or changed their HE policies, and some adopted democratic governance (Omari & Mihyo, 1991; O'Hogan, 2008; Diramio, 2015). It is the perpetual use of violence that is worrisome, particularly in instances where it is no longer directed to the university authorities but the fellow students in opposition politics. For instance, the use of violence during student elections seems to be the norm (Makoni, 2015). Oddly, the perpetrators of these violent behaviours do not have direct experience of *apartheid*. Students' unruly behaviour seem to mirror what occurs in their communities during service delivery protests, which are taken as a critical response to engage with the municipalities (Alexander & Pfaffe, 2014).

Violent behaviour may pose questions about the value of education given that HE aims to develop a sense of values that guide practices of enquiry and conscious citizenship (Department of Education [DOE], 1997; Morrow, 2009, Harris, 2012). Therefore, a student's violent behaviour undercuts the holistic, transformative power of education, especially since university education is the highest form of education that ought to benefit both the individual and the community, as it promotes social justice and active citizenship (Jensen & Aamondt, 2002).

The students' use of violence and propensity for violent activities is uncouth. From the student's perspective, however, their actions are a dialogical tool to engage with the university authorities. These actions seemingly replicate the popular protest repertoires followed in most of the South African universities. For instance, at the University of Fort Hare (UFH), the students destroyed a partially renovated multi-million rand building because the renovations took long to complete (HESA, 2011). At the University of Kwa Zulu-Natal (UKZN) Durban Westville campus, students destroyed property in response to the hiking of fees (Jansen, 2012). While other academic-related issues are triggers for riots (Cele, 2008; Omari & Mihyo,1991; Zeilig & Dawson, 2008) some, grievances seem bizarre. For example, students at the Walter Sisulu University (WSU) demanded that they are examined on the module until they passed (Jansen, 2012). Whereas, at the UKZN, Durban Westville campus, students engaged in a violent protest on Sunday night when administrators were not on campus to address their grievances (African News Agency [ANA], 2015). The above examples show, to an extent, that students often raise genuine concerns; however, the strategies that they use may either speed up or retard their resolution.

Violent university protests create insecurity and lower quality education (Habib, 2019; Weeramunda, 2008). Moreover, they ultimately affect relations with other stakeholders, (DOE, 1997; Al-louzi & Farhan 2009; Abbott, 2012; Kamencu, 2013; Mcquarrie, Kondra, & Lamertz, 2013). One may attribute the students' actions to their lack of identification, belonging, and connectedness to their institutions, including the assimilation of values (Luescher-Mamashela, Ssembatya, Brooks, Lange, Magume, & Richmond, 2015). Research undertaken at three Nigerian institutions of HE revealed that students who are disconnected from their environment are likely to have low expectations of self, low self-esteem and to engage in destructive behaviours (Kim & Irwin, 2013; Omenyi, Agu, & Odimegwu, 2010; Pym, Goodman & Patsika, 2011).

For South Africa it is undeniable that this behaviour is attributable to a legacy of *apartheid*. Therefore, this study argues that in order to prevent this scourge of violence, an attitude change is necessary to promote student self- regulation and efficacy (Jansen, 2002). This study further considers how to achieve and uphold this goal in terms of education being about developing students' sense of values that guide practices of enquiry and conscious citizenship (Bruinius, 2015; Department of Higher Education and Training [DHET], 1997, 2013; Jansen, 2016; Morrow, 2009). The students are considered future professionals and advocates of social justice and social cohesion. However, the actions of students engaging in such protests may affect the moral fibre and cohesion and the future of South Africa (Woodrooffe, 2011). While, ostensibly, ending violence is not in totality a solution to all of South Africa's problems, advocating for safe communities may potentially promote social cohesion and trust.

Significance of the Study

South Africa faces numerous socio-economic challenges, such as inequality, unemployment, and poverty. These macroeconomic challenges often prompt communities to protest violently against the government. Consequently, violent protests are a symptom of the existing socio-economic challenges; however, their pervasiveness also makes them a challenge. Whereas South Africa is not exceptional with its challenges, there is a need to establish why violent protests are pervasive at universities.

This study proposes to make the following contributions. Firstly, it aims to build on existing knowledge as several studies that explored how violence affects society in general. Further, the majority of HE studies were done during the apartheid era. For example, Nkomo (1985) and Badat's (1999) focussed on student activism with little focus on violence. Post-apartheid studies like those of Koen, Cele, & Libhaber (2006); Luescher (2008); Luescher-Mamashela, (2011) Mugume, (2015) and Muya (2014) focussed on student access, activism, and leadership. Cele (2014) went on to recommend the need to investigate violent flare-ups during students' protests, which Meijer (2017) addressed, though using a qualitative design. Essentially, this study anticipates to provide current information on the motives for students to use violence to solve problems.

Secondly, this study offers insights for universities to make sense of how conflict dynamics between students and the authorities escalate to violence. Thus, the study will outline reasons for students to resort to the use of violence. This endeavour is necessary to identify the triggers of violence at universities. Lastly, while the study acknowledges that violent protests are beneficial, these benefits are temporary. Thus, it seeks to suggest alternative strategies that both students and university authorities can use to engage, to prevent, or minimise the level of conflict and to avert violence.

Definition of Concepts

Violence

Violence is the intentional use of "physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person or against a group or community that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation" (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, Lozano, 2002:1084). The definition encompasses the physical, psychological, legal, and socio-economic consequences on those subjected to it (World Health Organization [WHO], 2014). The shift from looking at violence not only as physical is encouraging because this definition acknowledges the complexity of violence and that it is integrated with possible overlaps. For instance, disruption of lectures whether with direct, subtle violence, or none at all have the potential to cause injury, psychological harm, and deprivation. Strategies used to disrupt lectures include screaming, jumping on desks, tearing test papers, and, at times, releasing water from the fire hoses into lecture halls (Peté, 2015; Wits Vuvuzela Staff Reporter, 2016). While is it indisputable that people respond differently to stimuli, Arnal, Flinker, Kleinschmidt, Girand, & Poeppel (2015) share that the sudden nature of screaming is both scary and startling, activates the amygdala and may trigger fight or flight response. Burra, Kerzel, Munoz Tord, Grandjean, & Cerevolo (2018) share that the brain as more responsive to danger rather than joy, so as to help one avert harm.

Whatever its modality, violence is a goal-directed behaviour to subdue another to realise specific objectives. Extensive property damage leads to deprivation and psychological harm, creates fear and uncertainty on service users because they are unable to predict the consequences to befall them. The above statement, illustrates the complexities in the definition of violence and necessitates the adoption of the public health definition, as it is comprehensive. Violence takes its meaning from the actors involved in its perpetration (youth violence or gender-based violence), the tools (guns and knives) used to perpetrate it and the actual action (assault and battery). Defining violence rests on the victim's belief that there is a likelihood of being harmed (Fakir, 2014). In this instance, defining what violence is, depends on the person who is at the receiving end of the treatment, although subjective and might hamper a comprehensive definition: its validity rests upon the relational aspects of violence.

Violent repertoires are used in private, the public, and between individuals or groups that may or may not share some affinity. Depending on its goal and the actors involved and instruments, violence takes on different names, with collective violence often associated with groups that seek social justice. This type of violence involves a group of people with a shared identity, who collaborate to secure political, economic or social objectives from a more robust and influential group, as being at institutional rather than individual level (Krug et al., 2002). The desirability of collective action and violence is its ability to show an extent to which issues affect a sector of society, including the level of harm and danger they are willing to subject themselves to, to have the situation addressed (Ortwan, Jovanovic, & Schroter, 2011). University students are a collective sharing an identity that is both transient and permanent (Seddon & Zeilig, 2012). The transient identity relates to the duration of the degree programme that a student is enrolled in, while the permanent relates to the identity that is gained from the degree and continues post-graduation. Both the transient and permanent identities might prime one to partake in collective violence (Bazana & Mogotsi, 2017; Jasper, 2014a).

Political, social, and economic factors are other identity influencers, which depending on the primacy of the collective identity, might prime one to partake in collective violence. The reasons associated with political motives might include using violence to garner votes, where political parties use violence, but conceive it as bravery and selflessness.

Social and economic motives capture students' engagement in violence to express their discontent at their general exclusion. Despite their motives for engaging in violence, participants might not agree with these tactics but accede to their use as a measure of expediency. Subsequently, to prevent cognitive and emotional dissonance, people amplify their collective identities and subjugate their personal identities (Reicher, 2004, 2012).

Culture

Culture means the "inherited patterns of shared meanings and common understandings." (Caparros, 2008). The binding element of culture rests on its intergenerational transmission, thus, the shared meanings. Culture influences how people manage their lives and provides a lens through which they interpret their society. The university is an environment that is steeped in culture, where the values of this institution are transmitted from one generation to the other. The previous university tutored the youth on academic matters and life skills, and authorities were regimental; hence, any small mishap resulted in sanctions. Boren (2001) notes that monitoring and constant interaction with the university professoriate ensured that rules are adhered to and instilled in the students. Religious doctrines determined the sanctions imposed on student misbehaviour; therefore, the university as a branch of the church had the ultimate authority to punish students. This protection adversely resulted in some students misbehaving, leading to friction between students and local community members (Boren, 2001). Further, with universities reliant on fees and donations, students of the wealthy were less likely to be punished.

While protests have been a norm in HE institutions, these remain persistently violent irrespective of the dispensation, the platforms that students have to raise their issues, and the concessions made. Therefore, within the context of this study, it is argued that culture includes all the protest repertoires that students use to secure their needs [see p. 20]. Subsequently, in a country, where generations have used violence to have their issues addressed, it is plausible for students to resort to this repertoire when their negotiations with the authorities are unsuccessful.

University

A university is an entity that promotes higher education, brings together teachers and scholars in a common setting of higher branches of learning. While the purpose of universities is to inculcate problem-solving skills in their students, such institutions serve as socialisation agents as they seek to influence and change the demeanour of their students, a value that has since

remained (Cloete & Maassen, 2015). In some traditional universities, professors lived close to students to monitor their behaviour. Conventionally, universities were meant for teaching and learning, undertaking research, meeting the demands of the labour market, and engaging in community development. From the above, specialised knowledge determines the power dynamics at the university, with academics and administrators at the helm. This model of university governance marked the departure from the collaborative Bologna model of university governance where students determined their curriculum, the appointment of their lecturers and meted out sanctions in cases of transgressions. Currently, universities lean towards the Scottish/British and American models, where power rests with the academics (Barker, 2008). As a colony of Britain, South Africa inherited the former model, which gives power to the academics and seeks to inculcate academic values in students by allowing them to live at the university premises.

Changes in the socio-political landscape within which HE is located have not necessarily affected the ethos of HE and its paternalistic conceptions of the students; though they are part of the various institutional decision-making committees, periodically, the authorities marginalise their input. For instance, in 2011, Greek academics challenged the reform to have students participate in university committees, citing that this decision was unilateral (Abbott, 2012; LeFrancois, 2013; Rubin, 2012; Sassower, 1994). For South African students, resistance is not as blatant because their participation in decision-making bodies is legislated (Luescher, 2008). However, several reasons affect their impact. Firstly, the transitory nature of studenthood and the brief term of office of student leaders negatively affects how student issues are addressed. Despite student efforts, the university might choose not to respond timeously. Secondly, student political leadership can be shrouded in secrecy in instances where youth political wings see each other as rivals instead of collaborators. This rivalry undermines continuity, creates unnecessary rifts in the student leadership, and affords institutions leeway to dismiss students' issues (Luescher-Mamashela, 2015).

Thirdly, unlike academics, students have limited time to engage fully in the committees as their primary task is studying, and they dabble between academics and leadership responsibilities, with either likely to suffer. Lastly, even within committees, stakeholder representation skews towards the academics and administrators, a situation that may side-line the voices of students because of their limited numbers and students' perceived lack of the requisite skills to engage in

complex academic issues (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011; Polletta, 1998; Rivetti & Cavatorta, 2012; Xakaza-Kumalo, 2011). Marginalising students' voices potentially raises their resolve to use other sanctioned yet discouraged modes of engaging with the authorities because of their contentious nature (Flacks & Thomas, 2007). For the purpose of the study, a university is an institution of higher learning that prioritises intellectual rather than practical teaching thus fulfilling the definition of the traditional university. This definition considers the university management, the lecturers and Student Affairs personnel who collaborate to ensure that effective teaching and learning at the university occurs

Problem-Solving

Problem-solving is an elaborate cognitive process of establishing a course of action for an uncomfortable situation, forcing one to search for a solution. Within institutions, problems illustrate a breakdown in the governance process, which is the ability of those in authority to make and enforce rules and to deliver services to the customers. Besides fees, repressive institutional cultures and resource shortages have been persistent problems within the universities that came out strongly during the #MustFall protests. Despite the high level of student dissatisfaction, universities still relied on the old tactics, namely indifference, stalling, repression, and negotiation; these were used either singularly or in combination. Of all these four strategies, negotiation is more involved as it requires parties to consider each other's interests to reach consensus. However, in order not to appear as giving in to students, the authorities might opt for repression through victimising student leaders, calling on the police officers to disperse the protests, or closing the campus. Repression accompanies appeals to students to stop protests by reminding them of the consequences for their actions. In the short term, repression yields quick results; however, it disregards the underlying causes of the conflict that might lead to violence. Essentially, problem resolution is a conscious intellectual and systematic decision-making process of analysing courses of action (Mayer, 2013). The personalities, cognitive, and the governance styles of those in authority determine whether or not conflict will be solved (Fukuyama, 2013; Hall, Symes, & Luescher, 2002).

Nevertheless, historical dynamics have played a role in the erosion of relations between student and university management, creating a climate of suspicion that discourages amicable conflict resolution and encourages the use of violence. Experience and literature have proven the

instrumentality of violence because when it happens the authorities respond expeditiously (Kongolo, 2012; Langa, 2011). Therefore, the environment has had a role in shaping how students express their grievances. As expressed earlier, that problem solving is a conscious and involving process, which, when collaborative can be transformative. Dialogues are transformative because they create climates of mutual respect and support discussions of structural, cultural, and social conflicts. Hence, they are empowering. Most importantly, dialogues are successful because they emphasise a non-judgemental attitude, transparency and consensus-building (Omofeya, 2014). For purposes of the study, problem -solving approaches that are emphasised in this discussion contradict the dialogical and transformational elements of conflict resolution as these involve violence.

Student

A student is someone admitted to an institution of HE. To qualify as a student, one has to meet the admission requirements of the desired degree programme and pay the monies associated with the cost of the degree programme. Successful completion of the studies earns one a qualification and, in some cases, an entry into a profession. Students register on a full-time or part-time basis, through contact or distance learning. Whatever the registration mode, students must complete their degrees within a prescribed period. The cost of tuition, employment or familial commitments might explain the reason for pursuing part-time or distance education. This is particularly true for those who are pursuing post-graduate education as the HE sector encourages life-long learning, which is the upgrade of one's skills to keep abreast with the labour market needs and challenges. Being a student is an active process of self-reflection and openness that requires one to continually question the veracity of the knowledge shared with them for its relevance and applicability (Jones, 2013). Therefore, students are likely to denounce practices that do not meet the above standards.

Universally, the changes in the economy made universities more youthful and attract young people straight out of secondary school, whose average first university enrolment is 19 years. Students understudy are youth because developmentally, they are between childhood and adulthood and are between the ages of 14 and 35 years (National Youth Development Agency [NYDA], 2015; The African Union Commission, 2014). The study interchanges the terms studenthood and youth as youth form the bulk of the tertiary institutions' populations.

Division of the Report

Chapter 1: Overview of the Study

This chapter gives a synopsis of the topic wherein an introduction of the use of violence at universities is highlighted with particular reference to students and the university management. The significance of undertaking the study and its major concepts are also discussed.

Chapter 2: Turbulence and Assimilation of HE in South Africa

This literature review chapter gives an historical account of the universities in South Africa and how the history of colonialism and apartheid shaped this system and the violent protests as they occurred at three university campuses, which are part of the study sample, tracing these from the apartheid to the democratic eras.

Chapter 3: Violence within the South African Higher Education Sector

The chapter accounts the history of the university in Africa and situations that lead to the use of violence in student protests. The first part of the chapter explains the evolution of universities in South Africa, with reference to the legislation that gave birth to the apartheid university, which was later transformed to a democratic university. The last part of the chapter looks at the theoretical conceptions of violence concerning the #FeesMustFall (#FMF) student protest action that occurred at South African public universities. The chapter discusses the following concepts: violence, protests, students, and youth.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter explains in detail the methodology used in the study in order to respond to the research question. As an execution phase of the project, the chapter illustrates who was involved in the study, why and how they were involved and also the processes and the procedures for their involvement.

Chapter 5: Quantitative Data Analysis and Interpretation

The chapter shares the data generated from the online surveys completed by students at the Universities of the Free State, Western Cape, and Witwatersrand. The study applies factor analysis and multinomial regression data analysis techniques. Data is presented graphically and in tables to give perspectives into the nature of violence at the three sampled universities in South Africa. The

data presented in this chapter demonstrates how widespread violent protests are, their types and the motives behind their use, and the proposed solutions to deal with this violence.

Chapter 6: Qualitative Data Analysis and Interpretation

The chapter details data gathered from in-depth interviews with students, student activists, and or leaders and key informant interviews. Data collected is analysed using content analysis, constant comparison and thematic analysis. While the findings from the qualitative analysis confirm those from the quantitative analysis, the nuanced view emerging from the former is that the use of violence during protests bears short term benefits that are counteracted by adverse long-term effects on their wellbeing. The presence of political parties' branches at universities complicates the situation as these may use violence as a tool to attract new members. Furthermore, the participants proposed solutions that might help to address this phenomenon.

Chapter 7: Discussion of Main Findings

This chapter integrates the main issues observed from quantitative and qualitative data. Data from both strands is reduced to themes such as the popular violent protests repertoires and the normative, historical, and developmental reasons for using violence in protests. The study also indicated the associated benefits and risks that students and those in management face.

Chapter 8: Conclusion, Implications and Recommendations

This chapter touches on the main aspects of the study regarding how various social and economic factors come into play in shaping how students define, react, relate to violence and justify its use in their quest to have authorities address their issues. Additionally, the chapter elaborates on how the study contributes to the knowledge base of violence and student social activism and proposes the way forward to curbing such incidences at universities.

Chapter Two: Turbulence and Assimilation of HE in South Africa

The chapter exposes some of the conditions that laid a foundation for the discontent that occur in Africa and South Africa universities. The primary shaper of these being colonialism, Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP). The SAPs protests created a rift between students and the newly-appointed governments that students helped to put in power. To contain student protests, most African governments relied on paramilitaries and other repressive means, which created a leeway for students to justify their violent acts (Omari & Mihyo, 1991). In South Africa, the establishment of universities and the entire education system were differentiated across racial lines. Resource allocation followed a skewed pattern that apartheid pronounced. Before apartheid, missionary schools provided egalitarian education to the majority of Black students. However, substandard living conditions, paternalism and racism at these schools resulted in protests that involved vandalism and arson (Chisholm, 2017). The aetiology of the protest indicates that the authorities often disregarded the students' concerns leading to them finding justification in violent protest. With each violent protest, the authorities implemented stringent measures, which, students challenged instead of acceding. For instance, the Duminee Commission acknowledged the legitimacy of students' issues at UFH; however, it indicated that students tended to demand than to ask (Johnson, 2019). Following this, the discussion concentrates on the history of the universities understudy, including the nature of violent protests during and after apartheid, as well as the #FMF movement.

HE During the Colonial Period in Africa

Discussions on HE in Africa tend to skew towards her challenges with little reference on how slavery, intercontinental wars, colonialism, and Christianity have shaped it. These events obliterated growth opportunities of Africa's oldest universities, the University of Al-Karaouine in Morocco, established by Fatima al Fihri in 859 B.C., the Al –Azhar in 970 B.C., the *Per-ankh* (House of Life) 2000 BCE in Egypt and Timbuktu in Mali. Social engineering processes, namely the missionary influence, the teaching of Latin, French and other foreign languages, the sending of Black students to colonising countries and the adoption of neo-liberal economic policies gave

impetus to acculturation and the assimilation of western culture and values (Habte & Wagaw, 1993; Umejesi, 2013). Britain and France were prominent in acculturation unlike Belgium, Spain, and Portugal, which did not have study-abroad programmes. Students who studied abroad had no citizenship rights; therefore, these opportunities encouraged the Black students to advocate for their countries' independence (Cabral & Pas, 2008; Rootes, 2008).

Though Sierra Leone had its two first western trained graduates in 1879, it took more than 80 years for six universities to be constructed in the Sub Saharan Africa (SSA). Even though the universities were constructed almost after a century, these universities were hardly independent because they taught the curriculum of the colony (Kamola, 2014). This trend of excluding Africans from HE resonates throughout colonial history. Though the Portuguese were the more liberal colonisers, they denied Black people access to HE. In 1965, Lourenco Marquez University had one local student. Had it not been for the Mozambique Institute for refugees in Dar es Salaam, which afforded 150 Mozambican youth' scholarships, the situation would have been dire (Berger, Redeker, Tague, & Terretta, 2015). The French, on the other hand made French the medium of instruction throughout school and offered Africans study opportunities in France so that they assimilated French customs and traditions. The limited access to HE for African students created a sizeable elite group, with access to opportunities not available to the majority.

Lack of skills to run the colonial established governments furthered the dysfunction of African states. Upon independence, British-controlled Zambia had 73 graduates, whereas the University of East Africa, serving Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda, had 99 graduates for a population of 23 million (Teferra & Altbach, 2004) and the Democratic Republic of Congo had 17 European-trained graduates (Soderlund & Briggs, 2000). Additionally, settlers' flight further complicated the issue. Six months within Angola's November 1975 independence, 200,000 of its 500,000 Whites left the country; in 1978, this number rose to 400,000 (Francis, 1979). However, the skills flight was not the sole reason for the deteriorating economy, as the country was also at war. Lack of managerial and technical skills, including infrastructure, might have delayed the development of the country, and other countries in the continent. In other regions, such as Rwanda ethnic divides reignited when Belgians bestowed power to a formerly marginalised and bitter group, previously denied economic opportunities and benefits. The ethnic rivalry culminated to the 1994 Tutsi genocide (Khapoya, 2012).

Upon their independence, different African countries prioritised education and highly subsidised students. However, within a short period of their independence, relations between students and the state soured amidst SAPs that introduced cost-sharing for a previously free HE system (Hwami, 2011). Additional results of the SAPs included deterioration of services at the universities and brain drain. Moreover, students called for de-colonialism to make African countries self-sufficient. To students, independence was a farce as western powers continued to dictate policy imperatives of colonial countries. Expression of grievances was often violent and prompted a similar reaction from the state (Federici, Caffentzis & Alidou, 2000; Fomunyan, 2017). To prevent student protests, some governments relied on youth paramilitaries to silence student leaders. Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Zimbabwe have cases of students who either disappeared, went into exile or were arrested for voicing out their dissatisfaction about their institutions (Omari & Mihyo, 1991; Macharia, 2015). The benefits of independence have yet to be realised because African countries still have intricate and complex relationships of dependence with their colonies.

Colonialism and Apartheid Education in South Africa

The contentious narrative of the South African education mirrors that of its continental counterparts. The difference is that the White minority that came to power under the National Party (NP) in 1948 introduced the apartheid system. This state-sanctioned system of separate development used legislation to institutionalise and normalise racial superiority, protectionism and affirmative action for Whites (Peté, 2015; Sayed & Kanjee, 2013). The state created a racialised and stratified education system, which justified low-quality education for the Black people or *Bantu*[2] and separate development. Furthermore, the government introduced *Bantustans*[3] to concretise its policy objectives. Before the introduction of apartheid, there were two universities: the University of South Africa (UNISA) a distance education institution established in 1916, and

[2] Bantu is a term used through the continent to describe a human being, but apartheid policies redefined its meaning to make it derogatory.

[3] Bantustans are geographic locations that divided Black people according to their languages, their purpose was to separate Black people from one another, and to ensure exclusive White people areas. The creation of Bantustans brought about forced removals, dispossessed Black people of their land and resettled them in non-arable and non-productive areas. Essentially, this Act further deprived this group of their livelihood.

Fort-Hare (UFH), a 1926 Scottish missionary established institution that only enrolled Black people. The introduction of apartheid differentiated institutions according to race, geography, and language, compounding the challenges of access for the Black students. Additionally, the lack of Black students at universities was because the state did not find it necessary for them to have secondary school education, therefore Black parents' had to contribute 50% to the total cost of the school. Therefore, the apartheid state had an intricate plan to deny Blacks opportunities for advancement. The table below illustrates the character of each of the institutions during apartheid:

Table 2.1: White universities during the apartheid era

English medium (open- liberal universities)		**Afrikaans medium (conservative)**	
University of Witwatersrand (Wits)	University of Natal (UN) currently University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN)	University of Pretoria (UP)	Rand Afrikaans Universiteit (RAU) currently University of Johannesburg (UJ)
University of Cape Town (UCT)	Rhodes University (RU)	University for Christian Higher Education of Potchefstroom (UCHP) currently North West-University (NWU)	University of Orange Free-State (UOFS) currently University of the Free State (UFS)
		University of Stellenbosch (SU)	University Port Elizabeth (UPE) currently Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU)

The Bantu Education No. 47 Act 1953[4] fast tracked the appropriation of missionary-established tertiary education. To fast track the takeover and prevent dissent, the state cut subsidies, barred UFH graduates from its employment. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 49 of

[4] The purpose of he Act was to enforce racially segregated education facilities, to facilitate apartheid policies.

1953 and the Extension of Universities Act No. 45 of 1959[5] created four racially and language-differentiated universities under the auspices of the UNISA. The designated institutions were the University Colleges of Durban Westville (UDW) for Indians, North (UNIN), currently named the University of Limpopo for the Sotho and Venda group, Zululand (UZ) for the Nguni speakers and the Western Cape (UWC) for the Coloureds. The fifth UFH was already government's property. All five institutions used English, except for Port Elizabeth (UP) meant to be a bilingual institution but which took an Afrikaans identity and the RAU established for White students. Universities for Black people aimed to depoliticise, therefore, their universities had substandard and censored reading materials. Furthermore, to preserve the status quo, underqualified Afrikaner lecturers taught at the Black designated universities (Mohapeloa 1981; Beale 1990; Ntshoe 2002; Franklin 2003). The designated institutions ultimately became training grounds for homeland administrators who unlike their Indian and White conterparts could only register for studies in education, religion and history, whereas the other group pursued engineering and medically-allied qualifications (Badat, 1999; Mzamane et al; 2004). Conditions that prevailed at the time enhanced the social stratification ideology.

Formerly, the minister of education had the power to admit, decline, or terminate the application of Black students at the White designated institutions. Efforts of some English medium institutions to oppose the Acts were unsuccessful, possibly because the opposition was not from state sympathetic Afrikaans medium institutions. Even between English medium universities, there were differences: Wits practiced social segregation, and Rhodes admitted Black students when their designated campus did not have their chosen degree programme. While Black students could access White institutions, challenges like the pass laws[6] created additional barriers as these students could not fully integrate with their communities (Noble, 2004). The humiliation that

[5] The Act created universities according to racial groups and language, compelling students to be enrolled at their designated institution; exceptions were only made when the course applied for was unavailable at an approved institution and the Minister of education had to sanction the admission.

[6] This law required Black students to carry passes, identity documents that gave Blacks legal permission to be in a White designated place. This document was similar to a visa, though it dictated the time of the day when Blacks could access these places. Failure to produce the pass on demand warranted arrest. The curtailment of the movement was a catalyst of the Sharpeville anti-pass protest in 1959 and the 1960 women's march. During the Sharpeville march,

students felt for the maltreatment they experienced within and outside campuses may have contributed to their activist attitude.

Apart from access issues, the Extension of Universities Act No. 45 of 1959 regulated student political activism and instituted university-sanctioned Student Representative Councils (SRC). UFH students' protests to the changes were futile as their protests attracted violent police intervention, unscheduled campus closures, and student deregistration. To be readmitted, students had to pledge in the presence of their parents not to protest again. Banned and expelled students could not access the library nor sit for examinations; thus, they dropped out. In retaliation between the years 1960 and 1968, UFH students refused to form an SRC (Horrell 1968; Mzamane, Maaba & Biko 2004; Morrow & Gxabalashe 2012). This strategy proved viable as it inconvenienced the institution, did not endanger student activists, albeit some sectors saw it as self-defeatist. The following table reveals the level of segregation at South African universities ten years after apartheid. Black students were concentrated at UNISA, a distance learning institution, and their acceptance at Natal was because the campus had a medical school that accepted Black students.

Table 2.2: Enrolment figures at South African Universities in 1958

Source:(The Ratcatcher, 2012)

University	White	Coloured	Indian	Black	Total
Orange Free State	1,709				1,709
Potchefstroom	1,474				1,474
Pretoria	6,324				6,324
Stellenbosch	3,694				3,694
Cape Town	4,408	388	127	37	4,960
Natal	2,530	31	373	188	3,122
Witwatersrand	4,756	22	158	73	5,009
Rhodes	1,098				1,098
South Africa	6,144	204	601	1,179	8,128
Fort Hare		59	59	320	438
Total	**32,137**	**704**	**1,318**	**1,797**	**35,956**
Percentage of total	**89.4%**	**2.0%**	**3.7%**	**5.0%**	**100.0%**

protestors burnt their passes and called on the police to arrest them. At the end of the protest 69 unarmed people were massacred, 180 injured and 100 arrested (SA history online).

The above state of affairs continued in the 1970s. The government further divided South Africa according to racial and linguistic groups of the Black universities, creating semi and independent homelands, each with its university. These were the universities of Bophuthatswana (BaTswana), for the Xhosa speakers Ciskei and Transkei and Venda (vhaVenda) and in the urban reserves, QwaQwa (a satellite campus of UNIN), Vista, a teacher training college located in the townships and the Medical University (MEDUNSA). The creation of these institutions meant that UNISA ceased to be a quality assurance and moderating body of their examinations. Students saw this development as compromising their education because the internal university structures could not be trusted because the majority of the academic staff members apartheid sympathisers (Beale 1990; Seepe 2006; Cloete, Maassen, Fehnel, Moja, Perold & Gibbon 2006; Chisholm 2012).

Segregation of public spaces and how the apartheid government dealt with dissent was seen during 1972. Onkgopotse Tiro, a UNIN SRC member was expelled for speaking out against the quality of education and White supremacy at the campuses graduation ceremony where Black parents stood watching their children graduate through windows because legislation segregated public spaces. In response to Mr. Tiro's expulsion for his speech, and the student leadership staged a sit-in calling for his reinstatement, while UDW, UCT, UFH and, Wits and UWC students organised sympathetic protests to condemn the heavy-handedness of the UNIN authorities. However the protestors were beaten and arrested for their action (Heffernan, 2015). Police brutality in the Western Cape conscientised the White community on the repressive conditions prevalent at Black universities (Erbmann, n.d).

Despite his expulsion, Mr. Tiro continued to conscientise Soweto secondary school learners before fleeing the country, where he was assassinated. His efforts culminated in a countrywide student uprising, where the state police murdered learners who were against taking lessons in Afrikaans. This event, along with the Sharpeville massacre, tarnished international image of the South African government. To curb further dissent, the government used an International Monetary Fund (IMF) drought relief loan to develop secondary schools and institutions of higher learning in the Black urban areas (Bond, 2000; CREST, 2014). These actions did little to pacify community protests as South Africa moved to a perpetual state of emergency with the fight for freedom intensifying. Universities were at the centre of political emancipation. A significant event of the

1980s was the establishment of the tri-cameral parliament, which awarded political rights to all other race groups, excluding the Black population.

This event increased protests at the Black universities, which saw the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) establishing a base at the UNIN campus between 1986 and 1989 to enforce the state of emergency. A military base at the campus indicated that the state preferred overt violence against students and disregarded the psychological and physical effects on teaching and learning. Another point of view, is that the military presence indicated the state helplessness to quell protests. State sanctioned violence at universities occurred although political violence then was underground and aimed at soft targets, hence, students were unlikely involved. On the campus, violence was disruptive, for example the pelting of tomatoes at the then UNIN Chancellor's motorcade. The 1968 Mozambique liberation gave impetus to students and changed their demeanour to violence (Brown, 2010). By the 1990s, virtually all HE campuses were in a state of collapse and engulfed in protests, because of the economic sanctions. However, donations from the British and Americans kept HE afloat (Davies 1996). In a bid to curb protests at universities, the government tried to compel universities to expose dissenting students and staff in exchange for their subsidies. The university's moral stance was futile because the state had spies at the campuses and it sanctioned nonconformists (Lloyd, Rossouw, Lynch, & Wheeler, 2014; Morrow & Gxabalashe, 2011). Tension somewhat abated in 1990 when the government unbanned political parties and released political prisoners, however, political violence continued leading up to the 1994 elections. Related to the announcement of political freedom was the country's adoption of SAPs, opening a new chapter in the politics of South Africa (CREST, 2014). Overall, the HE system in South Africa promoted social inequality and racial polarisation that encouraged dissent on the part of Black students.

Violent Protests in the Apartheid South African Universities

The environment within and outside South African campuses is beset with conflict and violence, normalising militancy, and resistance at universities. Protest often mirror the mood and state of the country, witnessed in the spate of violent service delivery protest at the community

level. While not all community protests are violent, media does to an extent, shape public perceptions of violent protests and youth. Narratives associated with students' protests in South Africa, like those in the UK protest in 2010, the Arab Springs in 2011, Euro maiden 2011, often highlight damaged university property and running battles between students and police officers without reference to the antecedent factors.

Violence from this youth cohort is somewhat an anomaly and contradicts the values of HE. In South Africa, university students are, possibly undoing the gains of democracy. This notion disregards that the youth have always been instrumental in defending their human rights and the political future of South Africa. Student militancy started at missionary schools possibly because of repressed dissent and discrimination of learners according to social class (Smith & Tromp, 2010). Without a voice, learners resorted to vandalism for which they were beaten and arrested. In 1920, students at the Lovedale Institute (the institute had a technical, biblical, and high school) protested food shortages and the quality of their bread (Chisholm, 2012). During the protest, students damaged dormitories, technical workshop, electricity powerhouse, staff houses, and burnt the grain store. Between 1944 and 1946, more than 20 protests occurred at missionary schools (Stanley, 2018). Similar actions also occurred in other schools. For instance, in 1953, students burnt down the Bethel Training Institute (Chisholm, 2017). Once at university, this cohort formed two youth underground movements, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) under the African National Congress (ANC) and POQO of the Pan African Congress (PAC) to challenge the repressive political climate. The latter was militant even against civilians and required acceptance of its violent methods without dissent. White liberals frustrated with the system formed the African Resistance Movement (ARM), a militant group that used sabotage to quicken political change, the movement was short-lived as its members were arrested (Ray, 2016; Wilkins & Strydom, 2012).

During that time, race underpinned motives for political engagement as Black youth fought for African nationalism, and their White counterparts undertook military conscription to counter their efforts (Healy-Clancy, 2017). This political situation polarised youth and justified the use of violence on both sides. At face value, the experiences of the ARM seem to have shaped National Union of South African Students (NUSAS') docility. Hence, in 1968, Black students formed the South African Students Union (SASO) (Badat, 1999; McKay, 2015). NUSAS was an English liberal student organisation formed at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and protested social

injustices of apartheid at universities and society to an extent. NUSAS's change in mindset played a role in protesting for the revocation of Mr Onkgopotse Tiro's expulsion. Other protest demands were free education for all South Africans. The police violently dispersed the protest.

The formation of SASO dealt a blow to the meaning of liberal politics; hence, to redeem itself, NUSAS cited that even as a student union, it could not continue to ignore the injustices that occur in its environment and, therefore, members were at liberty to decide how to react (Macqueen, 2011). Hence, NUSAS, adjusted its tactics, opening a path for police harassment and surveillance that resulted in the expulsion and arrest of students. In 1985, a state of emergency was lifted to curb political unrest, some of which were state-sanctioned. In a bid to keep HEIs stable, the Minister of Education unsuccessfully attempted to tie subsidies to exposing political activists, a move rejected by the universities (Reddy, 2004).

Both the ARM and SASO were short-lived owing to repression. The 1970s and 1980s marked an era of students and secondary school learners confronting the apartheid system directly, with slogans such as "education before liberation" and "making South Africa ungovernable" (Tambo, 1985). These slogans indicate the level of dedication to their political emancipation at the expense of their future. While the ANC discouraged mass abandonment of education in the 70s, its banning rendered it ineffective to provide political direction; thus, it endorsed the pronouncements of United Democratic Front (UDF) and supported its violent tactics. On the cusp of democracy, the country experienced state-sponsored violence in its townships, ironically referred to as 'Black-on-Black' violence. In summary, in its bid to be legitimate, the state unsuccessfully used violence to repress students. Events of the previous decades, mainly the Soweto 1976 uprising, showed the instrumentality and efficacy of student power and violence. These subtleties continue to shape student authority relations and modes of engagement. The establishment of the NYDA in 1997 to mainstream youth issues has proven inadequate to mend fractured relations between students and authorities, given that economic development is its primary focus (Department of Social Development [DSD] & The World Bank, [WB] 2012).

The discussion above showed how the history of South Africa shaped the HE system, with the repressive conditions from the government creating the necessary conditions for students to sanction violence. The volatility that occurred at the universities facilitated the liberation of South Africa, which did not reform the HE as violent protests are still persistent.

Post-Apartheid Education in South Africa

The challenging task that faced the democratic government was to consolidate the 19 duplicated and fragmented education departments into a seamless system. Different proposals to meet this goal fell in two categories, with some calling for the closure of the "Bush Universities" or HBUs. Those educated there opposed the proposal for they saw their role in meeting the goals of the new dispensation. Education experts presented two policy proposals, namely, the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) and the Educational Renewal Strategy (ERS). In 1993, the government adopted NEPI, a consultative policy to champion the cause of South African education and to fast-track development; the government introduced a draft of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) 1995, which laid the foundation for the transformation of South Africa (Ministry in the Office of the President, 1994).

Transformation is a process intended at moving the country from the vestiges of its fragmented and divisive past to an equal and equitable opportunity society that recognises and

respects human rights. Subsequently, to achieve the vision of the RDP in 1995 the minister of education appointed the National Council on Higher Education (NCHE), which produced the Draft Green Paper for Higher Education in April 1997, the White Paper for Higher Education July 1997, later adopted as an Act of Higher Education 1997 and the National Plan 2001 (Reddy, 2004). Policy frameworks shaped the HE identity of South Africa. The White paper cites that the purpose of HE is to harness talent, create knowledge and share it within the spirit of collegiality and to *promote a multifaceted culture comprising of responsible and critical citizens who promote social justice within the human rights perspective*. To drive the transformation process, the White Paper put forth the following objectives: attainment of social justice, infusing a globalised perspective with a localised view, effective and efficient use of resources (DOE, 1997). Understandably, the persistent exclusion of Black people from HE made the government amenable to education as an identity-building, diversity appreciation and social justice promoting tool. To achieve these objectives, the department engaged in various programmes and governance procedures, the creation of a unitary system of qualifications through the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), massification and rationalisation of the HE system.

The Higher Education Act 1997 created governance structures tasked with overseeing the daily operations of the institution in relation to goal achievement. Of note was the presence of student leaders' participation in institutional decision -making structures, a reflection of the ANC's participatory values and a recognition for the role of youth in governance.

The above changes to governance would have been futile had the government not ensured that South Africa had a unitary system of qualifications. Under the directive of the government universities engaged in the process of revising their curriculum to make it responsive to the dynamics of the globalised world. The NQF promoted the principles of effectiveness and efficiency, funding and overall quality (Gumede, 2011; National Commission on Higher Education[NCHE], 1996; Sayed & Kanjee, 2013). On recommendation of the National Working Group (NWG), the state started the process of rationalisation of universities. Streamlining of the HE system was uncomfortable: those against declared that (i) mergers will lower the quality of education and the reputation of their institutions (Badat, 2007; Whitehead-Dominguez, 2011) (ii) that the status quo will be maintained and that (iii)institutions will become distinct (Cele, 2008; Woodrooffe, 2011). The government was not sympathetic to the calls that rejected the mergers, as its aim was to address the resource imbalances of apartheid and build a cohesive HE system. Thus, dissenting voices were labelled as pursuing self-driven rather than collective national interests to build a new cohesive education system. Subsequently, the 36 institutions were reduced to 23 through mergers, incorporations and acquisitions as per the recommendations of the NWG (DOE, 1997, 2002; du Toit, 2014). Government's tough stance sought to fast-track transformation as institutions, aided by dissenters and left to their devices might have stalled the process.

Ironically, mergers favoured the top HWUs. Some HBUs merged which questioned the notion of sharing resources, building diverse system and promoting social justice. To date, South Africa has 26 tertiary institutions, with three established since 2016. Meanwhile, the University of Limpopo (Medunsa campus and Turfloop campus) de-merged. Mergers differentiated universities according to three categories: traditional universities, skewed toward research; universities of technology, which offer technology related qualifications from certificates to postgraduate degrees; and comprehensive universities, which offer a combination of theoretical and practical training and a limited postgraduate degrees (IEASA, 2009).

Government's uncompromising stance on the mergers fast-tracked the merger processes. The table below shows the marginal changes in HE participation of the Black students. Between 1990 and 1993, enrolment levels of Black students at English-speaking universities stood at 28% and 38% respectively, with a 17% participation rate in 1994. In terms of racial breakdown, Black students were at 9%, Coloured 13%, Indians 40% and White students 70% (Bunting, 2004). These figures fall significantly below the 20% participation target that the government set in the National Plan of Higher Education (1999). Although, White and Indian students are a smaller proportion of the population, they continue to dominate tertiary institutions. Comparatively, the participation levels between Black students surpasses that of other race groups.

The majority of these students are at UNISA, which offers lower fees and distance education. Some universities, like the NWU, had a few Indian and Coloured students because the homelands though politically-repressive were, to an extent, non-racial.

Table 2.3: Enrolment in 1994

Table 2.3: Enrolment in South African Universities 1994 (The Ratcatcher, 2012)					
University	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian(&Asian)**	**Black**	**Total**
North West (Bophuthatswana)*	0	0	0	3914	3,914
Orange Free State	7,831	444	13	969	9,257
Potchefstroom	8,301	204	30	1,448	9,983
Pretoria	21,500	218	160	2,261	24,139
Stellenbosch	13,016	1,128	64	254	14,462
Port Elizabeth	3,886	702	146	883	5,617
Cape Town	8,857	1,930	725	2,997	14,509
Natal	6,926	385	3,832	3,979	15,122
Witwatersrand	11,662	339	2,133	4,025	18,159
Rhodes	2,730	131	323	857	4,041
UNISA	53,088	4,732	10,735	57,603	126,158
Rand Afrikaans	10,364	481	347	4,301	15,493
Fort Hare* (Ciskei)	5,175				5,175
Transkei*	6,628				6,628
Medunsa	114	29	479	2,777	3,399
The North*	13,500				13,500
Venda*	6,400				6,400
Durban-Westville	337	156	4,941	5,071	10,505
Western Cape	184	6,715	689	6,662	14,250
Vista	174	631	66	33,008	33,879
Zululand*	0	0	0	5,660	5,660
Total	**148,970**	**18,225**	**24,683**	**168,372**	**360,250**
Percentage of total	**41.4%**	**5.1%**	**6.9%**	**46.7%**	**100.0%**

i

The challenge with bringing about equality in the HE sector was that without the buy-in from the concerned parties, universities decided how the transformation process unfolded. Focus rested on increasing the numbers of Black students instead of exploring the different meanings, perceptions, institutional challenges and possible routes to implement mergers. Arguably, these discussions took place in institutional superstructures without engaging those at the lower rungs.

A viable alternative was to have the status quo maintained with differentiation on the level of the degree on offer (Cherry, 2014). Another less contentious alternative to mergers would have been for universities to offer degree programmes according to specialisation, with degrees offered according to provincial needs, opportunities and strengths. This option may have elevated the status of all universities and lessened competition for resources.

The 1990s were an ambivalent decade for South Africa because it attained political freedom and compelled adoption of the SAPs to become a global player. Albeit, the challenges permeating, the period was a decade of hope. Pressures in HBUs included students leaving to HWUs for their quality education, infrastructure and increased employment opportunities for their graduates. The flight of students bankrupted HBUs as their pool for income reduced. Despite infrastructural differences among merged institutions, tuition and service fees increased, resulting in student contestations (Bond, 2000; CREST, 2014; Phaahla et al., 2009). This state of affairs contradicted previous governments' stance to promote social justice, resource efficiency as government-funding policy remained skewed towards research-intensive traditional universities, further excluding HBUs from income generating efforts. Since fees were always a point of contention at HBUs, SASCO (South African Students Congress) used its influence at the universities and in the ANC to call to eradicate tuition fees. At its 2008 conference, the ANC acceded to students' call. Its investigation concluded that the policy was feasible, but not sustainable. The conclusion reached was that the NSFAS was a recourse to students unable to afford fees.

The White Paper emphasised that education ought to be responsive and redress historical challenges. The massification project affected the efficacy of the NSFAS (National Student Financial Aid Scheme). This is because of increasing number of beneficiaries and inflation (Cloete, Sheppard, & van Schalkwyk, 2016; Davis, 2015; Department of Higher Education and Training [DHET], 1997; Langa, Wangenge-Ouma, & Jungblut, 2016). Affordability and inequality are not the only barriers for Black students accessing the system; other barriers include their preparedness, political interference and the failure to deal with the socio-structural aspects of HE. The discussion that follows looks at the history of the Universities of the Free State, Witwatersrand and the Western Cape, which are research study sites.

History of University of the Free State

The University of the Free State (UFS) is located in the Free State, which is the third largest province by land size. The province has five municipalities, with a population of 2 760 000, representing 10.6% of the country's population and houses the judicial capital of South Africa in Bloemfontein (Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, 2013). UFS was established in 1904 as Grey College, an English medium college and became an Afrikaans medium institution in the 1940s. By the 1950s, UFS exclusively catered for Afrikaans White students, promote and preserve apartheid values. The struggle for identity of this institution has been longstanding as revealed in the Milner-Hertzog[7] non-consensus on English versus Afrikaans usage at the university (Higher Education Quality Committee [HEQC], 2008a; Ross, Mager Kelk, & Nasson, 2011). Subsequent to apartheid, the university became the Universiteit van Oranje Vrystaat, a name that was retained until 2001 when it was renamed the University of the Free State (UFS). The change was in response to a different political order, which had seen the institution attracting Black students. Within the same period, the university underwent a merger process with other universities within its region. In February 2001 and January 2003, the Qwaqwa, a satellite campus of the University of the North located 322 kilometres away, from Bloemfontein and a campus of Vista University a teacher training institution, located 20 kilometres away were incorporated, making the original UFS the main campus (Puukka, Dubarle, McKiernan, Reddy, & Wade, 2012).

These developments increased the student population and presented new challenges that are explored later in text. In 2001 the UFS had a headcount of 14 032 contact and distance learning students. After the merger programme the numbers increased almost threefold (DOE, 2003). Consequent, to the post-merger programme, the following implications were identified for the newly established institution: a judicious manner to deal with the financial sustainability of particularly the Qwaqwa campus, and the need to forge a new identity, in terms of a management system and an institutional culture (UFS: Annual Report, 2003). To ensure cohesiveness of the merged campuses, the university designed diversity training programmes for its staff and called for the development and the use of Sesotho as a scientific language. This proposal was conditional

[7] The two were the leaders of English and Afrikaans speakers, contesting language use at the UFS.

as the university indicated that the use of Sesotho must be replicable, practical without compromising the Afrikaans language. This assertion somewhat implied that the university would not necessarily ensure the implementation of Sesotho. This transformation was likely to cause tension as the university identified as an Afrikaans based institution, therefore it needed to be cautious with the SeSotho implementation programme. Equally for the Black students, this proposal would make the university more attractive to them as Sesotho is one of the languages with which they may identify. The increased enrolment of English-speaking Black students supported the call for an additional language of instruction (UFS, 2003). Though bilingualism diversified the campus, it also polarised students because they gravitated to lectures and campus residences of their own language preference (Higher Education Quality Committee [HEQC], 2008; UFS, 2008). Poor racial integration is common in South African institutions, as a UP study revealed that bilingualism was a barrier to social integration across racial groups as it limited meeting opportunities (UFS, 2007; Walker 2005).

The UFS has been embroiled in racial tension that often resulted in violence, hence, residence racial integration was a challenge. It was only in the 1990s that White students endorsed racial integration and for that reason; the years 1993 to 1995 catapulted the UFS as a model for racial integration (Githaiga, Gobodo-Madikizela, & Walh, 2017). In essence, hazing, which is an initiation culture practiced at the residences, was a source of contention between Black and White students. Therefore, in 1996, Black students decided to confront White students for maltreating them (Allen, 2011). While the confrontation did not occur, students requested that the university partition their residence to prevent further racial confrontation. The discussion about racial integration resurfaced in 2007 (DOE, 2008; Dugger, 2008; Fairbanks, 2013; van der Merwe & van Reenen, 2016).

To register their displeasure, White students recorded a video (leaked on SN) to illustrate that Black students were unlikely to assimilate the Afrikaans culture. In it, White students directed service workers (actors) to perform activities that were a prerequisite for residence integration. A spirit of camaraderie and joviality accompanied the making of the video, which became most offensive when the workers were given food laced with urine. Lack of immediate sanctions against these students further polarised the university, as its authorities were seen to be protective of White students. Thus, Black students protested (Nare & Lekotjolo, 2008).

The following interventions came about to address the damage of the Reitz[8] incident. Firstly, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) investigated the matter (DoE, 2008). Secondly, the university held a reconciliation ceremony. It contracted and funded a company to train and mentor Reitz victims in business skills.

The Reitz incident signalled the need for universities to create necessary support systems to integrate university residences (Cloete, 2008; Moja, 2008; Soudien, 2010). Seemingly universities expect students to assimilate because they are in space of higher learning. The university's previous VC warned that with the increased number of Black students, racial strife was likely, since the university lacked a comprehensive solution to address the exclusive institutional culture (Githaiga, Gobodo-Madikizela & Walh, 2017). The reconciliatory tone that the institution sought to uphold was unsuccessful. Allegations remained that students' grievances on racism were disregarded. One might conclude that these allegations were true, as despite the gravitas of the Reitz incident and the public spotlight, the institution did not feel pressured to act otherwise. Therefore, the onus was on the marginalised groups to reinvent their psychological, political and cultural anger into assertiveness. Assertiveness is a conscious decision for reinvention and self-knowledge that applies aspects of culture to decode the hurtful meaning of social artefacts to direct one's anger (Gouws, 2008). The statement rightly indicates that the ability to redirect anger is a necessary life skill for personal development. However, in a non-supportive and unequal environment where the benefits of violence are particularistic, reinvention is a challenge. From Gouws' point of view, change is possible when a marginalised group redefines itself. This implies that these groups should assimilate rather than redefine the culture of the environment. The Council on Higher Education (CHE) recommended that the university improve institutional diversity (HEQC, 2008a; UFS, 2008, 2009).

At the national level, the Reitz incident, led to the 2008 formation of the Commission on the Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions commonly known as the Soudien Commission. Its purpose was to

[8] The name of the residences where the 'initiation' video was made.

investigate what facilitates and impedes transformation at South African institutions, particularly at university residences, but not to the exclusion of other types of discrimination. Based on the recommendations of the Commission, universities refocussed their views of residences as dual spaces for living and learning (DoE, 2008). The university seemed to have embraced the transformation project as in 2010 it had its first Black SRSC president. Remarkably, he had White students campaigning for him under the SASCO banner (Taylor, 2010). This event did, to an extent, indicate that racial tensions were gradually dissipating, until White students attempted to run over a Black student with a car. The alleged perpetrators were only arrested after students protested (Fairbanks; 2013). The UFS protests capture the core of Black students' dissatisfaction about racism and social class at universities, particularly at HWUs. For example, Wits students complained of prohibitive academic fees, which are a consequence of race and inequality. Although, students presented different concerns, exclusion is the root cause. In June 2011, the university introduced a policy that disallowed students to contest elections under the banner of political parties. The motive for the then VC was to prevent racial conflict driven by political formations. Consequently, SASCO took him to court (Raborife, 2011).

The separation of student representation from politics, ensured that there was peace at the institution as it became harder to mobilise students on political party lines, hence they became more polarised (Delwit, 2015; Kamencu, 2013; Moreku, 2014; Muya, 2014). Thus, the move had both advantages and disadvantages, the advantage being that students could deduce the student leader' capabilities and skills to convince the student body about their mandate and their ability to mobilise. These skills are necessary for engaging with the university management and other stakeholders. However, without political party affiliation, the student leaders may not get the necessary support to assimilate in their roles (Cloete, 2016b). Additionally, students were not allowed to consume alcohol on campus. This point of view reflects the *loco parentis* attitude of the university management that students were unable to make their own decisions.

A more probable reason for banning both alcohol and hazing is that the two activities are obstinately linked, as initiation activities often involve binge drinking. Whatever the motives it seems that the university labelled alcohol drinking as a problem, because it lessened inhibitions, while the real issue was strained racial relations. SASCO's contestation of the policy was

warranted as UFS students' politics are intricately intertwined with those of the conservative parties. Therefore, students may have believed that the pronouncement would result in their perpetual political marginalisation. In 2014, another racially charged situation occurred, where White students beat, swore and ran over a Black student with a car. The university took two days to give a public statement on the matter and then downplayed the event, as not racially-charged, though targets of the slurs and the violence were Black students. Since this was not a onetime event, Black students felt aggrieved that the university seems to be condoning racism. Not only did the rector doubted that it was such, but the university's delayed response further bred suspicion. SASCO laid blame on the VC's and security guards who were allegedly indifferent about the issues of Black students. Eventually, the university expelled the students after the court found them guilty (eNews Channel Africa [eNCA], 2014). As a way to improve race relations at the institution, the university introduced the Gateway College, which is a Student Affairs project to create awareness in the students about their environment and history. Principally, the programme aimed to build a culture of open and honest discussions in safe spaces and promote social cohesion (UFS, 2014). The institution is still working to achieve this goal because of its institutional culture.

Over the years the university did not experience any event as explosive as the Reitz. One may attribute this to the banning of political parties on campus and sanctioning of students who partook in the protests. These sanctions did not mean that students did not protest or sought external support about their issues. For example, in 2015, the SRC presented a memorandum along with the local SASCO branch contesting fees, security and racism. Although the VC accepted the memorandum, he emphasised the need for dialogue between university stakeholders without engaging third parties (SASCO UFS, 2015). The VC's statement suggests that students undermined the university established protocols. Fundamentally, the history of the university in addressing student issues may have influenced student course of action. It may seem that the beginning of #RMF at UCT was seen as an isolated event, whose dynamics were less likely to be generalised. Evidence to this was seen in the UFS VCs press statement that UCT was not responsive to the needs of Black students, though his university was also accused of disregarding Black students (Jansen, 2017).

Unlike at other universities, the #RMF was not as popular at the UFS like at all other universities, whereas the #OutsourcingMustFall movement, had some support from a few students. Even amidst the #FMF occurring at other universities, the mood at the UFS, Bloemfontein campus was quiet. The tone that the university took was similar to that taken by other institutions. The university conveyed sympathy but expressed its inability to remedy the situation as its decisions are student centred (Jansen, 2015). As an indicator for their commitment to supporting students, new entering students no longer had to pay the application fee (Duane, 2015). This assertion did not garner the anticipated support from students.

On the 20th October, 2015 police officers were summoned to disband students who had gathered outside the campus. This action came about because students vandalised the campus. On the 21st the university closed all its campuses for a week, except for the residences and essential services (Jansen, 2015b). What seems to have sparked the UFS protest was that the UFS and NWU management and their SRCs agreed on an 8.3% fee hike despite the national consensus to keep fees at 6%, an increase that students rejected (Duane, 2015). These events were necessary for the development of the #FMF movement at the UFS.

History of the University of Witwatersrand

The University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) derives its name from its location, the Witwatersrand. It is located in Gauteng, the economic hub of South Africa and the smallest but most populous province. The province also boasts a large number of universities in the country. The province is 18.180 km^2 large, the smallest with a population of approximately 12,91 million people (23,9%) and an estimated in-migration of 1 106 375 for the 2011-2016 (Stats SA, 2011). The province has an unemployment rate of 43% among the youth (Naum, Peters, Madiba, Sekoaila & Malungane, 2017/2018, Stats SA, 2016b). The province has three metropolitan municipalities and two regional municipalities (Local Government, n.d). The discovery of gold in the late 1800s made Gauteng popular and necessitated the establishment of an institution in 1886 to train engineers to capitalise on the gold discovery in the Witwatersrand areas and diamond rush in Kimberly (Le Roux & Breier, 2012). From the onset the institution operated as a residential,

English-medium instruction mining school. In 1922 Wits was founded from the school of mining to meet the needs of the market (Higher Education Quality Committee [HEQC], 2008c). From its inception Wits was open to all races but very few Black students gained admission to the university. Wits is located four kilometres away from the UJ, an institution that was created from the merger of RAU and the Technikon Witwatersrand (TWR) and about 60 km from the UP another Afrikaans medium institution, Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) and Sefako Makgatho University (SMU). The SMU is an English medium medical institution formerly meant for Black students. Wits' medium of instruction and its central location attracted some Black students whose numbers reduced with the implementation of the Extension of University Education Act of 1959.

The implementation of the Act meant that Wits lost its status as an open and liberal university. The institution's unsuccessful petitioning of the Extension of University Education Act seemingly prompted the university to ban all sorts of protests in 1959 (Naidoo, 2015). However, a middle ground was found as the university implemented academic non-segregation and social segregation policy. The policy implied that Black students could not reside on campus, although, their movements in their locale were restricted and they were arrested for overstaying or when found in town without proper documents (Greyling, 2007; Sayed & Kanjee, 2013). While, it was commendable for the university to have made concessions, these meant that Wits students, especially Black students could not carve out their space and find a sense of belonging in such an environment. Mr. Nelson Mandela affirmed the above, when he shared that he felt alienated as a Wits student (Heffernan, 2015; Mzamane et al., 2004). As indicated earlier, where there is the lack of belonging, social identity and discretionary conformity are affected often leading to conflict. In applying social segregation, Wits may have inadvertently overlooked that its values were not reflective nor responsive to their local environment (Friedman, 2016; Wolhuter & Mushaandja, 2015).

The above synopsis does not mean that Wits was passive: its advocacy record include, opposing the implementation of the Bantu Education Act, No. 43 of 1953, dissenting against the Sharpeville massacre[9] in 1961 and calling for Mr. Onkgopotse Tiro's reinstatement after his expulsion in 1972[10]. These efforts did to an extent yield public sympathy, but hardened government's attitudes. A wakeup call for Wits occurred at the Dar es Salaam student conference when NUSAS was denounced for its lack of racial-representativity, its reactive nature to issues that affect Black students and its reliance on subtle indirect protest modalities (McKay, 2015). The above highlights that unlike its counterparts, Wits tolerated dissent under prescribed conditions. The level of tact was necessary to how the institution approached protests as the apartheid government was not reluctant to sanction parties that digressed.

The desegregation of HE resulted in Black students enrolling at the institution. By the 1990s, tensions about fees and outsourcing surfaced and occurred almost weekly. Protest tactics included storming lecture halls, strewing litter on the campus, and singing demeaning songs about the VC. Students identified for the misdemeanour received sanctions. Then, Wits had a higher proportion of White students, the majority of whom did not partake in the protests. Despite their frequency, these protests were not as impactful, and sanctions meted at students may have discouraged them from further escalation. Additionally, some Black students identified protests with embarrassment and insisted that their peers act responsibly. This case illustrates that some Black students' need for acceptance, belonging and perhaps to dispel stereotypes about their being protest prone may have been behind their unwillingness to protest (Durrheim, Greener & Whitehead, 2014). These reasons point to the Black students lack of cultural capital. Concisely,

[9] The Apartheid government divided the country according to race, lessening the movement of Blacks who were expected to obtain permission to enter White areas. On March 21st 1961, the Pan African Congress (PAC) organised an anti-pass march burning their passes at the police station vicinity and urging police to arrest them. At the end of the march, 69 protestors (who included children and women) were killed and 180 injured by the police. The killing of the protestors resonated across the country, including at the universities too.

[10] Consequently, in 1972 Mr Onkgopotse Tiro an SRC leader at the Turfloop University (University of Limpopo) gave a scathing graduation speech, where he criticised the apartheid government and the University for preventing parents to witness their children's graduation ceremony, because of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. For this, he was expelled from the university. Although students across the country protested that he be reinstated, their attempts were unfruitful.

the institutional culture was not permissive of dissent expressed in attitudes of "stop embarrassing us, this is WITS" (Dawson, 2006). Assumingly, students may have felt that they were liable for the fees and that they believed that the university as an institution was concerned and would safeguard their needs. Most importantly, students' maintenance of a peaceful environment seemed to have been key to their shying away from protests.

Overall, protests about affordability of tuition fees and accommodation have been longstanding. In the 2000s, conflict took a different turn when the university council expelled its VC, Prof. Birley, on grounds of an irrevocable relationship breakdown with council and staff. However, the SRC shared that their relationship with the VC was amicable (Pendelbury & van der Walt, 2006). While student numbers increased during her tenure, her appointment was controversial as she had to spearhead neoliberal policies. In 2001 the university outsourced support services and retrenched 600 workers, leading to the formation of the Wits workers solidarity committee. Its mandate was to highlight the debasing treatment of these workers and outsourcing. Although, a workers' organ, students often partook in this committee's protests (History Online, n.d). While the VCs was said to have created an unfriendly environment for Black people, it seems that her Irish nationality was an issue, as it was expected that post- 1994 Black people should occupy such positions (Laurence, 2002). Following this incident, in 2003, Prof. Nongxa became the first Black Vice Chancellor His tenure in terms of protest frequency was not different from that of his predecessors. For instance, that year, a knife-wielding student, who had been suspended because of arrears, held an administrative worker hostage. The student demanded to speak to the finance director and the then Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, who was able to calm the student down. However, it was Mrs Mandela, who secured the release of the student (Keyser, 2003).

The Wits event could have cautioned the minister and the government of the desperation of students and that these pressures might make some resort to non-normative individual action as a way to secure benefits (Cele, Luescher & Bailey; 2016). In 2011, the university suspended three students for using radical protest methods during the outsourced service workers' wage strike. These tactics include trashing Senate House and a commercial building, leaving taps to run at a

residence hall and encouraging other students to litter intentionally. Among these was Mr Ndlozi[11] who was suspended along with two student leaders (Janabhai, 2011). In a move to possibly obviate a backlash from students and political parties, the VC explained the reasons behind the suspension of these student leaders and emphasised that the institution welcomes protests that uphold the rights of others. The above synopsis refutes Nasima & Wickham's (2013) assertion who decry the decline of protest culture at the institution. It seems that the limited number of students who were unable to pay for their fees previously, the institution's ability to curb protests as they involved fewer students and a non-combative political climate helped contain the protests. However, over the years the tactics incorporated the use of violence.

The discussion above indicates that Wits has always presented with a culture of protests that aimed at contributing to social inclusion. This character may be attributed to its history as an English medium institution espousing liberal views, hence its challenge of the apartheid status quo. The institution's liberal ideology somehow saw White students assume an active role in representing issues of Black students, a stance that student unions in the diaspora questioned. Though the university admitted Black students without sanction of the state, constant surveillance precluded students' adoption of radical tactics. The increased number of Black students brought forth exclusion issues that the institution ill considered, such as, an unwelcoming institutional climate and high tuition fees. External factors like the sluggish state of the economy somewhat re-ignited student's protests, as students urged the state to intervene. As the number of Black students increased, so did protests about exclusion, which found expression in the #RMF and later the #FMF. The lack of consensus over fees and the use of repressive means to quell students' protests saw the increased use of violence in these protests.

History of the University of the Western Cape

The University of the Western Cape (UWC) is located in South Africa's third largest province, the Western Cape Province, which is 1 29 449 km^2 large or about 10.9 % of the country.

[11] Dr Ndlozi is a Wits graduate and the EFF spokesperson (2014-2019)

The majority of the population of the Western Cape is historically classified as Coloured[12]. The 5 288 000 people in the province speak these dominant languages, Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English (Stats SA, 2011). In 2015 the population stood at 6 116 300, with, 344 830 foreign nationals. Of all the provinces, in 2015 the Western Cape boasts the lowest unemployment rate of 23.5% (Stats SA, 2016b). The UWC was established according to the Extension of University Education Act No. 54 of 1959 to extend apartheid (Blumfield, 2008; OECD, 2008). The institution initially educated Coloured students within the Western Cape. The UWC is in Bellville, 17 kilometres from the UCT and 25 kilometres from SU (Stats SA, 2016c). At its inception, UWC was far away from the local business districts, to dampen student politicisation gained from interacting with the local communities. Like with other HBUs, the intention was to disconnect students, politically and socially, to prevent future revolt (Reddy, 2004). The geographical location of these institutions captures the motive of the apartheid government to separate the students based on colour and to manipulate African knowledge systems: these institutions were called "tribal or bush colleges", whose semi secular design, mimics the African lapa or kgotla[13]. To date, UWC is still referred to as "Bush" (Mawasha, 2006). There are possibilities that the meaning of the institution's pseudonym changed with each generation of students.

UWC started teaching in 1960 and became a fully-fledged university in 1970 (Higher Education Quality Committee, 2008b). The autonomy of the institution was not celebrated then as HE in South Africa was highly segregated. Although the Coloured population could access mid-skill careers, the level of education was still lower than that of the White and the Indian populations. Subsequently, students protested the autonomy as without UNISA moderating their examinations standards were likely to drop (Bayaga, 2011; Jaffer, 2005; Odhav, 2009). The contestation of autonomy indicated deep-seated legitimacy and trust issues as the majority of academics at the institution were NP members and sympathisers. The majority of these academics

[12] Within the South African current context, a Coloured person is a descendant of African and White parents. Previously, the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950 categorised population under race categories. Initially, the 'Coloured' referred to 'Cape Malay', 'Griqua', 'Indian', 'Chinese' and 'Cape Coloured', but with time the Indians became a separate population group, and in 1959 were recognised as a separate group.

[13] Kgotla or lelapa, are communal spaces for meetings, be they formal or informal, with the former meant for the community - and often called by the king or chief - and the latter for the family. The circle or semi-circle permeated African life, from the shape of their homes to the kraals

was not properly qualified to teach at university and unlikely to divert from stereotypical curriculum that the university prescribed. From the onset, the institution had a negative reputation. However, the lack of opportunities for Coloured people made it somewhat desirable.

In 1970, students burned their ties in solidarity with a student dismissed from a lecture for not wearing one and, in 1975, a massive food protest erupted. To placate students, the state appointed the first Coloured rector (Brown, 2011). This appointment subdued political activism, both, in the community and at the institution. Student representation followed government's prescripts with little consideration for social justice issues. A visit to the institution from a Black Consciousness (BC) member, Barney Pityana, changed the situation. In 1972 the UWC SRC joined South African Student Organisation (SASO). Henceforth, students adopted the BC philosophy that they also promoted in their communities (Brown, 2010; Heffernan, 2015). According to the history of political mobilisation students often conscientise and mobilise their communities about social change as they see themselves as vanguards of their communities (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003; Nkomo, 1984; Zeilig, 2009). Adoption of the BC philosophy changed the dynamics of the student body and its leadership at UWC.

In 1973, the institution suspended Henry Isaacs, the SRC president, for criticising the type of education and the overall teaching and learning experience at HBUs. His speech followed the one that Mr. Tiro gave at the Turfloop campus graduation. After his suspension, the police raided homes of SASO members and arrested them. The indiscriminate arrests resulted in students protesting that their colleagues be released. Instead, the authorities chose to close the campus (Houston et al., 2013). Henceforth, politics at the UWC changed: social class politics replaced race politics defeating the initially intended divisions and meanings that government had intended to fortify. The Black, Coloured and the Indian population embraced the BC philosophy that regarded Blackness as an ideology instead of a physical trait. For liberals, the BC's rejection of non-racialism was unjustified. Irrespective of the unease, the oppression that the three race groups faced, self–emancipation and resistance of oppressive forces were necessary to create an independent, self-appreciating mindset of the Black population. Likewise, identifying with the BC helped build a common identity between South Africa's marginalised and oppressed groups. During crises, this identity seems to falter, as some Coloured individuals tend to share that they are neither Black nor White enough to identify with any racial group (Okoye, 2018). The 1976

killing of the Soweto learners, the increased state repression, the state of emergency, the mass arrest of political leaders and the lack of political leadership helped change politics at the institution (Staniland, 2011).

Events within the institution and the broader community forged a common identity and, in 1987, the institution declared itself aligned to the left and adopted English as a medium of instruction, increasingly opening access to Black students (Brink, 2015). Going against government policy had dire consequences for UWC, as the state reduced its subsidy leading to its growing debt. For instance, UWC received only 36% of UCT and 37% of SU subsidy allocations, despite it having the same enrolment figures (Brown 2011). More so, its lack of financial provisions for additional students further plunged it into debt.

The 1980s and 1990s were a period of marked political tensions, which saw the government implementing the state of emergency, and closed opportunities for political activism. Originally, government's restriction of political activism and the pending introduction of the tricameral parliament were instrumental in the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), a civil society coalition opposing the social injustices of apartheid. The situation at the university mirrored tensions in the community, where school boycotts under COSAS were prevalent. Post -democratic protests took a different tune as access and affordability became the foci. For example, in 1998 after lobbying various internal and external stakeholders, including the DoE to intervene in the imminent financial exclusion of students, the university ordered students from the campus. When they refused to do so, police were called to remove them, resulting in arrests (Cele, Luescher, & Barnes, 2016). This protest marked a turning point in the relationship between SASCO and the ANC, as the then head of state, President Mbeki accused students of being 'spoiled' because they protested fee increases (Cele, 2014; Maseko, 1994). Mbeki's response took an economist view that was in line with the neoliberal policies that he had instituted despite an outcry from his political party's allies.

Reference to students as spoiled, even though they received little or no state help for their education, indicated that he saw students as unwilling to pay their dues. Had the state interrogated the students' reasons for protests the opposite would have been true. In 1998, UWC established a debt collection office to salvage the R 63 million that students owed to the institution; by 1999 the

debt stood at R 46 million (Helen Suzman Foundation [HSF]; 1999). Apart from debt collection, the university introduced austerity measures, which put it at odds with students and staff members. According to Buchler, Koen, Cele & Libhaber (2004), student debt was the highest at HBUs. After the 1994 elections, majority of students that they admitted were from low income families. Therefore, they were unable to afford fees charges, in spite of them being low. For these students, protests became a way of ensuring that they continued with their studies.

Over the 2000s, the university continued to attract more students. Given that it had inadequate accommodation, UWC entered into a public-private partnership for accommodation provision. The new residences were, however, more expensive than those of the university and created more tension instead of alleviating it. Cele argues that protests at the institution covered from broad to narrow, individual to collective issues, the common thread thereof being opposition to academic exclusion because of the failure to pay for fees (2014). In 2013/2014 the university got a court interdict against students protesting the unaffordable Kovacs[14] accommodation rates. With pressure from the SRC, the institution acceded to subsidise students' accommodation for a year. Arguably, this decision was made with the knowledge that the same SRC was unlikely to be in leadership in the coming year, and in the event, such happened, negotiations have to start afresh.

Though the SRC must be nonpartisan, the dynamics at the institution were the opposite, because during mass meetings the Pan African Students Movement of Azania (PASMA) members were the most marginalised and they were not afforded a platform to air their views (Mugume & Luescher-Mamashela, 2015). The "Battle of the Brians," a conflict based on allegations of corruption against the management between the VC and the chairperson of the Council further polarised student' political parties and staff (Thamm, 2014). This factionalism mirrored the broader political landscape where political parties use undesirable means to gain popularity, to gain benefits associated with their political positions (Marshall & Cole, 2014; L. Thompson, 2016). Also, the university as the host organisation is likely to feel the repercussion of these fractures as opposed

[14] This is 'Public Private Partnership residence' which is inaccessible to the majority of the students and has additional charges for fridge rental and electricity, WIFI along with high penalty charges which go up to R 2 600.00. Thus, the call for its institutionalisation (UWC SRC, 2016).

to the political parties. Hence, it may be advisable that universities do not shy away from addressing these issues.

In August 2014 competition between PASMA and SASCO escalated when PASMA launched a student satisfaction survey after accusing the SRC of not being concerned about tuition fee increases (PASMA UWC, 2015). This statement was an anomaly as SASCO's plan of action included fund-raising to address student's historic debt and hunger. In 2014/2015, the SRC further declared that fund-raising was a long–term annual programme. Therefore, from February 2015, SASCO raised monies for university application fees, sanitary towels, the food bank and registration. Additionally, the SRC engaged in other broader concerns like the lack of transformation, accommodation and campus security. One can assume that PASMA sought to taint the image of the SRC so that they gain traction in the student politics. These events indicate that the SRC had continued to be actively involved in both internal and external politics, to represent the voice of students. In May 2015, the SRC cited their disappointment about the MDHET budget speech, which made no mention of transformation at universities, the inadequacy of the NSFAS funding or the implementation of the free education policy. This was an issue students had over the years discussed and negotiated with the ANC to no avail (SASCO UWC, 2015b). Later that year, the SRC posted a message on its Facebook wall that referred to the social inequalities, which it attributed to White monopoly capital.

The history of the three universities illustrated that the motives and context that drive the establishment of the universities play determine institutional culture. In this regard, protest dynamics differed per institution. For instance, Wits students were for inclusiveness of the Black students, whereas UWC students sought quality education. The focus of these protests hardly changed with democracy, hence in the year 2015/2016 students engaged in violent protests as a means to force the government to attend to their grievances. The section to follow looks at the #FMF violence.

Nature and Extent of Violent Protests at Universities

The 2015/2016 academic year was one of the most remarkable years in the history of South Africa. The year saw the charismatically named "Mandela generation" or "born frees" [15] labelled the lost generation, pseudo revolutionaries and hooligans. More positively, this generation added #Fallist to the South African, and the world's lexicon as they created social movements that called for the "falling" or the end of unjust social conventions (Suttner, 2016a). This generation of university students inhabited physical and virtual spaces to highlight their dissatisfaction with mainly unaffordable fees, the processes within and outside the university setting. Additionally, students collaborated across all South African universities to champion a cause that HBUs have struggled with over the years. During this academic year students, engaged in direct forms of protests, some of which turned violent, leading to widespread condemnation from different sectors of society (Seekings & Nattrass, 2015). The MustFall protests began at the UCT with the defacing of the Cecil John Rhodes statue with faeces in March 2015 to highlight the oppressive institutional culture. The responsible student argued that the statue celebrated a morally flawed man and called for its removal. His protest gave birth to the UCT #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) student movement. Although the defacement of the statue polarised stakeholders, it sparked institutional debates that culminated in the formation of student movements across public universities (Bank, 2015; Kros, 2016; Mangcu, 2015; Ndebele, 2016). After the #RMF event, a series of Twitter handles such as #RhodesSoWhite, #OpenStellenbosch, #InkuluFreeHeid trended in cyberspace (Luescher, 2016). These protests were limited to respective universities and expanded to cover the meaning and importance of national symbols in a racially divided country including exclusionary institutional cultures.

The government took a reconciliatory tone to Black students who called for transformation at HWUs and emphasised dialogue, and due processes necessary to the removal of the statues (Mthethwa, 2015). As the protest continued, the #RMF calls for transformation became linked to

[15] The Mandela children or born frees are children born from 1990 onwards, named so to mark the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. Unlike their predecessors, these youth were born in an optimistic, relatively politically- stable and racially-receptive environment. Twenty-two years after democracy this generation of 27 million is facing myriad challenges; 3.24 million are orphans and a third live in child-headed households. Of those going to university, it is likely 38% will obtain a university degree, and5 1% will not complete their studies (Kane-Berman, 2015).

decolonialisation, reflecting similar sentiments in the continent (DOE, 2008; Mawasha, 2006; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Weeks later, the offensive statue was removed, leading to widespread defacement of (colonial) statues at some universities and throughout the country (Motha, 2015; Wakefield, 2015; Zwane, 2015). As this movement was not as successful at other campuses (see #FMF at Wits) the academic year continued. When the #RMF receded the #OutsourcingMustFall, a worker-led protest championing better working conditions, which students periodically joined emerged. The worker protest gave impetus to the student fee #FeesMustFall (#FMF) movement began in October 2015 (Bond, 2015; Luckett & Mzobe, 2016; Raleigh & Moody, 2016). These two protests fed off each other and created collaborations similar to those last witnessed in the 1973 Durban workers' strike (Lodge, 1983). The #OutsourcingMustFall seemingly created the momentum for the formation of the #FMF student movement.

The 2016 tuition fees negotiation deadlock at Wits resulted in the formation of the #WitsFMF movement, which coincided with the presentation of the Minister of Finance's midterm budget speech in Parliament, on 20th October 2015. Consequently, the shared concern about unaffordable fees made the movement national. Subsequently, students in the Cape province marched to Parliament to present similar grievances to the Minister, where they found staff protesting (Pather, 2015). The riot police fired teargas and rubber bullets to prevent the peaceful crowd of students from entering the Parliamentary precinct. Following the scuffle, some students gained entry into the Parliament buildings and trashed the canteen and some offices (eNCA, 2015c). It is also probable that some of the workers partook in the subsequent violence that occurred. Numerous students were hurt, 29 arrested and charged with a range of misdemeanours ranging from treason to public violence. Law enforcement officials denied some of the charges, which were subsequently dropped owing to public outrage (Abreu & Tau, 2015). The above scene was reminiscent of the 2010 UK Tory House incident, where a splinter group left the march for the Tories headquarters and proceeded to trash its offices (Blake, 2010; Quinn, 2010). Unlike in South Africa, most of the security officers were at the student march. Whereas violence occurred during this protest, student call for justice transcended racial rifts, as White students were in the frontline, protecting Black students from the police.

The state President J. Zuma, then, elected a task team, which pegged fee increase at six percentage. Students rejected this set increase and continued with their call for free education (MacGregor, 2015). On the 23rd, the President called for a meeting with SRC leaders and their VCs. However, he reneged on his commitment to personally (instead it was broadcast that the 2016 tuition fees were set at 0%) announce the outcome of the meeting held at the Union Buildings. Erratic acts of violence occurred at the Union Buildings while students waited for the President's announcement, and police officers used water cannons to disperse the protestors (Dayimani, 2015a; Hall, 2016).

Academic leaders questioned the President's unilateral decision because of its cost implications for universities and the state (Butler-Adam, 2016a; Cloete, 2016a; Mosia, 2015). Considering that students are a critical mass that political parties seek to attract, the decision aimed to appease students (Chetty, 2014; Lidan, 2013; Tlhapane, 2015). However, institutional autonomy fuelled the protests as some institutions, for instance, the UFS and NWU deliberated on their proposed fee hikes despite the 0% fee increase announcement (Duane, 2015). Examinations throughout the majority of HEIs were rescheduled, and students brought in to discuss other demands, namely, the scrapping off historical debt and the cancellation of registration fees. Furthermore, campus politics took another turn with the formation of a parallel student movement that accused the SRC of selling out the movement (Macupe, 2015b). The establishment of the #FMF came about because SRCs (ANC aligned) urged students to resume with the academic activities because the government acceded to their call. It was this group that referred to historical debt and registration fees. Since this alternative movement was not formally recognised, they were denied an audience with institutional authority bodies. The lack of recognition and the labelling of the movement as violent, disrespectful and undisciplined led to unprecedented property damage at the UWC in November 2015 (Furlong, 2015).

The rise of the #FMF movement resulted in the dissolution of the NWU SRC for inciting violence, the UCT was reshuffled, similarly to the at Wits, as the President was suspended and his deputy resigned (Jewish Report, 2015; Seleka, 2015). At the height of the movement, incidents of vandalism and arson continued, and senate meetings were disturbed at UCT, UFH and Wits. At the TUT (Soshanguve campus) examination venues were torched, at the UWC and the NWU (Mahikeng campus), a block of residences was torched (Maponya, 2015).

On the whole, the rise of the #FMF and the continued violence at the different campuses illustrated the waning power of the ANCYL, as it had earlier in September called for calm at the UKZN campus (Daily Sun, 2015; Qukula, 2015).

Violent protests hampered the start of the new academic year, with issues of contention being registration fees for UJ, Wits and UWC and accommodation for UCT (Gon, 2016; Isdahl, 2016). For example, in February 2016 students burnt paintings, allegedly because they were not representative of their culture, as Black people. Ironically, most of which were of freedom fighters, one of those, the "Extinguished Torch of Academic Freedom" by Mr Keresemose R. Baholo a Black artist (Ndebele, 2016, Wicks, 2015). In some of these acts of violence, students used petrol bombs. The presence of petrol indicates that students the intention to burn property. As discussed previously [p.33] over the years, the DHET incurred considerable financial loses because of the violent protests. These escalating costs indicate that the destruction of property was a trend in students' protests.

At this point, universities secured court orders and hired private security to avert protests; however, these measures were unsuccessful. Hence, police officers were deployed on campuses. Maromo (2016) shares that between October 2015 and October 2016, approximately 831 students were arrested from the beginning of the #FMF. The charges brought against them included inciting public violence and contravention of court orders (Herman, 2016). Depending on their misdemeanours, some SRC leaders' and student activists' were either suspended cases with their cases either in court or charges against them dropped (Sobuwa, 2018). The arrests at the universities illustrated the role of insurgents in delegitimising the goals of the #FMF movement because some of those arrested were not students (South African Students Congress [SASCO] Wanga Sigila Branch Executive Committee [BEC], 2015). Whereas the purpose of the #FMF was to highlight the oppressive culture in institutions, this movement has to an extent recreated and elevated, some apartheid-style protest tactics like petrol bombs and expressions of jubilation which followed practical usage. These attitudes are of concern and connect with Rapatsa's (2017) belief about the ubiquity of violent protests.

Costs of #FMF Protests

Over the years, the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) witnessed increased costs of violent protests. In 2005 damage to property totalled R 12 000.00, and in, 2009, it fell to R 3 459.00 only to escalate to R 1 459 584.00 in 2014 (PMG, 2014).

Kahn (2018) gives a breakdown of the R 800 m for the three years, R 492.4m in 2015/2016, R 237.7m in 2016/2017 and R 56.5m in 2017/2018. Additionally, the South African Special Risk Insurance Association (SASRIA) noted that by February 2016, universities lodged 188 insurance claims worth R 92 million, of these 140 related to the #FMF and accounted for R 42 million. Between 2015 and 2016, non-political protests, which include student protests, rose by 67% (SASRIA, 2018). Data above indicates that student protests, especially violent ones, are financially unsustainable for the sector that continues to have its subsidies lowered annually. Thus, while students made use of violence as a means to an end, the overwhelming costs could not be overlooked.

Further context of the cost of protests is the complex economic, historical, social reasons and the political sanctioning of violence that determine the negotiation strategies between students and authorities (Giokos, 2016; Ndlozi, 2015). Strategies can move from dismissive, patronising, to being threatening depending on the situation. Challenges encountered during the negotiation processes are that the aggrieved parties may sometimes use violence for more concessions, a position that puts the authorities in a quandary (Alence, 1999; Cele, 2008; DHET, 2010; Luescher-Mamashela, 2011). Nkosi (2015) finds that the political climate within the universities to an extent fosters students' inclination to use violence to address their issues. However, personal factors seem to play a role in this interplay. The above synopsis of events at the different universities illustrates that protests can take various forms, from peaceful to violent. However, the oppressive and violent apartheid government escalated student protests. The next discussion outlines the dynamics of #FMF at three universities. The discussion also gives a background on how the #FMF movement started at Wits university.

The Beginnings of the #FMF Movement

Throughout the country and at universities widespread defacement of the statues occurred motivated by a clarion call for their removal (Motha, 2015; Wakefield, 2015, Zwane, 2015). Mobilisation to remove the Ernest Oppenheimer statue and change student dormitories named after him failed to gain traction, despite the call made during the #TransformWits movement (Tuswa, 2015). Lack of interest in the removal of the Oppenheimer statue implies UCT and Wits students had different views about these artefacts. Alternatively, the statue of Oppenheimer did not occupy a prominent and domineering space on the Wits campus unlike the one at UCT.

Wits issues were similar to those that the #RMF raised, and included academic staff racial representativity, a non- responsive curriculum, financial exclusions and unfavourable working conditions of the support staff (Lephatsa, 2015; National Coordinating Committee [NCC], 2015). Failed mobilisation over the Oppenheimer statue may mean that students did not associate symbols with transformation, as they did not give these any meaning. For some, a possible belief that the statue had historical significance and its removal will either obliterate or elevate it, meant that the statue remained. The different responses show the different racial dynamics at Wits and UCT, which has a sizeable number of White students. Tensions escalated at the institution when the university suspended the SRC leader, Mr Mcebo Dlamini, for anti-Semitic statement that “there was an element of Hitler in White people" and professing his love for him (Shange, 2015). He reportedly recommended that SASCO students who went to Israel be necklaced and posted a statement about killing a man and his children on his Facebook wall.

The university declared that Mr Dlamini had single headedly ruined the reputation of the institution and his behaviour may limit students’ future prospects (Areff, 2015; Habib, 2015). Although, the court declared that the statements were within his freedom of speech, his statement conveyed his sentiments towards the university management structure which may be generalised, as the university had been accused of being pro-Jews (Shange, 2015). Often university authorities bear the brunt of student’s anger and displeasure about issues they experience on campus, some of which relate to the policy. On the whole students and university authorities have had tenuous relations, which flare up in times of crisis. Although, Mr Dlamini was absolved of wrong-doing, previous SRC leaders signed a joined press statement citing their disappointment on his stance

(City Press, 2015). Shortly thereafter, the SRC deputy president and a leader of Project W, Mr Jamie Mithi, resigned from his SRC position. His cited the VC's bias towards the PYA, which allegedly had a role in a chaotic student body. The failure to sanction BDS members who had allegedly threatened Mr Mithi with violence was the source of his contention. The VC refuted these statements on Twitter highlighting that Mr Mithi behaved like Mr Dlamini, as he heightened political tensions on campus (Jewish Report, 2015).

At a town hall meeting in August 2015, Mr Mithi shouted out that Habib was lying that UJ had an arrangement with police officers who escorted students. Thereafter, both parties screamed at one another (Sekhotho, 2015). The poor decorum that both parties displayed may signal a breakdown in their relationship and their frustration as each may have felt that the other was not genuine, thus dialogue was futile under such circumstances. Combative behaviour and the use of debasing language against authorities, while part of protest culture, became more prominent with the presence of the EFF in parliament. These actions may have been stemming from students' knowledge and expectation that the VC as an ex-activist would be sympathetic and would not sanction transgressing students.

It is noteworthy to consider that during this period outsourcing had not died down as workers would periodically make their grievances known to the management. Hence, in May, workers and the suspended SRC president occupied the office of the VC following the unfair management's non- response to their colleagues' unfair dismissals and non-payment of their wages. Different interpretations are abound relating to the VC's refusal to negotiate with workers in the presence of students. However, students were not legally designated to represent the workers and also an attempt to maintain confidentiality the VC's stance was valid. Student leaders, however, labelled his actions suppressive. Consequently, students made a public declaration to support the workers' in their struggle. Weeks later the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC) stormed the dining hall, took food that they claimed was for poor students and then disrupted student election debates. Apparently, they were against the Jewish Student Society (JSS) partaking in the elections because of allegations of fund misappropriation. JSS is an alliance

partner of the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA)[16]. Subsequently, the university investigated the claims and found no wrongdoing. Following the alleged physical violence that occurred during election debates the university suspended the EFFSC SRC nominees and banned the party from the institution. Thus, the party could not contest the elections.

Allegedly, these banned students left campus at night without taking their belongings. Banning the party meant that the EFF as a party that appeals to youth could potentially lose a sizeable student membership. This was especially true because of the upcoming local government elections in August 2015. Subsequently, the EFF met with the management. However, because the VC allegedly refused to reinstate the suspended students the matter was taken to court (Mokoena, 2015). The suspension and banning of the party led to a Twar (Twitter war) between the VC and Mr. Ndlozi, who is the EFF spokesperson. The exchange between these parties indicated some deep-seated acrimony between the party and the institution, bearing in mind that a number of EFF leaders were Wits alumni. It is reasonable to assume that political parties somewhat played a role in escalating tensions at the universities.

Lotz's (2017) investigation of the source of #FMF tweets revealed 73% of the tweets about Wits originated from Pretoria from an account that was politically affiliated. Moreover, some student leaders like the NWU Mr Linda Mabengwane, an EFF student leader who was unseated told the VC that they would meet in court (Seleka, 2015). The boldness of the students indicates their readiness to deal with the consequences, which is less likely if they did not have support from their mother bodies or constituencies. Ultimately, the court-rescinded students' suspension and they could contest the election. The decision of the courts may have hardened student's attitudes towards the authorities. For instance, in responses to the court orders students formed the #HabibMustFall[17] as he allegedly suppressed their voices. The source of contention was that he was biased towards the PYA as he did not honour a meeting with the EFFSC (Macupe, 2015b).

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[16] The Progressive Youth Alliance is a coalition of the South African Students Congress (SASCO) an ANC organisation for university students, Youth Communist League (YCL), South African Communist Party (YCL) and the ANC Youth League. The alliance does include smaller parties with leanings to the ANC.

[17] This refers to Professor A Habib Vice-Chancellor and Principal of Wits.

The students' allegation that the VC was biased towards the PYA seem unfounded as had it been like that Mr Dlamini would not have been sanctioned.

The June 2015 announcement of the imminent demolishing of Esselen and Parktown Village (PKV) because of structural damage, hygiene and safety concerns fuelled discontent at the institution (Boso, 2017; Malefane, 2015). While students complained about the residences' unhygienic conditions, their concern was that the university was not offering them alternative accommodation that was as affordable as PKV. The arguments of both the university and students were valid. The demolition of PKV meant that students from low-income families faced a crisis since both university and private accommodation in the vicinity were expensive. The SRC leadership continually supported these students through pressuring the management to consider reasonable fee increases or fundraising. Earlier in the year, it launched the one million, one-month campaign, which although successful, was insufficient to prevent financial exclusions.

The preceding events and the realisation that fundraising was not a solution made tuition fee negotiations about the 2016 fee increases contentious. After four months of negotiating, the 11% proposed fee increase was reduced to 10.5% creating room for contention, because students had to pay upfront almost R 10 000.00 (six percentages) in registration fees (Mtongana, 2015; Musker, 2015). This stalemate triggered an alliance between students and the October 6th movement, a collaboration of the Wits Workers Solidarity Committee and other organisations, who then submitted their charter to the Wits and UJ management. Students' public endorsement of the movement forged students-workers relations and illuminated interconnectedness between under-employment and academic exclusions. Two days later, students decried their imminent exclusion as the institution maintained the validity of the fee increase. Possibly, out of frustration, students adopted a 0% fee increase proposal, marking the beginning of the #WitsFeesWillFall and later #WitsFMF campaign.

The #FMF Movement at the Witwatersrand University

On October 14, students shut down the university and occupied the Senate House, which they renamed Solomon Mahlangu House, a name that the institution eventually officially adopted (Malingo, 2016). On the second day of their protest, the institution obtained a court interdict requesting police intervention should it be necessary, creating an impression that the protests will turn violent. Moreover, the university's stance towards the protests was threatening as it warned students that it would apply laws and procedures, confirming that Wits was not as open as it self-depicted. After a scheduled meeting with the University Council on October 16 failed to materialise, students resolved to occupy the Senate House until their demands were met (Quintal, 2015a; da Silva, 2015). This statement indicates how resolute the students were in readily sacrificing their time to secure a meeting with the university (Malingo, 2016). The 2011 Arab Spring and the Indignados movements seem to have inspired students' tactics (Maria-Antentas, 2015; Fominaya, 2015). Apart from copying international tactics, students used language that is common during community and labour protests. While, one cannot discount the rightfulness of grievances, students subtly coerced the university management to concede to their demands.

In its defence raise fees, the university management shared that the retention of leading academics, the ability to purchase journals and conduct research were justification for the fee increase at the expense of social justice. Knowledge of the financial status of universities, the outcome of the free education report and the MDHET previous assertions to support free education seemingly made students resolute in their demands. Wits is the second richest institution in the country worth R 9.5 billion (Stats SA, 2015).

Forewarning students about the fee increase was rightful to prepare them. However, the timing seemed less than ideal as, at the time, they were preparing for examinations. Alternatively, the announcement may have been made hoping that students were unlikely to dissent as examinations were looming. The management's negotiation chip to maintain academic reputation and saving the academic year was unsuccessful because the suspension of academic activities gave students negotiation power. Undeniably, both students and the management of the university relied on some force to attain their goals (Phaladi, 2015; Quintal, 2015b). Student actions were non –

threatening and non–violent, but the university population access to and movement at the university was limited, allowing for the shutdown and inconvenience and resultant altercations between students and the protestors (Concerned Academics at Wits, 2015). For example, a guy had his car overturned by students when he wanted to force his way onto campus and allegedly ran over a student. Nicolaides, Sesant, & Kubheka (2015) noted that once on Empire road, some students hit passing cars with sticks. What followed was a motorist who drove into the crowd. Both parties saw their actions as warranted, hence their escalation. For the driver, no amount of reasoning could have allowed him access to the university; the same applies to students whose demeanour was unwelcoming to those who differed with them. To bring normalcy, the university deployed private security personnel who used tear gas, rubber bullets and stun grenades to disperse students, leading to widespread condemnation. Non-violent protests are provocative and may lead to violence (Ginsberg, 2013). Subsequently, on command of the Council security guards forcibly removed students from the Senate House (Makhafola, 2015; Quintal, 2015a).

During the week long protest, students accused media of reporting incidences that involved violence with little attention to the preceding events (Godsell, 2015; Nicolson, 2015b, 2016; Venter, 2016). Subsequently, students created a Twitter handle "Wits telling the Real story" and periscope to share events as they occur. Likewise, some media houses encouraged students to memorialise the movement and gave them a platform to share their experiences. There are conflicting views on the efficacy of Twitter and other Social Network Sites (SNS) to mobilise support for the cause. Albeit, their shortcomings, SN provided students with a sense of community and afforded them an opportunity to tell their story in the mainstream. Some quarters question the efficacy of SN as a mobilisation tool because of its penetrability and ability to spread contrary messages. During the Arab Springs, states clamped down on the internet, contradicting the belief that it played a key role in the movement. Unintended consequences of the fee increase were that it created consensus and unity among students, leading to the formation of the #FMF a national movement (van der Merwe, 2015; Nichols, 2015). Without breakthrough at Wits, South African Students Congress (SASCO)[18] called for a national shut down of all institutions scheduled from October 21, with action set to

[18] This is an African National Congress (ANC) aligned university student organisation, established in 1991.

continue until their no fee increase proposal is granted (SASCO Wanga Sigila UWC, 2015b). Other institutions had also proposed their fee tuition increases, which students regarded as unaffordable (Bambalele, 2015; Duane, 2015). SASCO's proposed action was mired in controversy as there were allegations that the ANC had urged the student body to quash the #FMF movement (Lephatsa, 2015). For the detractors, SASCO's involvement departed from the non-partisan identity striven for by the movement. This assertion failed to consider that SASCO had previously committed to the national tertiary institution shutdown for the second semester in May (SASCO NEC, 2015). The academics opined that fee increases are unsustainable; however; the reduced subsidies left them without an option.

The majority of students could not afford the 10% registration fee, which excluded accommodation and levies: the fees are way above the minimum wage of R 3 500 per month. Students with arrears are excluded or blocked from accessing university services, a strategy that universities employ to force them to pay. Pressuring dependent students to accept the increases seems implausible, as the responsibility for fees is a parental rather than a student's obligation. This is because students are majors who can enter contractual relations without parental consent, however, they cannot meet such contractual obligations. The Wits stalemate resulted in students from the Cape based institutions, UWC, CPUT, SU and UCT marching to the Parliament. The march coincided with the reading of the mid-term year budget review and was a way by which students could appeal to the Minister of Finance to implement the free education policy (Davis, 2015). The action, though laudable, was unlikely to yield immediate results as compilation of budget speeches is done in advance. This was likely to be known to students. The assumption is that students' actions, though symbolic, illustrated the magnitude of their concern with fees, but also it may be that they needed a form of acknowledgement and commitment about their concerns. One wonders what course of action the #FMF would have taken had students received due attention.

In anticipation of the march, the police force had cordoned off the Parliament precinct and denied students from entering the area. Those who did apparently trashed some of the offices. Meanwhile the police force fired teargas, stun grenades and rubber bullets at students who had

their arms raised[19] and sang the national anthem. White students were in front of the group seemingly to protect Black students from the police officers; however, the police also assaulted them. Meanwhile inside parliament the EFF, in response to the chaos in the parliamentary precinct, called for the postponement of the speech to allow for some time to the minister to address students. After the chaos, the MDHET unsuccessfully tried to have a side meeting with some students (Davis, 2015; Isdahl, 2016; Mahapa, 2016; Suttner, 2016b). Events of the day were reminiscent of the 1971 St George's march (Cape-Town) in which the police officers beat and arrested White students who partook in the march to reinstate Mr. Tiro at the UL (Brown, n.d.). During apartheid, it was unlikely for police officers to use force against White people because they were regarded as a superior race. Hence, these two events contradicted this social contract. Moreover, police action illustrated the extent to which the state is willed to prevent dissent. On the day numerous students were hurt and 29 students were arrested for invading a national strategic key point. They were charged with treason, sedition and trespassing. Justification for the action and charges revealed the extent to which state apparatus are keen to marginalise powerless group. Based on public disapproval the charges were dropped as students were charged according to the pre-1994, apartheid era Regulation of Public Gatherings Act No. 205 of 1993.

Apart from consciousness-raising and student unity, the march yielded a number of outcomes: the formation of a commission to identify and make apartheid legislation redundant and a tuition fee task team, which on October 20, 2016 proposed that the increase should be 6% (Naidoo, 2016). The MDHET statement that universities were autonomous entities nullified the recommendation of the task team, leading to students rejecting it (du Toit, 2014; Higher Education Network [HET, 2015). The inconclusive decision rendered it unacceptable to students as it still gave universities the power to decide on the fees. Admittedly, this decision was similar to one where British universities charged fees closer to the £9000 limit (Blake, 2010). Understandably, the Minister's statement was procedural, the circumstances under which the movement sprang up were extraordinary and required to be dealt with sensitively and empathetically.

[19] A protest symbol in honour Michael Brown an 18-year African man, who was shot by a Ferguson police officer (Why "hands up, do not shoot resonates regardless of evidence" (Grinberg, 2015)

The national fee's stalemate and the police force's heavy handedness of Cape based students escalated the protests as Johannesburg based students (Wits and UJ) marched to Luthuli's House[20] to present a memorandum on free education. Allegedly, the Wits SRC, which is as an affiliate of the ANC, was reluctant to march to their national headquarters. However, UJ students did not concede and the march proceeded. Students stated that the ANC was reneging on free education promises it made in the Freedom Charter, which is the African National Congress (ANC) vision document, previous election manifestos and the 2012 report on free education (ANC NEC Subcommittee on Education and Health, 2015). The MDHET had also made such statements in the public domain; in this regard, students were within their rights to confront the governing party as it had decision-making power. The extent of the ANC's power on its youth political party was seen in the Wits SRC's reluctance to march to Luthuli House. Retrospectively, the ANC's Secretary General's refusal to sit on the ground, similar to the Wits VC and the UWC Chancellor Archbishop Makgoba's approach when students presented their memoranda, seem to be a sign of his disappointment at the Wits SRC's inability to contain protests.

A remarkable occurrence during the march was the prominence of male students, in particular, including Mr Mcebo Dlamini who no longer held a leadership position at the institution. The ANC Secretary General's action may have created conditions for further undermining and marginalising female student leaders, who were the rightful SRC leaders. On that day, Mr Dlamini shared intentions to shut down the Union Building, saying that the 1994 honeymoon was over (Alternative Information and Development Centre [AIDC], 2016). Thereafter, the ANC issued a press statement encouraging members to participate in this march, as it was not anti-establishment (Ray, 2016). This call may have been to neutralise students and for the organisation to portray itself as pro-poor because earlier the ANC Secretary General had disparaged VCs for leniency, saying that had the #FMF occurred in any other African country, the universities would have been long closed to teach students that HE was important (Mbembe, 2016).

[20] Luthuli House is the Headquarters of the African National Congress (ANC), named after its first Black African based Nobel Peace Prize Laurette and the president of the party between 1952 and 1967.

Meanwhile, the MDHET held a series of meetings with students and VCs of all institutions to solve the impasse. At this meeting it was agreed that the matter would be settled on a cession for a six-percentage fee increase. However, this was non-binding. (Socialist Youth Movement [SYM], 2015). Subsequently, President Zuma also called a meeting for October 23 and committed to informing students gathered at the Union Buildings of the outcome reached. Though the ANC had publicly endorsed the students march to the Union Buildings, it seems that the party still wanted to influence the Wits PYA. This assertion is made because the party allegedly held a secret meeting with its Wits alliance where President Zuma's daughter donated money to be used for subsistence and transport to the march (Macupe, 2015a). This information leaked because the #WitsFeesMustFall members disrupted the meeting. The PYA denied the bribery allegations and highlighted that they were under no obligation to inform other political parties in the SRC of their meetings with their affiliates. Whatever the intentions of the ANC, it seems that they needed to ensure that the student leaders will support the stance of the mother body.

Students took the SRC's silence on the matter to mean the meeting had occurred. This was supported by the location of the meeting in the area considered the heart of the WitsFMF where logistics, food distribution and movement issues were discussed (Gillespie, 2015). Following these events, the PYA's reluctance to march to Luthuli House is understandable. The October 23 solidarity march to the Union Buildings[21] may have happened under a cloud of disunity. Police officers had cordoned the Union Building so students did not have access to it; as the day ended without a response, they became agitated. Sporadic, but non-sustained incidences of violence, like throwing stones at the police, trying to break the perimeter fence to access to the Union Buildings, burning of tyres and portable toilets occurred. Police either used water cannons or did not intervene. The President, however, reneged on his promise and opted for a press conference to address students, sharing that there was not going to be a fee increase for 2016. Furthermore, he stated that he would appoint a commission to explore avenues for funding free education.

[21] The Union Buildings are the administrative capital of South Africa, built in 1913 to signify the union between the Dutch and the English governance in South Africa.

Considering that students waited from morning until late afternoon, their reaction was understandable (Dayimani, 2015a, 2015b; Nicolson, 2015a). Before the announcement, two helicopters hovering above students dropped teargas on them. Seemingly the action was a signal for students to disperse. Possible explanations can justify the students' violent behaviour: firstly, heat and exhaustion may increase irritability causing some people to act out (Plante & Anderson; 2017). Secondly, students may not have had direct access to the media and were unaware of the outcome. Regardless, the President compromised his leadership and credibility by not meeting with students as promised. Whether he initially intended to honour the appointment is debatable, as the President had earlier said that students should rather 'do something' instead of constantly criticising what is not being done (Dispatch Live News, 2015). Another pertinent utterance was his stating that Black people have become too clever. The statements reveal the presidents' paternalistic attitude and disdain toward students. Hence, it was doubtable that he would honour the Union Building appointment. Thirdly, there seem to be a perception that government overuses commissions of inquiries to avoid resolute decision-making. Therefore, it was not necessary to appoint another because the findings and recommendations of the previous commission report on the feasibility of free HE were not implemented. Lastly, acceding to the Wits call revealed social stratification issues as students at HBUs have over a period of time contested the high tuition fees, but they received the same 'attention.' (Butler-Adam, 2016a; Martin Hall, 2016; HESA, 2011; Nhlapo, 2016; Rudin, 2015).

A counter argument might be that the HBU students' marches were sporadic and disorganised and did not warrant national attention. Whatever the case might have been, the state's action reinforced the perception that HWUs are more revered than HBUs. These differences were also witnessed when it was purported that TUT students were responsible for the violence that occurred at the Union Buildings and that Wits students were calling on them to stop using violence. These statements imply that society often associates violence with history and low socio-economic status, hence, there was a widespread belief that TUT students were responsible. After the crowds dispersed from the Union Buildings, a few students remained to tidy up. Ndebele (2016) succinctly captures the symbolic meaning of the cleaning process as a way of giving closure to a

psychologically distressing event. Additionally, this cleaning process may also signify forgiveness and the forging of new relations between students and the authority figures.

Reactions to the President's decision to freeze fees were measured and related to one's status. VCs responses were measured as they wondered whether the government would meet the obligations: they doubted the feasibility of free HE. This was so because the President's decision seemed impromptu and may not have considered its effect for the sector. Some experts in the academy labelled the President's announcement as a power over-reach and that the President had undermined institutional autonomy and functioning (Butler-Adam, 2016b; Cloete et al., 2016). ANC-aligned student-led organisations and political parties urged students to "go back to class". Meanwhile, as the student population rejoiced a section reminded them that their demand was for free education and not a fee freeze (Davis, 2015; Gasnolar, 2015). The argument put forward was that students would still be liable for fees at the 2015 rates and indebted students and those facing exclusion were not in a better position.

The government's plan to appease youth who threatened to boycott the August 2016 local government elections backfired as the protests continued despite the ANC youth- aligned political parties sharing that the #FMF was a resounding success. The Wits PYA also endorsed the decision of their national body and signed a nine-point plan, committing itself to resolving students' and outsourced workers' issues. This agreement meant that the university was to resume with its academic programme on the 28 October after two weeks of disruptions. Buttressing the nine-point plan was the VC's willingness to continue discussions with student leaders. Lectures did however not resume as planned as students and service workers including the outgoing SRC president, continued with the protests. Within the SRC, Ms Shaeera Kalla, the outgoing president and Ms Nompendulo Mkhatshwa, incumbent SRC president held contradicting views about continuing with the protest. Ms Kalla, shared that she did not support ending the national shutdown and cited that it was likely to damage relations with the workers without whom the #FMF might have failed. Moreover, this action was going against the agreement that the Wits and UJ coalition signed (eNCA, 2015b). As a result, Ms Nompendulo Mkatshwa's authority and commitment to the movement was questioned. Additionally, her being featured on the cover of Destiny magazine, her reluctance to take her constituency into her confidence about calling off of the national protests

when asked on national television seemingly made her less popular. It seems that students associated her action to being sympathetic to the ANC, where she worked as an intern (Whittles, 2016). The shunning of Ms Mkatshwa also illustrated that students did not cherish the media individualising collective effort. Conversely, it is of concern that neither the prominence nor the authority of Mr Vuyani Pambo and Mr Mcebo Dlamini (male leaders) was questioned when they took leadership of the movement. Another dimension may be that these two male students had realised a gap and capitalised on it or that their actions reflected the association of the male with power. That week two cases of arson occurred on a bookstore and two vehicles. The violence also became personal as students allegedly assaulted a photo- journalist and pelted her with stones (van der Merwe, 2015a).

For Wits, examinations continued after a series of postponements, creating a false sense of normalcy that ceased at the beginning of the year when the university reopened. Students disrupted the registration process. The reason for their actions was the academic exclusions of other students, hence, they and the SRC occupied the Senate House (Solomon Mahlangu House) making it a residence. The students continued occupation indicated their students were dissatisfaction with the zero percentage of fee increase. Unlike the previous year, the university hired armed private security officers. According to students, the security sexually harassed female students, an allegation common to all campuses, earning them the title of bouncers. This name revealed the level of force that these officers used, and their physical demeanour was different from that of the ordinary campus security guards. In the meantime, the university secured a court interdict, valid from January 15 to April 25 that banned an array of non-violent and violent protest tactics (Wits General news). Students, however, did not adhere to it. For instance, registration process was disrupted. The university had to devise alternative means to enable first year students to complete the process. In another case, four security guards sustained minor injuries when students hit them with sticks, steel rods, bottles and stones as they tried to evacuate them from the Senate House (Moagi & Ramontsho; 2016). Students were forced to hurriedly alight from a burning intercampus bus that someone had ignited from inside (Gumede, 2015).

The fee freeze reinforced the notion that authorities can and will only attend to the students' issues when coerced. Had the students given in, it is likely that the fee increase would have been maintained, thus the course and level of violence that the students resorted to explains how the authorities respond to students issues (Nyundu, Naidoo, & Chagonda, 2015). Further, the response shows that depending on the motives of the authorities, youth can be either beneficiaries or victims of violence. In this case, they benefitted from the fee freeze. Despite criticism from various sectors, the students' continued protesting. Disruptions and disturbances across various campuses continued alongside the academic year, with some universities scheduling their examinations in November, while the UWC gave students an option to use continuous assessment as part of the final mark. At the UCT, examinations continued until January 2016 (Gasnolar, 2016; Mosia, 2015).

The #FMF at the University of Free State

Dynamics at the UFS were not different from those at other institutions as students cooperated with the workers under the banner of the Workers and Students Forum (WSF) as part of the #OutsourcingMustFall movement at this institution. In terms of the #FMF there seem to have been reluctance at this institution to partake in the movement. Reason for this may be that the SRC and the university management had agreed to increase fees by 8.3%. This increase, although consensual, countered the MHET undertaking that 2016 fees were to be capped to 6%. Reading the socio-political landscape at other institutions, the university closed after announcing the fee increase. Seemingly, the university might have thought that the cancellation of application fees was an adequate bargaining tool. A more plausible reason in this case may have been that since SRC leaders contested their positions based on merit, the university might have thought that this condition was likely to contain tensions from escalating. Contrary, the fee hike seems to be a catalyst for students to join the protests. On October 20, 2015 students joined the #FMF. On that day, students called for the management to reverse the fee increase decision and they also called for a fee freeze for the 2016 academic year.

A stringent time frame of 30 minutes was given to effect the decision, which was however unrealised because the meeting was interrupted leading to the university shut down. Vandalism that occurred during the protest attracted police officers who fired rubber bullets and stun grenades

at students and the subsequent arrest of 21 people (Duane, 2016; News 24.com; Moeti, 2015). To quell the protests, the university obtained a court interdict that stipulated that the university was to reopen on the 22 instead of the 23 October. Moreover, this interdict provided for police intervention if need be. Students and university management had different conceptions regarding the issuance of the interdict. The former saw it as a way to silence them, whereas for the latter it was to protect all university stakeholders (UFS news, 2015).

Assessment of the climate at all institutions indicated that students were unlikely to accept the tuition fee increase, irrespective of the SRC's endorsement. Therefore, when the university called for students to vacate the institution, they blamed the university management for negotiating in bad faith. Subsequently, students defied the order (eNCAa, 2015). Moreover, students shared that the 6% fee increase was not a solution to their indebtedness. Despite having had agreed to tuition fee increase, the SRC engaged in fundraising. Talks with students occurred concurrently with management's engagement with the #OutsourcingMustFall movement. Commitments to increase salaries were unrealised, with those requiring feedback is either intimidated or redeployed. Owing to the December university recess, the service workers suspended the protest.

Financial demands that students put on the university were a challenge because the state makes budgetary allocations to their organs only in April of the year. One can deduce that universities had spent most of their yearly funds. Student protests put university management in a precarious position as the state makes commitments that are not feasible to implement. It is for this reason that universities consistently reiterated that the state ought to shoulder the cost of HE for them not to collapse. The universities public call for financial support implies some level of suspicion of the government meeting its obligation. The stance of the university resulted in student leaders deciding to start a protest, which had to be cancelled because senior students were not yet on campus. Since this protest started at the beginning of the semester, the university identified and instituted sanctions against protest ring leaders. For example, three students were excluded from the university without following due processes. One of those arrested was the WSF leader. The SRC president was advised to withdraw from the movement if he wanted to continue with his law firm traineeship (van der Merwe and van Reenen, 2016).

Since WSF included students in its leadership, the university accused them of ineptness, and misleading the workers. This statement, the mistreatment of student leaders and the blocking of the service workers access cards did little to avert an impending protest, especially because police officers fired rubber bullets and teargas at passive protestors. These actions frustrated and confused workers who had initially agreed about their salaries with the university management (van der Westhuizen, Labuschagne, & Kekana, 2016). Subsequently, these parties regrouped on the university and marched to the Shimla Park stadium, from where the VC was host to an inter-university rugby tournament and joined the audience to a match.

The march to the stadium implies that protestors thought they stood a better chance of having their issues attended to, as they had a larger audience, outside of the university. Therefore, the presence of protestors at the game put the university management in an undesirable position. Choosing to stage a protest at the rugby stadium was in itself a challenge to authority. Protesters used this space to show the importance of their issues as these were presented in an exclusive space to which they are often denied access. Part of the Reitz video showed that Black people were "clumsy" at rugby, a stereotype reinforced by the fact that a Black captain was only appointed in 2018 in the rugby union's history of 127 years (Mphahlele, 2018). Since the protestors were unlikely and unwilling to pay the entrance fee, a male protestor slapped a female student manning the gate to gain entrance; subsequently, a brief scuffle between Black and White students ensued. Once inside, the protestors started *toyi-toying* on the side-lines of the pitch hoping to get the VC to address them. With their expectations unmet, the protestors invaded the pitch and disrupted the match twice. The last invasion saw spectators descend to the pitch and start to beat up the protestors (Isaacs, 2016).

The altercation mirrored a level of intolerance and a sense of entitlement on the part of the spectators who felt enraged by the inconvenience and were less concerned about the source of the protest. However, the protestors' actions were disruptive because they ended the flow of the game abruptly. It is the abrupt end of the game that seem to have frustrated the spectators where emotions accompanying the experience were unrealised. van Troost, van Stekelenberg & Klandermans (2013) assert that preventable situations are more likely to elicit anger and action. This means that protestors should have anticipated the reaction of the spectators, as they were seen as an obstacle

to their enjoyment of the game. Ginsberg (2013) notes that disruptions are provocative actions aimed to raise the ire of those to whom such action is directed. This was underlying the spectators' anger regardless of whether they shared an identity, which in the UFS context was the opposite as the racial climate at that university had made rugby a White student- dominated sport. Therefore, the protestors were denied of a human identity; thus it was easier to attack them. Their identity and dignity were further trampled on when the games continued, an action that strengthened Black students and workers' resolve based on the view that the university management did not care about their wellbeing.

Later that evening Black students sought revenge and broke residence and car windows of the alleged perpetrators responsible for the stadium offensive. Jansen (2004) reveals the reasons for the Black students attack on the residences, as directed at communes of White students' identity and that of their parents. Students domitories often reflect elements of segregation. Escalating the chasm between these parties were police officers who fired rubber bullets at Black students, but not at White students who were provocative and sang the apartheid anthem. Police actions revealed the historical association of rage and violence to race, Black students were told to leave campus, to which they retorted that the UFS was also theirs. Use of rubber rubber bullets by the police on one crowd illustrates the paucity in public order policing as the country straddles between the French and the Belgian model of policing. The former model uses batons, teargas, shields and water cannons to disperse protests, whereas the Belgian model calls for persusion and negotiation (Ministry of Police, 2011). The adoption of the French model was aimed at reducing protests from escalating to violence, whether initiated by the protestors or police. The disadvantage with the French model is that it assumes that protests will turn violent as depicted in the attire worn such as body vest, riot shield and hat. Additionally, protestors may see this model as provocative as it involves push back, using teargas and isolating ringleaders. While the stadium assault triggered interracial conflict, the raid and arrest of Black resident students and the disparate treatment of students created resentment and loss of confidence in those with authority and gave the protest the necessary momentum (El-Taraboulsi, 2011; Higher Education Transformation Network [HETN], 2016; Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011; Speckman, 2015).

Responding to the Shimla Park events, students submitted a third memorandum of demands to the management, the first two submitted in April and October 2015. Their demands included the removal or resignation of the VC and fasttracking the transformation process. The university's response to the memorandum escalated tensions as it was noncommittal, but also disrespectful to students. An American study on youth violence cited multiple contributory factors to violence including rejection and disrespect. The inaction on the part of the authorities to address students' issues timeously affects youth self-control (Bushman et al., 2016). The campus remained closed throughout the week as students vandalised statues on campus, including that of CR Swart, the first South African president. Students also rejected the proposal to have statues removed to an alternative place (Chabalala & Pijoos, 2016). Litter was strewn at the main administration building, lectures disrupted, a security guard house damaged, notice boards smashed, names of prominent Black leaders were spray-painted on buildings, trees and pavements. An attempt to vandalise the Steyn's statue was foiled when police fired rubber bullets at protesting students (Lindeque, 2016). During the protests, 39 students and workers were arrested. However, despite documentary evidence of those engaged in the Shilma Park assault, no White students were arrested or charged with misdemeanours. Moreover, banned gatherings did not apply to White students who could meet as groups without sanctioning. Non- action against White students goes against the university's rules on students conduct (UFS, n.d). This was an anomaly as those involved had their pictures in all media platforms.

A local church descended on campus, leading to students questioning their intentions. The church, over the years, witnessed the racist acts and failed to act to change perceptions of their fellow White population (Moeti, 2016). In the same vein, the university organised a peace and justice march on the March 1, which the students shunned because of the biased action of the management and the militarisation of the campus. Attendance to the march was not as expected and further plunged the reputation of the university management as the university denied on live television that police raided Black students' residences, shot at them with rubber bullets and arrested students despite their non-participation in the protests (Mohlahlana, 2016) a student in the vicinity challenged the statement. Lying is a reputation maintenance tool that helps to create and maintain a positive image. A psychological study on lying demonstrated that people in powerful positions were liable to lie for personal reasons, whereas those in lower positions did it for

communitarian benefits (Rucker, Galinsky & Dubois, 2015). Although institutional status is one of the key reasons for students choice of an institution (Kongolo 2012), when such is above all else, students are unlikely to trust the university authorities. "Trust is a belief in how individual actors working for the institution perform their roles" (Jackson et al., 2013: 5). The students' rejection of the peace march was premised on their claim that the university was choosing prayer, a passive action to address racism and exclusion that are prevalent at their campus. Hence on the very day of the prayer march, students formed an alternative, the #UnsilenceUFS to illustrate their plight (Chabalala, 2016). Movement participants taped their mouths and had their hands tied to symbolise and expose the challenges that Black students faced at the university. Shortly after the Shimla Park incident, a police helicopter hovered above the institution, an action perceived by Black students as intimidation.

The discussion above indicates that the UFS has yet to transform its image as an enclave of the Afrikaans culture. Such an identity is a factor of its environment that has continued to resist transformation, expecting Black students to assimilate the dominant culture. This stance created resistance and resentment on the part of Black students because the university hardly sanctioned White students for violating Black students. Hence, protest became a means for Black students to have their issues addressed. Therefore, the #FMF became an opportunity for students to raise the complex issues that they faced at their campus; however, in pursuit of solutions, they opted to use violence. Justification for this behaviour was that the university is only receptive to their issues but continues to treat them with disdain and always choosing to make amends for White students. Unlike in the past, social media helped to expose incidences of racism and the attitude of the university towards it. It is for these reasons that a commission of enquiry was appointed to investigate the Shimla Park incident and later that year the VC resigned.

The #FMF at the University of the Western Cape

The University of the Western Cape (UWC) did not warm up to the #FMF like other universities in the Gauteng province. At that time students were preoccupied with the #Outsourcing Must Fall movement. As Wits students started with their protests, UWC students were preparing for their examinations. From their social media posts, these students were indifferent. A fellow student

posted a message on the UWC Facebook wall asking her peers what is UWC doing about the #FMF? The majority of students shared that they were not bothered as they were preparing for their examinations (Mbombo, 2015). Then, collective national student protests were uncommon, it was conceivable that these students distanced themselves from the #Wits FMF movement. The UWC's students' reaction was reasonable as over the years, they protested the same issues without support from other institutions, particularly, the elite institutions. Another reason was that the outcome of the student elections held between September and October 2015 was contested as DASO (Democratic Alliance Students Organisation), EFFSC and the PASMA alleged that some students might have voted twice. PASMA's indicated that the university dismissed its appeal, hence, the decision that SASCO was the winner with 100 percent of the votes was upheld (Koyana, 2015).

The margin at which SASCO won the elections seemed suspicious and might have played a role in how the #FMF unfolded at the university. Hence, the contest for power that came into being between the SRC reflects these power dynamics. Additionally, this power contestation explains to some extent the reason for UWC to join the #FMF later than other universities. On October 16th, Tauffeq (2015) used the #UWCFeesMustFall Twitter handle on his timeline, implying that UWC students' ought to be part of the #FMF movement, if they need their issues to be taken seriously. On October20 the students were invited to a mass meeting under the banner #UWCFeesWillFall (#UWCFWF). The UWC diversion from the #FMF indicates a sense of resoluteness on the part of the movement to ensure that they achieve free education. On the very day of the scheduled meeting of the #UWCFWF, the university SRC shared that it will be joining the nationwide #FMF student protest.

It appears that political tensions were more prominent at the UWC as both PASMA and SASCO sought to organise and mobilise individually. Notably, in 2014, there was a new formation called Aluta, a splinter group of SASCO. A statement from the group indicated that the organisation was not a breakaway structure, but a politically inclusive organisation geared to towards securing the interests of students. Aluta is was presented as not aiming to expose SASCO. This assurance of not being anti-SASCO becomes suspicious as the same party refers to itself as the real SASCO, worthy of students' vote (Aluta, 2014). In this vein, one detects that Aluta saw itself as a legitimate student party. An opposing view, discrediting Aluta, indicated that the party through its association

with SASCO had received funds that it did not account for, making it as unpopular as SASCO (Mansa Musa II, 2014). The above illustrates the presence of tensions within SASCO and between SASCO and other parties and these escalated with the formation of the #FMF. The #UWCFMF became popular as seen when students welcomed an addressed by the movement and booed the SRCs. The behaviour of the students is understandable as #Fallists were labelled hooligans and thugs (Mi Campus Magazine, 2015).

As part of the resolutions, on October 21, 2015 the #UWCFWF called for a march to Cape Town International Airport. The SRC thought that the suggestion was imprudent and discouraged the student body from participating in it, citing the possibilities of arrests and activities that may taint the protest. As with the majority of student structures, the SRC was less influential to students, thus, the protests continued. Moreover, the SRC's unwillingness to march made it unpopular and increased the influence of the #FMF movement under Aluta leadership. Whereas, the #UWCFMF leaders encouraged the involvement of the SRC, students labelled them as "sell outs" or traitors. What is unclear is whether this march was to establish whether the one to parliament would be successful or not; however, the march to the airport was a kneejerk reaction to make students believe in the movement (Mandyoli, 2019). Police intercepted the march and fired stun grenades, tear gas and water cannons at students who had their hands raised (Hendricks & Sayed, 2015; Jacobs, 2016). Reports about the violence that ensued are unclear, as although students had blocked the road, they were not aggressive. However, police fired rubber bullets and teargas at them. Since the airport is a national key point, it may be that the police officers used rubber bullets to disperse students who were reluctant return back to campus. Subsequently, students were escorted back to campus (Hendricks & Sayed, 2015).

SRC response to the 0% fee increment was not different from the rest of the campuses. They urged students to return to class as their protests yielded success. Whereas, the SRC supported the march to Parliament, they distanced themselves from violence and vandalism that occurred. Despite the call, vandalism, robbery of local vendors and looting occurred. Information pointed out that these activities were not the doing of UWC students. Peaceful marches that occurred on campus degenerated to violence as protestors left campus, blocked the main road and pelted stones at traffic. This action resulted in the police firing stun grenades and water cannons at students. The presence of police is often termed a cause of violence; however, in this case students

engaged in violent actions on their own and refused to disperse when asked to do so. Moreover, participation in the march was not voluntary because of the threats of violence against those unwilling to participate. On the day, staff members were also sworn at and threatened with crowbars and sticks (SASCO UWC, 2015a; Xulu, 2015a). This situation created insecurity for both staff and students, some of whom who left the campus in the early hours to avoid victimisation. The academic programme discontinued to allow for events to unfold.

On October 27, student protestors at the UWC overturned three cars, broke windows and damaged the control room, forcing the institution to get an interdict that suspended protests for a year. Throughout the protests the university management engaged with the newly formed movement to understand their issues. On November 3, the university, SRC and the #FWF reached an agreement to meet (Mi Campus Magazine, 2015). All three parties made concessions at a meeting. While some of the #UWCFWF delegates were discontented that not all of their demands were met, there was an understanding on their part on the challenges experienced by management. For the outsiders, the meeting was a reality check that the university management is considerate. However, a meeting to give students feedback on the resolutions reached was chaotic; the #UWCFWF reneged on the agreement reached alleging that their representatives signed minutes of a meeting, to which the student body was not privy. Gon (2015) argued that the #UWCFWF rejection of resolution they made with the university management was indicative of the lack of negotiation skills. This is probable as it might have been the first time that the #UWCFWF leaders were thrust in this role and the rotation of leaders somewhat stalled continuity on issues earlier negotiated with the management.

Additionally, EFFSC and PASMA members swore and threw objects at the SRC President and the VC, despite their promise that the meeting would be orderly. The issue was apparently that the movement and not the SRC had mobilised students (Petersen, 2015). Allegedly, the #UWCFWF used questionable mobilisation tactics. For instance, the first- year students allegedly had their rooms flooded or had fire extinguishing dry chemical powder released under their rooms at their campus residences. SRC leaders allegedly received death threats (SASCO UWC, 2015a). The need for the EFFSC and PASMA to promise that the meeting would be orderly, implied that there already was precedence of their meetings turning chaotic, and this included their mobilisation tactics. Considering that other political parties contested the election of the SRC, the reception that

was given to both the SRC leader and the VC reflected ongoing questions on their legitimacy. Fundamentally, protests tend take a negative posture towards formally constituted entities (Cele, & Koen 2006). It appears that the movement used violence to mobilise its support.

The #UWCFWF rejection of the agreement made earlier with the university may have been because of an alleged agreement made by the movement leaders with the university without consulting their constituencies. From its inception, the Council and the university management had continuously rejected any possibility to discuss with the movement. Ironically, after an agreement was reached, the movement reneged on it, but was infuriated when the Council chairperson opposed it. Without the endorsement of the Council chairperson, agreements that the #UWCFWF made with the university management were unenforceable. Therefore, the movement leaders continuously asked for a special meeting with the chairperson of Council (Furlong, 2015).

Further, the e-mail from the chairperson called for the enforcement of the court order. On November 11, students clashed with staff and security, burned tyres and a building and spilled raw sewage at examinations venue, making the university unsuitable to write examinations. Students broke windows and doors to access locked buildings, damaged a car and took food from a residence dining hall. To break up the protest, police officers fired stun grenades and arrested five students. In turn, students pelted the police officers with stones and then set rubbish bins, couches and tables on fire. For the #UWCFWF, the call that Council made was about the need to cease the examinations as there was potential for continued violence. The statement read “restoration of calm and continuation of exams is at risk and cannot be guaranteed” (Furlong, 2015; SASCO UWC, 2015a; Xulu, 2015).

For the movement, their being associated with insecurity and violence, gave them some justification for engaging in violence. They shared that being perceived as violent was provocation (Mentz, 2015). The enduring violence affected the sitting of examinations and forced the university to develop alternatives to achieve this ultimate task for the year. The university made the following attempts to ensure that examinations were written. Firstly, the university hired additional private security, a decision that made them unpopular. Irrespective of these attempts, students could not sit for their examinations on campus. Consequently, the university moved the examinations off campus, regardless, protestors blocked the bus from leaving the campus. As the university could

not guarantee the safety of students, the university postponed the examinations. Students were allowed to choose whether or not they wanted to write in January 2016 or have their continuous assessments be used as their final mark. This solution, however, only applied to students in the low levels. Those from the third year wrote their examination in January 2016 (Pretorius, 2015). The series of events made the university an unsafe environment within which to function. Moreover, the actions of the protestors indicated that the rights of students who wanted to continue with the examinations were disregarded. Although damage to property is not regarded as violence, it was instrumental in instilling fear in the university community. For example, one student referred to the trashing of the examination venue in which he was writing as the scariest day of his life (Qukula, 2015).

As the protest continued, the violence escalated: other serious cases of arson were on the residence administration building, two guardhouses, Cassinga residence and the new Reslife building, 16 buildings vandalised, three including a student residence set alight." (Govender, 2015). Responsibility for the damage was put on EFFSC, PASMA and Aluta, convocation members and a pastor, giving an impression that SASCO was not combative (SASCO UWC, 2015a; SASCO Wanga Sigila BEC, 2015; SASCO Wanga Sigila Branch, n.d.). The following extract indicates how combative SASCO is as per its communique to the director of residences, petitioning against the WIFI access control gates that they regarded as an inconvenience. “You must never play with the struggles of students, this matter should have been resolved in the first term already, this is not a HAHAHA matter this is a 10111 matter and it should be dealt with as such” (SASCO Wanga Sigila UWC, 2015a). This message portrayed the director of residences as uncaring and not interested in students, above all else, the message had threatening undertones. Apart from lost time, damages to property amounted to R46 544 446 and about R12 million (Sesant, 2017), but no figures exist for the trauma caused to those at the campus.

SASCO criticised the university management of being amendable to the demands of the #UWCFWF, a non-formal structure that it negotiated and made concessions with. Prioritising the demands of the #UWCFWF was necessary to contain the violence at the campus that threatened the safety of the students, as some indicated that they were afraid to sleep or even go to the bathroom (Pretorius, 2015). These stories contradict the assertion of the FeesMustFall Parents’ Solidarity Committee’s open letter that condemned the university for accusing and sanctioning

students of violence. On the whole the parents' group saw the university and the police officers as responsible for the violence because they were unresponsive to student's demands (#FMF Parents' Solidarity Committee, 2015). The parents' stance absolved students from the violence that occurred at the institution. Nevertheless, Kilowan (2015) argued that the university had consistently without success done its best to meet the demands of the movement. Further sharing that a student shared that he saw some of his colleagues instigating violence against colleagues and damaging property. For the #FMF Parents' Solidarity Committee violence from students was a reaction and a sign of dereliction of duty. Tactics that student movements used attracted contradictory stances, based on affiliation. It seems that it is this support that encourages continued violence.

On campus, students complained about the over-zealousness of the private security companies dealings with the students, one of which was party to the Marikana massacre[22] (Black First Land First [BLF], 2016). The involvement of this company tainted the image of the institution, as it appeared keen on silencing the voices of the students, a finding that further strained relations between students and the authorities. By November, the university suspended two Council members on the allegations that they were instigating student violence. The SRC lodged a complaint that the pair had attended the Prayers for Peace meeting without due invitation and their behaviour was "inflammatory and unacceptable to the SRC" (Williams & Maqula v. UWC Judgement, 2016: 3). Charges against the council members were dropped in 2016 (Khoza, 2015). With the SRC distancing itself from the #FMF PASMA, Aluta and the Black First Land First (BLF) assumed leadership responsibility for the movement, thus, escalating rivalries. As parties called for reconciliation, the University Chancellor, Archbishop Makgoba, agreed to meet with the aggrieved parties, who then went on a rampage instead of heeding the call (Pretorius, 2015). The intervention of the University Chancellor was unfruitful and the local SASCO branch accused the management of yielding to pressure from an illegitimate body. The involvement of Pastor Xola Skosana in the alternate movement may have been the reason for the statement (BLF, 2016; SASCO Wanga Sigila Branch, n.d)

[22] The Marikana Massacre occurred in August 2012, where police officers killed 40 miners protesting wage increase.

Despite the protest action, some examinations did continue as scheduled in January 2016. The payment of registration fees and the unmet outsourcing agreement were points of contention. The former was likely to happen as despite knowledge that universities open in January the government's financial year starts in April, as indicated previously. Therefore, the Presidents' announcement on free education put all universities in an adverse position and these institutions continued to bear the brunt of hasty political decisions However, for UWC the period between January and March 2016 was not as volatile as the previous year.

Of all the three universities under review, the UWC is the youngest university and an HBU. Therefore, its history shaped the dynamics between students and those in authority. As a product of the Extension of University Education Act 1959, the UWC was set to produce graduates for employment in immediate environments. Initially, students were not keen to oppose the apartheid government, until they joined the BC. Adopting the BC philosophy solidified the identities of South Africa's marginalised groups and gave the Coloured students in the Western Cape an opportunity to express their dissatisfaction with the apartheid regime. Consequently, the university became a catalyst for political change, which was solidified when the university defied the apartheid ruling and committed to admission of Black students. This defiance of authority resurfaced with the #FMF, which at this campus was named #UWC FWF (FeesWillFall), setting itself apart from other institutions. While the name of the movement indicated a sense of resoluteness, SASCO used it first. Although, the movement, was regarded non-partisan, PASMA initiated the dispute of election results. Therefore, from the onset, the movement was not unified. The lack of unity saw power struggles occur between the SRC, the university management and the Council. It seems that the power struggles had created the necessary conditions for the violence to occur. Attempts from the university stakeholders to reconcile the movement and the #UWCFMF were unsuccessful, thus the violence occurred. For some student protestors, the intervention of the security officers was perceived unwarranted, though in some quarters this was welcome (du Toit, 2015).

Conclusion

This chapter gave a synopsis of HE in colonial and post-colonial Africa and how this history shaped the sector in the continent and in South Africa. Similarly, South African youth played an important role in the liberation struggle; however, as they are not a social class other parties took over their contributions and roles. In the short-term, the relationship between students and the post-colonial leaders was cordial and set to developing a common national unity. These relations, however, soured when students realised that the political ideals and their realities were contradictory. For South Africa, these contradictions are embedded in the apartheid legacy, which involved racial, gender, geographical and language discrimination that currently still manifests in social class dynamics. These differences are also prevalent at universities, where diverse students meet. Some of the current generation of Black students studied at multi-racial schools, where they felt isolated, but were rather unable to fathom these feelings because of their age. Being at university and getting validation on these feelings of exclusion created a propeller for the protests at HWUs in particular.

Apart from personal and historical reasons, the complex relationship between the participatory vision and marketisation of the university has modified relationships between university stakeholders. Where these were cordial in the past, they have become competitive leading to conflicts, as resources become a scarce commodity. Furthermore, in such environments power sources shift from knowledge possessed to finances generated, adversely affecting the purpose of the university. Although, the SRC is involved in various university structures, the monetisation of these positions has resulted in the student leaders being concerned with their personal issues rather than those of students. With this body sanctioned as a legitimate structure despite the low voter turn-out and ill-discipline among its members, students denounced them. This occurrence had unintended consequences for both the universities and the ministry as it communicated that structures would continuously be endorsed despite the diminishing popularity. Therefore, despite the lower voter turnout, the results of the students' elections were valid.

What further complicates relations at universities is that HE is politicised with student leaders seeing their positions as political career paths. The #FMF movement is a culmination of protests that occurred at HBUs and some HWUs right after the country succumbed to the prescripts

of the WB and the IMF, which promoted privatisation of education and identified primary education as necessary, despite South Africa's skills lag. Over the years, SASCO had regularly called for free higher education and its calls were taken heed of when the EFF and PASMA assumed leadership in the matter as seen in their marches to the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE), National Treasury and the DHET, where the spokes-person told them to march to the JSE (Nkosi, 2015).

The protest subtleties at the different campuses reflected the status that the SRC and the student body had and their history. Despite the antecedent factors that contributed to the protests turning violent, these protests reflected the following. Firstly, there was the deep- seated issues of legitimacy and trust between the student body and the SRC and between the student body and the university management. For example, the banning of political parties at the UFS while celebrating an Afrikaans cultural festival with roots in the Broederbond was faulty. Seeing that this decision was taken when Black students were becoming the majority at the institution, the interpretation may have been that they are politically raucous, and, thus, must be side-lined. Secondly, protests at UFS reflected the effects of racism in the HE sector, which was subtle at UWC and Wits. This is because while students complained about fees, in an equal and just society such would not be an issue for one race group. Thirdly, South Africa remains a politically active nation, therefore, the acts of students reflected its culture of protests as shown in their communities. Therefore, students did not see any other recourse other than violence, though authorities more often state that they believe in dialogue, they hardly implement resolutions. This stance also applies to the mobilisation tactics that some students use. Fourthly, for the universities, the free education was a needed respite, though they were cautious about its feasibility. This act of populism on the Presidents' side put undue pressure on the universities as they scrambled to find alternate means to fund the initial months of the reopening of the academic year. Therefore, VCs previous efforts to secure monies for their institutions sounded hollow as the president portrayed himself in good light.

Lastly, throughout the protests, university management took the blame for protests turning violent, the exclusion of students and not doing enough to secure protect students and staff at the universities. When they did, the public regarded these as militarisation of campuses. Under such circumstances, VCs were unable to exert their authority and provide the required leadership. The failed interventions with country's revered leaders, continuation of protests, escalation of violence

and the seeking of immediate commitment to issues whose roots are national, somewhat indicated that students understood that with violence the ministry was liable to act, though pressure was misplaced. The origin of Wits tweets outside campus illustrate the role of political parties in the fracas, the transportation of protestors who were also given political party t-shirts and the presence of student leaders in other universities which revealed sponsorship of students.

The need for immediacy in this case may be associated with the high levels of corruption in the country where finances for social development and welfare are never available. Globally, increasing tuition fees raise student dissent, who regard HE as a public good, which is corrupted by capitalism and neoliberalism (Prusinowska, Kowzan, & Małgorzata, 2012). Therefore, the public financing of HE is a means for social justice, as it is redistributive for the benefit of low income students (de Gayardon & Bernasconi, 2016). On a larger scale, the students denounced neoliberal policies, which disregard the social inequalities and their impact in attaining fulfilling lives. The positive aspects of the movement were that they familiarised the universities with how SM works and the need for alertness and information-sharing with students. Hence, they combined traditional and new media. The protests highlighted the archaic modes that universities use to engage students and the need for authorities to adapt systems at universities. The next chapter explores the typology of violent protests and situate these within the micro and macro realms that the student interacts with. This discussion also includes the theories used to understand the research question.

Chapter Three: Violence within the South African Higher Education Sector

The chapter builds on the previous information about the antecedent factors that accompany violent student protests at universities in the previous chapter. The first part of the discussion gives a typology of student protests at South African universities. Fundamentally, protest repertoires can move from a continuum of no violence to disruptions and then violence. These protest repertoires may overlap or even be cyclical as per resolution of an issue of contention. Additionally, the discussion looks at the reasons that promote the use of violence in protests and how these justify its use and normalisation in protests.

The second part of the chapter describes the micro and macro factors that contribute to violence in protests. The micro factors relate to personal, and institutional dynamics that can promote the use of violence. Whereas, macro factors encompass the history of deprivation and the massification programme. With deprivation and exclusion part of the South African HE, massification was necessary to deal with social inequalities (see chapter two). Following from the un-addressed challenges of massification, students may resort to violence; the benefits and consequences, thereof, are discussed before the theoretical and conceptual framework. The study uses the Social Identity theory (SIT), the process model of Procedural Justice, the Group Engagement Model (GEM). This chapter is then followed by the methodology chapter, which is framed by the preceding chapters.

Typology of Protest Repertoires: From Peaceful to Violent

Protest repertoires are derivatives of tactics, a body of knowledge that protestors employ to gain concessions from the authorities (Biggs, 2013). Protest repertoires move a continuum ranging from non-violent, disruptive to violent protests, a classification that this study adopts. Bohler-Muller, Roberts, Struwig, Gordon, Radebe, & Alexander (2017) and Runciman (2015) note that non-violent tactics include signing petitions, providing memorandums to ‘concerned officials’, attending officially-sanctioned rallies and marches. Non-violent and disruptive tactics may inconvenience the authorities and the general public as protestors may block roads with tyres or stones, heckle speakers during public engagements, or occupy offices. Violent protests may

involve, among others, the destruction of private or public property, physical injury, or threats. The reaction of the concerned authorities often determines the course of the protests. Fundamentally, crowds, whether peaceful or aggressive, elicit anxiety on the part of the authorities. This anxiety is reflected in the level of preparation associated with demonstrations and the state apparatus involved during these events. Student and organised labour marches are likely to attract health and safety personnel and heavily-clad riot police, unlike those of environmentalists' groups. Ultimately, this creates an impression that student protests are violent (van Leeuwen, Klandermans, & van Stekelenburg, 2014; Zeitz, Tan, Grief, Couns, & Zeitz, 2009). This perception reflects the ways the university authorities and the police officers have dealt with student protests over some time.

Demonstrations are goal-directed and popular tactics or repertoires that involve a group of people gathering in an imminent public space to gain attention and compel authorities to address their often political demands (della Porta & Diani, 2006; Fillieule, 2012). Demonstrations are popular for protestors and worrisome for the authorities; the reasons are fivefold and relate to Tilly's elements of protests; numbers, unity, worth, and target (Tilly, 2004). Firstly, any gathering of people is likely to receive attention from its audience and the community at large. Secondly, the larger the group, the more pertinent their case, indicating the value of their issue. Thirdly, large groups illustrate the power of the populace and may threaten the stability of society should their demands be ignored. Fourthly, demonstrations alert the broader population of the injustices the protesting sector of the community experiences. Lastly, demonstrations help cement the identity of the protestors. Based on the above characteristics of demonstrations, it is comprehensible that the state conceded to the students' demand for a tuition fee freeze.

The number of those involved in protests does not imply violence. Between 2006 and 2013, of the 843 protests that occurred worldwide, 110 turned violent, with the dissatisfaction directed towards the government 80% of the time (Ortiz, Burke, Berrada, & Cortes, 2013). Newspaper articles on violent protests were the data source for this study, hence, it could be that the figures were under- reported. Irrespective of the discrepancy, this information indicates that violent protests are often disproportionate to the total number of protest events and that the state is often the target of dissent. Alexander's (2016) synthesis of South African protests looks more realistic than that by Ortiz et al., (2013). Accordingly, between 2004 and 2008, there were 34 610 protests. Only 2861 turned violent. Despite the varied data sources, namely: police call outs and news reports, the figures illustrate that violent protests, threats, and unconventional tactics are increasing.

Louw (2017) attested that the rise in violent protests from 40% in 2007 to 80% in 2014 ranked South Africa eleventh on protest per capita in a list of 50 countries with the largest economies. Paret (2016) indicates that there were 3542 violent protests in 2016. Bohler-Muller et al., (2017) attributes this increase in violent protests to the population believing that violent protests are an acceptable means for resolving problems with authorities. This attitude may help explain why violent protests are increasing in communities and the universities, with the likelihood of these being a reality at all institutions of higher learning.

The grievance presented, efforts to have it addressed, and the socio-political landscape largely determine how conflicting parties will interact and whether the protest will turn to be violent or not. In the case of the students, the delay in addressing the soaring fees made students to be impatient during the negotiations where unmet concessions attracted violence. Alexander (2016: p. 26) notes that protest repertoires involve "blockading of roads, boycotts, construction of barricades, burning of tyres, looting, destruction of buildings and confrontations with the police." In essence, while South African protest repertoires represent a continuum of non-violent and violent tactics, disruptions seemingly straddle between non-violence and violence. Echoing Miguel, Sierralta, Manuel, & González (2016) typology that protests often straddle between conventional/cultural, disruptive, or violent tactics.

Conventional tactics pose little or no risk to the protestors or other stakeholders. Festive protest in the Quebec student protests and Turkish Gezi park where Anarchopanda[23] and puppet sock were common elements in these protests (Glasius & Pleyers, 2011; Juris & Pleyers, 2009; Spiegel, 2015a). Local protests are rather different as conventional tactics used are mainly 'toyi-toying' and singing. While these protest tactics create an enjoyable atmosphere, at times, the lyrics of the songs and associated gestures are sometimes combative and threatening and may dissuade onlookers. As such, there are overlaps between disruptive and violent repertoires; hence, the distinction between disruption and violent protests seems negligible.

[23] The Anarchopanda was the unofficial panda mascot of the Quebec 2012 student protests that a university professor wore; the objective was to lighten the combative mood of protests (Staeheli, 2015). These types of protestors are a rarity in the South African scene, and it is probable that their integration might diffuse tension (Chauvin, 2013).

Criticism about classifying disruptions as violence abound. Proponents note that disruptions unsettle daily life and rattle the status quo, as seen in #UnsilenceUFS [24] and #PatriarchyMustFall. Disruptive repertoires employ symbolic rather than direct violence. Standard disruptive repertoires at universities are vandalism, window-smashing, and burning garbage cans (Haenfler, Johnson, & Jones, 2012; Wasow, 2016). During the #FMF students engaged in sit-ins, campus shut-downs and disruption of lectures, and depending on the call for support, the tactics moved from disruptive to violent. Disruptions prevent agency and self –determination on the part of the non-protestor. Consequently, those who assert their rights are likely to be threatened. The helplessness brought by the disruptions may potentially elicit anxiety, fear, and a sense of insecurity on the forced participants and bystanders. For example, a Wits student needed legal advice on her being forced to partake in the protest (Seleka, 2015). The above illustrates the extent of violation that students may have experienced from forceful participation, imply that there is an element of violence.

The marketisation of HE resulted to increases in tuition fees and student protests. In some countries such as South Africa, such protests often tend to be violent, or they use autonomic tactics (Alonso & Mische, 2015) civil disobedience or direct action (Conway, 2003). The rise and tolerance for violent repertoires at universities is a global challenge against organisations that purport capitalist and neoliberal values (Spiegel, 2015a, 2015b). Students target institutions because they are ideological structures that perpetuate inequality and shape access to opportunities and capacities (Balcells, 2016; Cammaerts, 2013). The loophole with using violence is that it is counteractive for students because of its effect on the very same students (Conway, 2003; Polletta & Jasper, 2001). The indefinite closure of the UNW, UWC and Cape Town University of Technology (CPUT) during the #FMF caused tensions and uncertainty for all parties (Godsell, 2015). On a larger scale, students' use of violence reflects the social distance with university authorities and system unresponsiveness because self- interest, competition, clientelism and patronage have replaced collegiality (Fukuyama, 2015). Contributory factors to violence are not limited to the university environment but to personal and societal factors, that are discussed shortly.

[24] The movement had Black students dressed in Black and covering their mouths with masking tape written #UnsilenceUFS. These movements were common at various campuses, their objective being to create spaces for dialogue for Black students.

Personal Factors that Contribute to Violence in Protests

Violent tactics are anti-democracy as they compromise the rights of others, alienate public sympathy and water down the initial goal of a movement (Isdahl, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2016; Ramoupi, 2015). Its unacceptability emanates from the harm it causes on the victim and the bystanders; however; in some situations, violence is morally acceptable. Fundamentally, the instrumentality and pervasiveness of violence may legitimise its use during student protests. This behaviour indicates myriad iterative factors at the micro and macro levels such as early childhood trauma, exposure to violence, and lack of positive role models. Some studies point out that an inadequate nutrition may limit impulse control (Health e-news, 2018). This study considers that these influences are related, as Lee (2015) asserts that violence is an interplay of personal, biological, and social aspects. Kühn (2016) situates political circumstances, especially state-sanctioned violence, in promoting the acceptability of violence. However, this is premised on society trusting that state organs will use violence in a just manner. The discussion that follows looks at youth exposure to violence, student subculture and social class, and masculinity as personal elements that relate to the use of violence.

Youth Exposure to Violence

Violence permeates all aspects of society, and young people disproportionally bear its brunt. Socio-economic status and location seem to mediate on the level of violence experienced. In this case, youth in degraded and overcrowded urban areas are highly susceptible. The high rates of urban violence may be linked to the high incidences of collective violence - which annually claims three in four lives out of the 5.8 million deaths – and to the failure of the neoliberal politics (WHO, 2014). South Africa is a youthful country with 37% youth aged between 20-29 years who are typified as likely victims or perpetrators of violence. The Youth Victimisation Survey conducted with a sample of 2243 youth aged between 12 and 22 years, found that one in five children had witnessed domestic violence with one in three acts occurring in their environment - the school and home (Burton, 2006). Recent national data indicates that between 9% and 12% of youth surveyed shared that they were either scared to be at home or school. In aggregating the level of safety perceived according to the sex of the household head, female-headed households ranged between six and fourteen percent. Male households did not fare well, either as figures were less than 40% (Statistics South Africa [Stats SA], 2016a). Although these two data sets had different sample

specifications and conducted in different periods, they illustrate the pervasiveness of violence in the country, its normalisation and its possible negative impact on the wellbeing on the lives of the youth, most of whom are incarcerated (Burton, 2006; Cronje & Kane-Berman, 2015; NYDA, 2015).

Statistics above point to policy implementation inefficiencies coupled with a lack of political will to address the challenges of youth post-1994. With age, gender, race, and socio-economic status shaping the level of youth' vulnerability to violence, it may be concluded that the prospects for South African youth to live in a violent free society are minimal (Krug et al., 2002; Leoschut & Kafaar, 2017). Although the above four demographic variables consistently link with violence, socioeconomic status seems to be the weakest predictor of violence as two of the poorest South African provinces, the Eastern Cape and Limpopo, consistently record the lowest incidences of violence (Stats SA, 2016a).

Student Subcultures and Class

University students are a highly differentiated community, some of these differences relate to the disposition to enter HE, physical attributes, socioeconomic status, and political disposition. These characteristics help create sub-groups within universities known as student subcultures. For the purpose of this study, the typology created by Clark & Trow (1966) explains the factors that may propel some students to engage in violent activities during protests. Student subcultures are distinct categories of student groups that share norms and values. Flacks & Thomas (2007), Roufs, (2016) state that student subcultures describe how students relate to the university and include the conformist (academic or vocational), who identify highly with their institution and ideas. The non-conformist subculture (collegiate or radical) perceive university education as instrumental; thus, they do not necessarily identify with their institutions. The conformist category is academically focussed, though at different levels. Students in the academic subculture are concerned with academic excellence, and when they engage in other pursuits, it underlines their need to add to their intellectual development. These students are unlike those in the vocational subculture, whose purpose is to engage in pursuits other than academic excellence. Their purpose is to obtain their degrees and leave the university as soon as possible. Students in this broad category of the conformist subculture are likely to follow the rules. These subcultures are unlikely to engage in demonstrations or any other type of protest, as it may compromise their future aspirations.

The non-conformist subculture is a diametrical opposite of the conformist and comprises of the collegiate and the radical subcultures. Students who are part of the collegiate subculture see the university as a marker of their independence and tend to prioritise social rather than academic activities. Some of these activities can be active involvement in sports and student formations. Therefore, students in this subculture believe that the university is an environment for them to have fun and enjoy themselves. The last category is that of the radical, also termed the rebellious subculture. These students are intellectuals who seek to use their knowledge to change their social environment; thus, they push boundaries.

Radical students are intellectual drifters, who though intelligent are non-orthodox and likely to be attracted to non-traditional protest tactics. Unlike all other subcultures, they pursue a sense of identity. Examples of these non-conformist cultures occurred when some of the UWC and Wits students disarmed police officers at their campuses. The above typologies delineate the motives for students to enrol at universities; they however, seem to be context and class-specific. While authors including Luescher-Mamashela (2015b) attest that middle-class status encourages radicalism, it seems that in some cases it can pacify. wa Azania (2017) notes that despite Rhodes being a liberal university its students were politically apathetic. Therefore, it seems that other factors like economic and political conditions may make the radical subculture attractive, as evidenced in the #FMF, which united students who, otherwise, would not have joined protests. Nevertheless, their enthusiasm related to the reality of being both in debt and unemployed on completion of their studies. A recent study by He, Defler-Rozin & Pitesa (2019) argues that financial vulnerability increases zero-sum perceptions to negotiations. Subsequently, this attitude may have driven the violence that occurred during the #FMF.

Masculinity and Violence

Discourse on violence often takes on masculine identity, making the male youth more susceptible to the use of direct violence in the resolution of conflict, while their female counterparts opt for subtle forms (Jobard, 2014; Langa, 2011). Stereotyped masculine traits, namely, independence, physical strength, aggression, emotional detachment, and portrayal of the male figure as the protector, may contribute to men using violence as a means of assertion (Bozkurt, Tartanoglu, & Dawes, 2015). Statistically, men are the majority of perpetrators of formally sanctioned violent acts, and lawless violent acts, as reflected in their rates of involvement in safety and security sector and rates of incarceration. Hence, the male identity relates to both ends of formal and lawless

violence, and this intricate relationship may limit the different pathways to conflict resolution. Violent masculinities have cultural and historic roots. The Hofstede model of national culture masculinity index revealed that South Africa holds masculine values. Notwithstanding, that the South African sample was limited to the White population, socialisation patterns across South African racial groups are similar. South African men are socialised to portray their leadership skills and risk-taking behaviour through displays of power or face humiliation if opting to back away (Hofstede insights, n.d.). A qualitative study investigating male depiction of honour in confrontational situations with men holding high masculine honour beliefs showed they were unlikely to walk away from a threat. In such situations, standing their ground retained future reputation, especially when the offender was defeated (Fiske & Rai, 2014; O'dea, Castro-Bueno, & Saucier, 2017). At times, a verbal altercation sufficed to maintain one's reputation (Collins, 2013; Lacey, 2009). Communities that value violence, may prime young people to use violence as a self-assertion and empowerment tool. Despite the influences of the environment, men are not a homogeneous group, as experience and character may determine their response (Everitt- Penhale, & Ratele, 2015).

University Dynamics that Contribute to the use of Violence

The university is an old age institution with established norms that have transcended generations. Ideally, this environment presents high standards, whether so in terms of its location, infrastructure, and values that it purports; however, these ideals do at times, go against the norm. The discussion to follow looks at the location and size of the campus, infrastructure, universities as contested spaces, and the disempowerment associated with being at a university, especially as a Black student.

Location and Size of the Campus

The location of universities conveys its importance and the governments' commitment to its youth as future professionals. The image of reverence of the university is generalisable to attendees. For instance, admission to a university assumes that one is intelligent and bestows a positive status to the graduates. Geographically accessible institutions attract diverse academic staff and international students while implying adequate infrastructure that promotes

communication (Salmi, 2011). Most universities are located in centers of political power. The location serves dual but contradictory processes during protests. Protests that occur in political centers gain political attention as they disrupt the daily atmosphere, and may imply the loss of control on the part of the authorities. Proximity to power may disadvantage students as authorities may seek police intervention to restore order, and media may respond in ways that discourage the protests. Centrally located institutions are often large and tend to be more volatile (van Dyke, 1998; Gyampo, Debrah & Aggrey-Darkoh, 2016). Larger campuses diminish the sense of community and belonging and may alienate students (Kim & Irwin, 2013; Pym, Goodman, & Patsika, 2011). The larger the campus, the easier it is to mobilise a critical mass of students to engage in protests, and where violence occurs, the crowd mediates individual responsibility.

Poor Infrastructure

Decreased funding adversely influences the functioning of HEIs, and strain teaching and learning infrastructure and the general wellbeing of university stakeholders. Inadequate provision of resources affects quality teaching and the reputation of the university (Some, 2010) and may facilitate brain drain (Mama 2006; Foulds & Zeleza 2014; Aghedo 2015). For instance, financial constraints diminished the status of East African University as a leading African institution (Wangenge-Ouma, 2014). On this basis, Africa scores low in terms of knowledge contribution and academic competitiveness (Hayward & Ncayiyana, 2014). Lack of funds affects the general wellbeing and livelihoods of the students as they have to contend with overcrowded lecture halls, the lack of accommodation facilities, and related resources. In the 80s, the University of Lagos, allocated three students to a room, in reality, because of accommodation shortages, almost 16 students shared a room (Balsvik, 1998). Although illegal, "squatting" is an acceptable practice at African universities (Mohamedbhai, 2011). Squatting is often preferred as university residences are better equipped than private accommodation. The strain on the infrastructure is common in African institutions. For instance, the University of Zimbabwe closed to safeguard the health of its students (Emeagwali, 2011), while erratic electricity and supply of water, hot or cold is a norm at some South African universities. A study looking at the accommodation needs of South African university students revealed disheartening results of students living in inhabitable conditions. In contrast, within universities, especially HBUs, overcrowding of lecture halls and the erratic supply

of basic services were a norm (DHET, 2011). These conditions affect teaching and learning as students contend with conditions not conducive to learning.

The inability of the state to fund tertiary institutions adequately leads to a proliferation of private HEIs, which have their peculiar challenges. Unregistered private HEIs are autonomous and may disregard government quality prescripts. In South Africa, these institutions reopen under new names as soon as the authorities close them. In some societies, private universities are resourced, run better, and their students hardly protest (Tucker, 2012). Dzvimbo & Moloi (2013) provide this as one of the reasons for the increase in the number of private universities on the continent. In the developed world, the situation is different as in Greece, there was an outcry about funding private institutions (Ziguras & McBurnie, 2006), whereas in Norway, private HEIs are illegal (Tucker, 2012). Unlike in the West, Africa proves to be welcoming to private institutions, Rwanda made a $ 95 million pledge to the establishment of the Carnegie Mellon Foundation HEI branch (Bloom, Canning, & Chan, 2006). Considering Rwanda's history, this is a commendable effort; however private higher institutions normalise the importation of foreign knowledge and culture. Importation of foreign knowledge perpetuates class differences and inequalities.

Universities as Contested Spaces of Entitlements

The current institutional climate and culture at universities still reflect apartheid segregation policies despite their desegregation. Contestation on the medium of instruction, segregated admission policies, and employment policies are usual. Universities are active environments of coexistence and simultaneity that reflect identity, emotions, and acceptable behaviours (Boulton & Lucas, 2011; Dhaliwal, 2012; Nkomo, Weber, & Amsterdam, 2009). Therefore, these institutions continue to mirror elitist values embedded in race, language and geographic location. These characteristics are common at both HBUs and HWUs as both afford entry on social class and ethnicity; however, the differences become accentuated at HWUs. Students at these campuses present conflicting sentiments, with White students having to confront their prejudices about Black students, who, in turn, find institutional dynamics not inclusive and non-receptive. 'Born frees' at HWUs periodically experience subtle and direct acts of racism that the university authorities allegedly overlook when reported (Kessi & Cornell, 2015; Nkomo & Dolby, 2004; Sewpaul, 2007). These conditions may create the necessary conditions for racial

tension that may escalate to violence. The lack of transformation of the sector shows that racial desegregation is cumbersome compared to institutional reform (Mamdani, 2014). The former is quantitative and shows that institutions are committed to transformation, albeit their failure to attend to structural issues that inform institutional culture. Segregated spaces create both psychological and social distance between students, with the newcomers, Black students, in this case, treated as outsiders, and White students treated as the in-group. The need to dominate spaces and their encroachment may be perceived as a threat. Hence, violence becomes a viable though limited solution.

The decision not to merge some institutions affected the effectiveness of integration and transformation programmes like the dual language policy, which further polarised students as each group opted for lectures in their home language. Self-segregation may be an adaptive behaviour to self-protect from rejection since dominants are not empathetic to marginalised groups who fail to adapt to expectations (van Stekelenburg, 2013). Students unable to self-segregate, commit cultural suicide, which is distancing of self from 'own culture' to be accepted by White peers (Kim & Irwin, 2013). The level of acceptance is superficial because it is on the terms of dominants rather than a joint effort. A study on cultural capital revealed that the efforts of cultural minorities were insufficient to earn them the same credentials as dominants (Lehmann, 2013). Importantly, some of these students may have experienced racism at non-racial schools, as children, and without comprehending it. Feelings of discontent may also be that these students expected their White counterparts to treat them differently as they were adults and familiar with the culture.

Massification of the university illuminated the separate identities and created a critical mass for Black students who challenged the status quo to which they previously conformed. The attitude of the Afrikaans-speaking students was evident when UP Afriforum students violently interrupted a language policy discussion organised by Black students (Isaacs, 2016). The meeting and its disruption reveal the psychological distance between the campus stakeholders, the lack of an inclusive institutional culture, thus, increasing opportunities for discontent (Woodrooffe, 2011). Universities are often complicit with the maintenance of inequalities as more than a decade ago a UP study revealed that administrative staff members were amenable to students who spoke Afrikaans than to Black students who often speak English (Walker, 2005). The possible reasons

for these students to accept the status quo may be that post-democracy, the UP had few Black students and were seemingly hopeful that democracy was bound to change institutional culture.

Subtle Disempowering University Practices

University success is a combination of various dynamics that relate to the individual and the environment, such as academic performance, the personality, motivation, and adaptation of the student to the institution (Pocock, 2012). The historical exclusion of the Black population from beneficial education has generated a massive backlog in their HE attainment. Unlike their White counterparts, Black students are often first-generation entrants in HE and have fewer social networks that assure and encourage educational attainment (International Education Association of South Africa [IEASA], 2009; Martinez, 2009; Steyn, Harris, & Hartell, 2014). These students often lack mentors to help them navigate HE. Their reduced social capital and their ability to cope with the challenges presented, result in them being labelled academically under-prepared. Social differences inherent in the education sector are what delays Black students' academic progress (Kim & Irwin, 2013; Gianoutsos, 2012). For instance, formally educated parents tend to socialise their children according to the values they were exposed to in HE, enhancing an easy transition for their children (Boughey, 2012). This is unlike Black students' majority who come from under-resourced schools with either decrepit or non-existent facilities and with copious amount of violence. Despite these disadvantages, Black students are expected to comprehend and to master status roles with little support (Belyakov, Cremonini, Mfusi, & Rippner, 2009). A student in Cele, Luescher & Barnes (2016) publicised her frustration about having to repay her study loan, indicating that she did not understand the consequences and the power of signing the student loan application form.

Linked to the impact of social capital is the limited access of Black students to early learning education as there is still a greater preference for home-based child-minding services, which are convenient and safe for the child, but may affect the child's adaptability to the education system (Boughey, 2012; DSD, 2014). The students' inability to cope with the demands of HE is often labelled as ill-preparedness though it is an articulation gap issue (Ndebele et al., 2013). Apart from the students' factors, financial motives on the part of universities played a role, as some HBUs deliberately accepted academically-weak students to increase their financial pool (Herman, 2011; Mulvenon & Robinson, 2013). Efforts made to lessen this dissonance include the establishment of

the support programmes and capping the number of new entrants in the HE system. On the flip side, the support initiatives have generated negative perceptions, as within HWUs, Black students are over-represented, whereas at HBUs these are over-subscribed, rendering them inadequate (Mandew, 2014; Tshiwula & Magopeni, 2014). On the contrary, academic support programmes offered at Ivy League universities are never demeaned but are a necessary part for the successful completion of the academic degree (Brock, 2010).

Additionally, some academics subject Black students to racial overtures that raise their feelings of academic incompetency (Mabokela, 2000; Wilson-Strydom, 2010). A recent UWC study investigating the effect of spaces on students revealed that the financial office, lecture halls, and social spaces ranked higher as disempowering spaces as they stratified students according to class. For instance, restaurants at the university sold food unfamiliar to the majority of Black students (Clowes, Shefer, & Ngabaza, 2017). This example captures how unwelcoming typical practices of institutions can be, especially when these relate to social class. The discussion above reveals that universities, especially HWUs, may create cognitive dissonance that hampers belonging and identification, for which students may generalise to their broad institutional interactions leading to conflicts and violence. To reduce these levels of discontent, universities may be forced to afford students from poor backgrounds responsive support programmes.

Victimisation and Instantism

On assuming power, the democratic government adopted the values of a developmental state, which it gradually denounced, hence, most of its promises to its electorate remain unrealised. As a 26-year-old democracy, South Africa is beset with intolerable myriad and persistent socio-economic challenges. Kerr & Luescher (2018) illustrate that academics use social issues to instil the quest for social justice in students. This assertion helps explains the reason for the concentration of activists in the humanities and social science disciplines (Luescher-Mamashela, 2015b). Unlike the current generation, which is also agitated with state incapacity and incompetence, the previous generations seemed patient with the government because they did experience the transition from an oppressive state. However, their children are agitated and also see themselves as victims of their circumstances. Tiro (2015) paints a picture of how the Black population continue to be victims of their society and that such status never attracts public uproar unlike the violence that students perpetrated.

Godsell, Lepere, Mafoko & Nase (2016) cite that violence which students perpetrated on the basis of moral grounds is a response to the different means that the universities and the state directed towards them. While it is undeniable that the state supressed student protests, to an extent, their intervention was within legal means. One can conclude that students' actions also questioned the legitimacy of other social institutions as instruments to promote justice. Spengane (2015) reiterates that Black students were no longer prepared to succumb to the injustices that institutions perpetrated on them. Mpofu-Walsh (2016) indicates that the #Fallism movement is a move away from gradualism to immediacy. This shift of perception happened when students adopted decolonisation as they termed the transformation process a failure. Apart from its immediacy, the students' call for decolonisation seemed to entrench the use of violence as a means to achieve social change. The rejection of conventions that govern society if left to thrive will have serious long-term consequences for society because rash decisions are often ill-considered (Metz, 2016; wa Azania, 2017).

Student Participation in University Governance

Student and university authority relationships have always been tenuous as students regard the management as gatekeepers, and this perception persists because of the role of the university management. During apartheid years, the SRC's were non-autonomous and operated in fear of contradicting the management. SRCs at HWUs faced the same fears as these bodies were susceptible to infiltration of the secret police services, though punishment meted towards White students was rather lenient. Unlike in the previous dispensation, the democratic government recognised the role that an independent SRC can play in the governance of the university. This recognition is in line with the participatory vision of HE. Olsen (2005, pp. 4–13) obtains the following visions of the university, namely, the university as a community of scholars, an instrument for national purposes, a representative democracy and a service enterprise embedded in competitive markets (Olsen, 2005, pp. 4–13). Universities, as communities of scholars, were elitist and pursued knowledge for their own sake. Student participation in governance socialised them as future leaders and vanguards of the identity and culture of the system. In reality, the characteristics of these visions overlap because an institution can adopt both traditional and entrepreneurial characteristics, where few students engage in industry-initiated research projects for innovation purposes.

Hence, during the few years of South Africa's democracy, the university vision straddled between universities as instruments of national purpose and representative democracy (Crosier & Parveva, 2013). Post-apartheid legislation reflects universities as instruments of development that are models of democracy. As a model of representative democracy, the university recognises that all stakeholders within and without the university play a role in institutional goal achievement. Bernasconi cites that constituencies elect representatives to serve in the governing bodies (Altbach & Salmi, 2011). The vision emphasises inclusivity and representativity in governance structures. For students, it is an opportunity to understand leadership processes. Different stakeholder opinions create awareness of issues, and may aid in developing empathy, consolidation of issues and foster an identity. Challenges with representative democracy may be that some student organisations may use dissent to attract additional members, fragmenting student politics (Badat, 1999; 2010; Sikwebu, 2008). The success of the vision depends on the demeanour of the chosen leaders as well as their competencies (Altbach & Salmi, 2011). Students inclined to the community, tend to be accountable to their constituencies; however, challenges arise between balancing accountability and autonomy (Materu, Obanya, & Righetti, 2011). A discussion of the #FMF later in chapter 5 reveals that the SRC leaders faced accountability and autonomy challenges.

The socio-political landscape influences the visions of the university and the tone of activism. In the era of globalisation, universities are businesses which owe its relevance and survival on the dynamics of the markets they serve. Therefore, knowledge is a commodity (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011). Students are customers, whose pursuit of HE is a pathway to labour market entry, hence, the efforts ensure that they are content customers. With marketisation of HE, students are no longer active stakeholders, but are advisors (Klemenčič, 2011). Commodifying education links quality with price and profit, limits access and participation to the elites. As part of the marketisation project, the DHET introduced reporting regulations for institutions and emphasised efficiency and sustainability (DHET, 2012). Subjecting HE to dictates of the market reduces the autonomy of the sector, replaces collegiality with competitiveness, and diminishes its social value for personal gain (Altbach, 2001; Boulton & Lucas, 2011). Opponents argue that the current vision or model is individualistic and has reduced the depth of student involvement in governance structures (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011; Ness, 2011). Though the model encourages student participation in quality assurance and service evaluation, these are quantitative, with a

focus on satisfaction with outputs, instead of the quality of inputs. This approach relegates the education experience to comfortability with taught content, which for purposes of independent and critical thinking ought to be challenging but doable. The influence of this approach on students is the belief that "customers are always right" and that their responsibility ends with tuition fee payment. Moreso, since universities are concerned with student care and agreeable student academic experiences.

(De) Politicisation of the Student Body

Youth political structures on campuses legitimise the national political parties because youth identify and trust their peers. Political parties are training grounds for future politicians and guarantee the survival of the parties (Cloete, 2016b). Political parties within the university landscape conscientize students on the ramifications of democratic governance and afford students with an opportunity to develop their leadership skills. The reasons that follow validate the presence of political parties at tertiary institutions. Firstly, universities provide politicians contact with a large body of potential members, lessening their recruitment costs. Importantly, these are spaces within which students explore their political identities, hence, they are amendable to different ideas (Bob-Milliar, 2014; Longo & Meyer, 2006). Secondly, youth exuberance offers political parties avenues to harness their creativity and innovation that may help sustain the party and attract their peers (DiRamio, 2015). However, in times of political crises, political parties may exploit the qualities of youth for their ends. Omari & Mihyo (1991) detail the extent to which political parties reward youth who are willing to use violence against their opponents. Students in Cameroon, Sudan, Spain, and Kenya, among other countries, have helped to retain dictators in power in exchange for immediate and long-term rewards (Fokwang, 2009; Rodríguez-Tejada, 2015). However, at some campuses, the university management has a hold on the SRC leaders who are reluctant to endorse decisions that are detrimental to students. Lalu and Maseko chronicle these influences at UWC and Univen (Lalu, 2007; Maseko, 1994).

Political interference and sanctioned violence from some authorities reduce the efficacy and relevance of student politics. Low student participation in SRC elections and the rise in SRC unsanctioned protests at universities indicate that students are wary of student politics (Aghedo, 2015; Giustozzi, 2012; Johnston, 2012; Rivetti & Cavatorta, 2012; Taraki, 2000). Events that occur at universities reflect the general contention and mistrust of politics as a whole (Muya, 2014). A

study conducted at the UCT, Kenya and Tanzania universities to establish students' perceptions about democratic citizenship revealed that although students valued involvement in decision-making they deemed the SRCs corrupt and had no regard for them (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). A UL study also advanced SRC indifference in representing student issues to the university management. Periods of economic strain seem to contribute to SRC members' neglect of student issues where student leaders anticipate getting rewards for their loyalty (Bob-Milliar, 2014; Rodríguez Tejada, 2015; Ruth, n.d.).

In South Africa, polarisation takes a racial tone, whereas in some countries, they take on an ethnic, gender, and religious tone (Aghedo, 2015; Konings, 2009; Nkinyangi, 1991). For some, SRC leaders' closeness to the political party yields to their ability to meet students' needs, in such cases, being beneficial to all (Luescher & Mugume, 2014). Disregarding students' concerns is a catalyst for the development of social movements because it repudiates the values of HE to foster democratic orientation, and action (Mattes & Mughogho, 2010; Popova, 2014). The call for political parties to encourage their youth wings to use of violence is persistent. However, when students use the same strategies against the leaders of their political parties, their behaviour is attributed to a lack of political education (Postma, 2016). This statement creates the impression that political parties promote dialogue to resolve conflict, yet the opposite is exact. For example, COSAS (Congress of South African Students) in Kwa-Zulu Natal offered protection services to the South African Democratic Teacher's Union (SADTU) against potential attack from an opposition party, illustrating that political parties were amenable to violence (Motshekga, 2018). Co-optation of the student leaders in the advancement of political party goals has strained relations with the general youth. Subsequently, youth in Italy, Egypt, Ukraine, and Russia, formed and participated in social movements that were independent of political party influences (della Porta & Andretta, 2013; Munif, 2013; Onuch, 2015). This action and the low number of students voting in elections signal a breakdown in trust and low efficacy of political parties. Subsequently, a non-responsive leadership may drive its constituency to use violence, and sentiments strengthened when representatives believe that dialogue is not always fruitful (Giustozzi, 2012; Silova, Brezheniuk, Kudasova, Mun, & Artemev, 2014). Protectionism and propaganda may potentially create violent dissent.

Macro Level Influences on the Ubiquity of Violence in Protests

The history of South Africa that differentiated society according to race, geography, and language, and rendered the White population superior, shaped the dynamics at its universities. Hence, despite desegregation of institutions and their mergers, there are stark differences between HBUs and HWUs. These differences signifying that policies are ineffective modes to foster attitudinal change. The discussion below looks at the complex issues that arose because of the massification programme, and how these contribute to the use of violence. Several macro-level factors: history, efficiency, and innovation influence the adoption of radical direct action repertoires (Biggs, 2013; Tilly, 2004). Other authors include labelling and the delegitimising reactions from the authorities and the media (Costello, Jenkins, & Aly, 2015; van Dyke, 1998; Glasius & Pleyers, 2011; Isdahl, 2016; van Leeuwen et al., 2014). Downplaying protestors' issues and using violence against students might attract public sympathy (Alonso & Mische, 2015; Andronikidou & Kovras, 2012; Hensby, 2017).

Massification of HE in the Global and Local Contexts

Massification is a social justice programme to promote diversity and convergences of age, socio-economic, geo-political and life work experience within academic spaces (Pinheiro & Antonowicz, 2015). Key factors that drive the massification are capitalism and globalisation, which have contributed to an increase of new entry students from 19% in 2000 to 26% in 2007 or 150.6 million, globally, or a 53% increase over a less than a decade. Within the Organisation of European Development (OECD) countries, the proportion of students entering university-level education increased by more than 20% between 1995 and 2012 and dropped by four percent during the 2008 financial crisis (OECD, 2014). Enrolment rates in Latin America were less than half that of high-income countries. Low-income countries' participation rates recorded marginal improvements from five percentage in 2000 to seven percentage in 2007; Sub-Saharan Africa recorded five percentage, the lowest participation rate in the world (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009). The overall picture indicates a shift in the shape of the sector in terms of the age of first entry into university.

Massification aims to improve the competitiveness and development of a country, promotes social equity, curb youth unemployment and social isolation. Evidence, however, shows the opposite. In the United States of America (USA) in 2013, of the 25% top income earners, 77% had attained a degree in 24 years, while those in the lowest income quantile recorded six percentage and nine percentage during the same period attaining degrees (Marginson, 2015). In Australia, massification increased HE expenditure, raised the number of low performing students who enter the system, rationalised academic offerings, and created a surge of unregulated private HEIs. In the United Kingdom (UK), the government capped first-year student enrolments and denied access to 60 000 young people (Murphy, 2017). Capping student numbers indicated a lack of planning on the part of the authorities. Examples above indicate that governments adopted the programme with little consideration for structural issues that may hamper success rates of the beneficiaries. In the UK the lifting of the cap resulted in accommodation shortages, compelling first-year students to share rooms. Subsequently, students were given a rebate for the inconvenience caused (Smart, 2016). The following arguments are possible responses for massification.

Firstly, it may be a response to contain youth unemployment, who are often the largest sector of the unemployed. Secondly, massification is a form of political abdication of responsibility as instead of addressing poverty and inequalities, and the discrepancies at the basic education level, tertiary education gets more attention. Opting for piecemeal solutions and a lack of innovative solutions help maintain the status quo. Lastly, there seems to be an association between neo-liberalism and massification given that in 2008, the sector was worth between $ 40 and $50 billion, making it second in the global financial sector (Kamola & Noori, 2014). Therefore, massification seems to sustain peripheral businesses like publishing companies, software development, and local businesses, whose profits come from universities. The need for South Africa to massify HE was its admission to the world arena and the drive to contain her youthful population between 20-29 years. This group constituted about 11 million of the population (Stats SA, 2017). Globally, HE is a means to promote a country's competitiveness. Hence, the National Development Plan of South Africa (NDP) 2030 projected that the country should produce 5000 Ph.D. graduates annually to meet the projection of 1000 graduates per million people, including those in science and mathematics (NDP 2030, 2011). However, massification seems to be an unrealistic programme as

it requires that students with different academic capabilities and levels of preparedness compete academically despite structural and systematic class differences (Schreiber, Moja, & Luescher, 2016). For instance, the results of the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) revealed that South African grade 4 learners scored lowest in 50 countries. With about 500 000 children and youth out of school, and with almost 15% of these failing to see the importance of school, addressing literacy issues will take longer (Govender, 2019; Howie, Combrinck, Roux, Tshele, Mokoena, & McLeod Palane, 2017). Therefore, the results of PIRLS have a direct effect on the success of the massification programme and the goals of the NDP.

Participation rates of Black South African youth in tertiary institutions have increased, although, at a marginal pace. Between 1990 and 1993, their enrolment levels at English-speaking universities HWUs were 28% and 38%, respectively, and at a 17% participation rate in 1994. Considering racial breakdown, Black students were at 9%, Coloured at 13%, Indian at 40%, and White students at 70% (Bunting, 2004). These figures were below the 20% participation target that the government set in the National Plan of Higher Education (1999). Between 1990 and 1998, overall participation rates according to output rates, showed that 6.4% of the student were Black, whereas 95.6% were White (Jansen et al., 2007). By 2000, the overall participation figure for all previously marginalised groups was up by 73% (Bunting, 2004). The figures above show a gradual improvement in terms of HE representation of the disadvantaged groups (Kotecha, 2012). A worrying trend that short-circuits the nationhood programme is emerging at HWUs. In 2000, Wits while had less than 30% Black students and 50% were White students, by the year 2008, 50% of the students were of Black, and 20% were White (Bunting, Sheppard, Cloete & Belding, 2010). Racial differences indicate an attempt to redress racial disparities as White students represent 9% of the population compared with Blacks who are at 79.5%. The South African total fertility rate has been declining across all groups, but Whites have been experiencing negative growth (Stats SA, 2011).

The above statistics indicate progress in the intake rates of Black students, however, the measure of HE success is the throughput rate. Subsequently, one in four students completed their studies within set deadlines. Black students had a success rate of 71% and White students, 82%, while graduation rates stood at 16% and 22%, respectively (HESA, 2014).

The statistics above indicate that the provision of the National Students Financial Aid Scheme [NSFAS] cannot singly circumvent the dropout rates. The adoption of business values has to an extent affected the massification programme, as it introduced austerity measures in HE (Gudo, Olel, & Oanda, 2011; King & Waddington, 2016; Prusinowska, Kowzan, & Małgorzata, 2012; Silova et al., 2014; Travaille & Hendriks, 2010). The efficacy of the massification programme is a product of political, social and economic spheres. As such, the discussion to follow looks at how massification can contribute to violence.

Massification and Violence

The massification programme has introduced subtle changes in the culture of universities. Firstly, the age of new entrants has decreased dramatically; this assertion recognises the burgeoning of mature students. The youth developmental stage presents challenges for the sector, which, when not adequately resolved, may influence their adaptation to tertiary institutions. Adaptation in this instance means acceptance of rules and regulations without engaging their veracity. A student is then someone, who is not only enrolled but also has acquired these psychosocial skills "civic action and engagement, trust and tolerance of others, trust in authorities and organizations, social competence and life satisfaction" (Hawkins et al., 2011, p. 1437). There seems to be a disjuncture between the definition and status of students as although they are active citizens, they ought to relinquish their power to institutions responsible to meet their needs. Their questioning of authority, characterises them unstable and unrealistic in their outlook of life and unlikely to transit smoothly to adulthood because they have limited decision-making capabilities (Cuervo, Barakat, & Turnbull, 2015; LeFrancois, 2013). Framing youth through the deficit-based approach shapes relations between authorities and students. Therefore, those in authority determine their self -definition, dominance, and power over students.

Universities are hierarchical environments, where the age and sex bestow respect; students are, therefore, at the lowest power rungs. Thus, they resort to unskilled resistance or the total rejection of rules and rely on militancy and organising to influence decisions at universities (van Petegem, Vansteenkiste, Soenens, Beyers, & Aelterman, 2015). Although, breaking rules, and militancy are a common feature at universities, the ability to mobilise successfully increased with massification.

The reasons behind lower levels of protests are: firstly, the low numbers of students foster conformity to rules, as misdemeanours were noticeable. Secondly, given the need to maintain reputation of the institution and of the elites whose children were on campus, media was reluctant to report these. The rampage that occurred during students' drunken brawls at HWUs went unreported, possibly, because of reparations for damages and reasons advanced earlier (Boren, 2001; van der Merwe & van Reenen, 2017). Whether it is the lack of reparations, accessibility of media to events, or the need to discredit massification, students' violence at institutions is more visible.

The link between massification and violence may be that it brought different student personalities to the university. Student subcultures fall two broad categories, the adaptive, and reactive cultures. These cultures determine student's motivation, outlook, and outcomes of education. Understandably, all students attend university for social mobility; however, the reactive sub-cultures use universities as platforms for social activism. Recent student movements display a significant element of this sub-culture, and some characteristics of other sub-cultures (Roufs, 2016). Cele, Luescher, & Barnes (2016) confirm that students' activism is a fusion of collective normative or non-normative-action and individual normative or non-normative-action. Relating these to Roufs' (2016) typology, student activism that uses violence to pressurise universities to register indebted students does so with seemingly little consideration for future implications. In such cases, universities find themselves straddling between upholding social justice and the realities of financial sustainability. In the face of lack of success with individual normative or non-normative actions (securing employment, donations, and loans), students who face financial exclusion are likely to opt for collective non- normative actions. Schreiber, Luescher, & Moja (2016) point out that massification tends to increase student activism. While reasons for this behaviour are multi-fold, at a larger scale, the South African socio-political landscape has made violence functional. At a smaller scale, the vision of the university, currently conceived as a service enterprise, does shape the dominant subculture. Therefore, although massification does increase the chances that student violence will occur, a host of internal and external factors may be responsible for such acts. Violence is not necessarily an age-related activity, but a reaction to the unresolved issues.

HE Financing and the Massification Programme

The massification programme further strained a dysfunctional sector, especially the HBUs whose financial books were in disarray, whether as a result of historical reasons or their fault. During apartheid, HBUs were unable to make financial decisions, as they could not solicit loans without the permission of the relevant minister or engage in consultancy services. Hence, they lacked financial reserves (Bawa, & Herwitz, 2008; Brink, 2015). For instance, in 1998, HE institutions across the country were owed R470 million against the government allocation of R300 million available for student loans and by 2010, this figure was R 28 billion (Makoni, 2010). Fees owed at UFH and the UWC were R14 million and R50 million, respectively (Times Higher Education, 1998). In the year 2000, the above HEIs were put under administration to address their insolvency issues, maladministration and corruption. The debt book indicates that without state intervention, these universities were unlikely to survive. Seemingly, putting universities under administration has not yielded benefits, because in 2013, five institutions were under administration (PMG, 2013, 2015).

By 2015 October, student debt at eight of the top rated South African universities stood at R 711,9 million (Staff Writer, 2015). The common reason provided for the increased debt is that students do not want to pay for their education. However, the reality is that the majority of students do not have the means to do so. For example, ten years after its inception the NSFAS catered for only 17% of the needy students (Ndebele et al., 2010), while between 2013 and 2015 the shortfall for unfunded and underfunded NSFAS students was R 2.543 billion, whereas, the same amount accounted for the 2016 free education bill (Heher Commission, 2017). The massification programme occurred alongside the transformation of the economy from a developmental to neoliberal perspective. Pressure from the WB and IMF resulted in the government opting for the Growth and Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy over the RDP, a redistributive policy programme. This change solidified education as a service enterprise with personal and private benefits, justifying decreased state subsidies and high tuition fees as part of income-generating efforts. Governments' drive for the massification of the HE sector does not translate into increased public spending. HE budget allocation in South Africa has been on a downward trend since the 2000s.

Between 2000 and 2009, the contribution of student fees as part of institutional income rose from 25% to 31%, meaning that the proportion of government funding fell from 49% to 41% in the stated period (HESA, 2011). While HE funding has increased from R11 billion in 2006 to R26 billion in 2013, considering student per capita and costs of running universities, the real value of the government allocation has been declining (PMG, 2016; Universities South Africa [USAf], 2015).

In the past, the government used the number of students admitted to institutions to allocate funds. Under these conditions, some HBUs flagrantly disregarded their rules as they admitted academically under-prepared students and failed to implement academic exclusion (Kongolo, 2012). Post- apartheid universities attracted students from low-income families, some of whom depended entirely on the state for the funding of their education. Therefore, for some institutions, a large student cohort meant a sizeable state subsidy. As subsidies declined, universities devised measures to recoup their monies from students and required upfront payment (Dunga & Mncayi, 2016). Students rejected these proposals as they meant that they were more likely to be excluded. To safeguard their admission, these students relied on violence. At some institutions, the SRC called for increased admission of Black students even though the Ministry of Higher Education had capped student numbers (Wangenge-Ouma, 2012).

Institutional mergers and incorporations further changed the funding formula, from headcount to throughput rates. These changes resulted in increases in tuition and registration fees to ensure that universities continue to function while awaiting the April HE budget approval and disbursement. The reliance of universities on tuition fees somehow excluded students' from indigent families, such as the single parent, multi-generational and child-headed households[25] (Cronje & Kane-Berman, 2015; Meintjes, Hall, Marera, & Boulle, 2009). Saul & Bond (2016) point out that in 2011, the salary for low-income earners was R 23.00 per day, indicating that the majority of students can rely on their families for emotional but not for direct financial support. Subsequently, although massification has improved access for Black students, their daily realities

[25] These are households wherein the main caregiver is below the age of 18 years. These households are attributed to the children being orphaned.

are insurmountable since they often have little or no idea of the expectations associated with their roles as students, making dropping out or inability to complete their degree a possibility.

Cost Sharing

Continentally, HE provisioning and financing have been the competency of the state until the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), allowing cost-sharing. Universal access to primary school and massification made fees a viable option to run universities (Mulvenon & Robinson, 2013). The motivation for this policy adoption was that the public should not fund private pursuits (Altbach et al., 2009, Albercht & Ziderman, 1993; Giroux, 2002). Decreased government spending on HE made tuition fees and service charges sources of income. Unlike in the USA, tuition fees in colonial countries and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) have always been low; hence, there has been resistance to paying upfront fees (WB, n.d.). In 2016 in South Africa, UCT required R 24 000 to be paid upfront, an unaffordable fee for most parents. UL and UJ were the most affordable as they required R 3 000 respectively (Venter, 2016). The source of this resistance to upfront fees may be that students questioned the motivation for fees, whereas in western countries like Britain and Germany, students enjoyed two generations of free education. Justification for cost-sharing was that education accrues private rather than public benefits. Thus, those interested in pursuing tertiary studies could source study loans. For the Danish government, fees were a way to prevent low-income countries from benefitting from this regime (West, 2013). This assertion overlooks the living conditions in developing countries and issues of unaffordability. Proponents opined that cost-sharing decreases a sense of entitlement, curbs dropouts, and that costs of the loan were lower when compared to future lifetime earnings (Conlogue, 2012). Moreover, cost-sharing showed the governments' commitment to its populace as it partook in their education.

Opponents of the policy shared that cost-sharing was worse to study loans because investing in human development yielded long term instead of immediate benefits. Subsequently, the returns on investment were low because of low-interest rates charged. Further, beneficiaries were likely to default on repayments (Staff writer, 2015). While cost sharing targets students from low income families, a USA study revealed that they were a barrier because these students were reluctant to take on loans for fear of defaulting (Domestic Policy Council & Council of Economic Advisors, 2014). Understandably, students from low-income families may not have the necessary surety to secure loans. Those who complete their studies, depending on their alma mater and race, may have longer period of indebtedness as Black students who studied at HBUs tend to take longer

to secure employment (Altbeker & Storme, 2013). Moreover, what may be discouraging Black students from taking loans is that graduates assume financial responsibility for their family members, particularly when the parents are unable to do so. Therefore, study loans become more burdensome for these students, as starting life indebted is undesirable.

Graduate employment does not always translate to loan repayment. In the UK and the USA loan repayments were low, even though the recipients were employed. The UK had to write off debt of student loans whereas in the USA it stood at 3 trillion dollars, and South African students from eight institutions owed the state R 711.9 million in 2014 (Dynarski, 2014; Murphy, 2017; Staff writer, 2015; Venter, 2016). High levels of debt reveal that students were either unemployed or underemployed and not necessarily self-entitled as per the thesis of the Canadian authorities. Proponents of cost sharing opine that to ease the burden of loan on the students, payment should be over an extended period to encourage loan repayments (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2014). The strategy is, however, not beneficial for students as they will be indebted for extended periods. Unlike in other countries, South African students have always paid for their HE costs. Other than limited subsidies, the influx of youth at universities due to the closure of agricultural, nursing and teacher training colleges, and the low economic growth contribute to the high tuition fees. Accordingly, increases for tuition fees have outstripped the inflation rate. An investigation covering fees over seven-year at SU revealed that tuition and accommodation fees increased by 30% (Calitz & Fourie, 2016). The increases confirmed the Stats SA findings that within the 2016 and 2017 academic years, boarding fees increased by 8.5% and tertiary education by 6.2% (Stats SA, 2016c). Understandably, students called for free education as despite receiving the NSFAS they still lacked basic necessities like food, books and accommodation to effectively assume and perform their roles as students. Therefore, some students dropout owing to being unable to deal with the emotional burden associated with studenthood (Cele, 2014). Moreover, the NSFAS processes that relate to procurement to disbursement of the bursary are tedious and categorise students according to class. Hence, the academic progress of students awaiting approval may be affected as non-payment of fees prevents immersion in academic tasks.

Following the above, it is understandable for students to reject fee increases as they are exclusionary and may create inequality. Students' pursuit of free HE relates to the lack of gainful employment by the majority of their parents who, are, thus unable to save for their children's education. This is not a situation affecting only the lowly educated but also professionals, like teachers and nurses, as indicated in the NSFAS efficacy investigation (DHET, 2010). The investigation further highlighted the feasibility of free HE education, scheduled for implementation in 2015. However, the government cited economic pressures as a reason for non-implementation. The MDHET continued to express unaffordability despite students rejecting the zero% fee increase for 2017 (Nicholson, 2016). The Minister's stance seemingly differed with his public audience from separate interactions with student leaders, where he endorsed the implementation of free HE (Ray, 2016).

Graduate Unemployment

The 2008 economic crisis reduced employment opportunities for youth, and as the largest group in society, they are likely to face unemployment or uncertain employment prospects. In 2011, youth unemployment stood at 75 million, marking a 4 million increase from 2007. Proportionally, youth unemployment represents 12.8% against the 4.8% unemployment rate of the adults. In the advanced countries, high unemployment levels have significantly raised the Gini coefficient to four percentages whereas for Greece, Spain, Portugal, and Ireland the figure was 8% (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2012). Within the EU and its member states, one in five youth was unemployed (European Commission, 2012). Globally, unemployed youth present a challenge for all governments; this is because of the belief that youth whose time use falls outside the conventional are likely to be rebellious. Hence, labels like the youth bulge (Urdal, 2011), NEETs, Not in Employment, Education or Training (DHET, 2013) describes the youth who are not engaged in some form of formal economic or educational activity. Egan, Neary, Keena, & Bond (2013) posit that attitudes towards UK youth were ambivalent. Labelling youth indirectly acknowledges the fissures that exist in society and exclude youth based on their age. Secondly, it illustrates the inherent need of those in power to control the behaviour of the youth, as these labels are prominent when youth act contrary to the prescribed conventions.

Thirdly, labelling youth justifies their exclusion from decision-making process, as they are portrayed as not having the requisite skills to contribute.

South Africa's political liberation did not translate to the anticipated economic growth because between 1994 and 2004; unemployment rose from 3.67 million to 8.33 million or from 32% to 36%. Although within the same period, employment increased by 89%, unemployment almost doubled by 160%. Of the unemployed youth, 61% were female, and 53% male. In 2009 about 3 million South African youth between the ages of 18- 24 years were out of school and /or unemployed (Badat, 2010). Statistics reveal that in the last quarter of 2015, unemployment for those between the ages of 15-64 years rose to 26.7%, an absorption rate of 43%, and a labour force participation rate of 58.7% (Stats SA, 2016b). Black graduates were more likely to be unemployed than their White and Indian counterparts. However, when comparing graduate unemployment statistics for the years 2000 and 2011, there was more than a 50% improvement rate as Black graduate unemployment fell from 14% to 6.8% (Albeker & Storme, 2013). Seemingly, race and geographic location are important determinants for youth exclusion because these variables increase negative perceptions of youth (Abbink, 2005; George, 2015; Morrell, 2007).

Oluwajodu, Blaauw, Greyling, & Kleynhans (2015) study on graduate unemployment in the banking sector concluded that graduate unemployment is increasing with the overall unemployment rate because of graduates' lack of requisite skills, graduate versus employer expectations, and the negative perceptions of the quality of education offered at HBUs. Restricted employment opportunities for HBU graduates and the obligation to pay student loans on graduating may be propelling some students to engage in violent protest, hoping their loan debt will be scrapped. Araia (2009) shared that Eritrean students did not see their life circumstances better off than those of non-graduates. High rates of unemployment, high cost of living, and general economic decline may account for this state of affairs.

Student Indebtedness

Subsidy cuts in the HE sector have had detrimental effects on the university tuition fees. In 2010 some European governments introduced fees. In the UK, a fee cap of £3000 was introduced in 2010, trebling tuition fees. Germany and Norway's attempts to introduce fees failed after students protests (Blake, 2010). A report from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (USA) revealed that debt for those under 30 years of age rose to $ 1.3 trillion in 2015, a 56% rise per

student; this figure was previously $ 291 billion (American Students Association [ASA], 2013; Hanover, 2012, Murphy, 2017; Rayfield, 2015). In the USA, loan applications increased by 84%, indicating that young Americans were desperate to have labour market-related skills that would allow them to secure employment (Rayfield, 2015). Despite obtaining qualifications, youth were least likely to be in employment. In the USA, 56% of the new jobs went to those aged 50 despite the 18.5% unemployment rate of those between 20-34 years (Kavoussi, 2012). This situation meant that graduates might not secure employment to pay for their loans, and as such, they may be blacklisted.

HE is often associated with social mobility, but for unemployed graduates, HE has not afforded them this promise. For example, Prestridge (2013) notes that a UK study revealed that 85% of student loans would have to be written off because only 15% would be able to repay them. Jenvey (2015) stated that unpaid student debt in South Africa amounts to R13.4 billion, and repayment is low. Students who passed their modules well had up to 40% of their NSFAS loan converted to a bursary. This status quo has changed for the 2018 cohort as they have bursaries and not loans (NSFAS, n.d). Mainly, unemployed graduates face unpaid debt; therefore, their call for free education may reflect their awareness about the non-responsive labour market. Authorities, however, perceive this situation as irresponsibility and a sense of entitlement, instead of recognising that students' behaviour reflected their fears for the future.

Benefits of Violent Protests

Protests are often the last and desperate means that students resort to as a way of amplifying their issues. The efficacy of violence to yield desired results in its adoption (Fakir 2009; Guangyan, 2015, Integrated Regional Information Networks [IRIN], 2007). The discussion below looks at the benefits of using violence during protests:

Public Sympathy

Protests signal a breakdown of communication between the students and the university authorities; media often makes the public aware of students' grievances. Violence is fundamentally discouraged, although its use is acceptable for securing group interest (Jobard, 2014; Mattes & Richardson, 2015). The above views endure when those in authority, be it the university authorities

or the police officers, use repressive measures against the students (Andronikidou & Kovras, 2012; Barker, 2008; Ciorciari & Weiss, 2016; Lopez, 2015). Victimisation, repression, and the violation of students' rights may trigger emotional and moral support from the public (Meyer & Lupo, 2007). The determinants of public support for violent protests include power differences (Alexander, 2016) in terms of the party seen as responsible for the violence and perceived justification of grievances'. This support is always temporary as these sentiments wane when a movement, which generally defines itself as peaceful, uses violence (Renn, Jovanovic, & Schröter, 2010).

Media plays an essential role in making the public aware of the challenges that students face and how the government responds. Therefore, media reports are a means to promote accountability on the part of the authorities and the protestors. Consequently, media houses have the rights to cover all protests, irrespective of their legal status (Council of Europe, 2017). For example, an American study on racism on campus confirmed that media reports could help escalate student's issues, warranting the intervention of the university authorities, as is often the case (Harper & Hurtado 2007; Ervin, 2011). Whereas media are tools to escalate issues; youth are rather skeptical of such influence as they believe that politicians somehow set the agenda for the media (Malila & Garman, 2016). This statement indicates that such students do not trust the media. Hence, South African students complained that their VCs addressed them through the media. In this context, the authorities use media to project that they are interested in dialogue and willing to resolve the conflict. Hartley et al., (2013) hold a different view as they claim that managers did not consider interacting with the media a priority. For students, the authorities' lack of direct engagement with them may signal that they lack concern and interest in student issues. It is this perceived lack of interest from the authorities that seem to trigger violence, thus attracting media attention.

Media often reports violent rather than peaceful protests, negatively stereotyping students (Rodríguez Tejada, 2015). The use of language that waters down the students' cause and warrants the application of sanctions against them is key to the waning support. Examples of these are headlines like Arab Spring, Facebook/ Twitter revolutions, or Can 'civil dialogue' share space with student rage? (Wojcieszak & Smith 2013; Bruinius 2015). Dramatic news headlines portray students as dangerous and irrational criminals who need to be reined in, necessitating intervention from the police (Delwit, 2015). Public sympathy is a necessary avenue to attract support or

mobilise parties who would otherwise not be interested in the protest; it maintains the momentum of the movement, including fostering collaborations with powerful groups that can elevate the protestors' issues. The #FMF movement attracted a spectrum of sympathisers because its claim for social justice and equality transcended the rules, roles, and value orientations (Hensby, 2015; Passini & Morelli, 2015). A cause perceived to be beneficial to all is likely to attract public sympathy.

Bargaining Power

Universities are highly revered environments that jealously guard their public image, including their ability to handle their issues. Protests signify a breakdown in communication between the students and the authorities, including their resoluteness for self-expression. Despite its social and moral stigmatisation, violence is raucous, potent, and it creates the desired attention that students aim for (Makunike, 2015), leaving no room for the authorities to respond otherwise. However, in their attempt to negotiate with the students, universities find themselves in a quandary, as the public perceives negotiation as giving into the students' demands, while failure to act might be perceived as callousness (Ciorciari & Weiss, 2016). At times, university authorities delay taking decisive action, believing that inaction might prevent protests from escalating (Kirschner & Stefan, 2011; Sullivan, 2014).

Accordingly, the level of violence used in protests can be a warning sign of the violence likely to follow should there be no resolution. Apart from reputational concerns, the core business of the university is subject to time, and bottlenecks curtail its plans. The unscheduled closure of the universities, the delays in the carrying out of academic tasks were some of the issues that these institutions had to deal with in the 2015/2016 academic year. In this instance, the use of violence was a bargaining chip for students and the government's granting of zero percentage increase for the 2016 academic year proves this argument.

Solidarity

Violence is a fear-driven emotional reaction in response to threatening stimuli, and for those affected, its use is justified. In this regard, the use of violence is an acknowledgment of the feelings that a particular group faces and, thus, a unifying factor. Groups such as the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's Poqo used violence to pressure the government. Ginsberg (2013) noted that violence could bring about social change. From this vantage point, violence

becomes a platform for building identity and fighting for a cause. Moreover, the ability to ward off the risks that are inherent in the use of violence becomes a source of esteem, courage and creates loyalties among those involved. Solidarity becomes a vital factor for carrying out violence, and it is a foundation for group cohesion, support and development (Saunders, Grasso, Olcese, Rainsford, & Rootes, 2012). These groups also offer their members' opportunities to explore vulnerabilities and risks associated with the use of violence, with the success of each tactic enhancing self-esteem, a sense of identity, and unity in purpose. Often students are on the receiving end of police brutality, thus cementing their victim status. Despite the negative feelings, sharing an identity and engaging in collective behaviour help foster a psychological group, cementing the "we-feeling" (Adrian et al., 2019; van Troost, van Stekelenburg, & Klandermans, 2013). Collective emotions further enhance trust and pride as people expect that each will put their resources together to achieve their purpose.

Self –Determination

The use of violence during protests is indicative of the students' resoluteness to determine and lead their course of action. The response of the authorities to the students' use of violence, while seeking to subdue them, has contra implications. Violence from the authorities is a tool to assert power over students used to threaten and to silence them. However, this stance often creates endless cycles of violence between the parties concerned. Protests, even without the use of violence, might attract repressive measures, illustrating their perceived risky nature (Kricheli et al., 2011). These risks include stigma, arrest, injury, suspension, or expulsion from the institution (Claassen, 2016; Miguel et al. 2016). Risk is a cognitive assessment (Renn et al., 2010); however, students' low-level of risk perception makes them fearless (Achilov, 2016; Mubarak et al., 2012; Salameh et al., 2014).

Change in Social Status

Violence conveys power, the ability to influence and to control the actions and the decisions of others. When the students use violence, they illustrate that they cannot be taken for granted any longer. The use of violence changes the manner in which a subordinate group is perceived thus elevating its status (Gigue're, 2011). For instance, during the #FMF students' actions became a focal point of what can be achieved in South Africa when there is unity. The group that was hailed as politically apathetic and disinterested in social issues became revered. During the initial days of

the #FMF, politicians implored South Africans to show the same unity in purpose as seen during the students' protests.

Combination of Skill Set

Engaging in a violent protest is not a passive action but requires that the participant be vigilant in order not to sustain self-harm. The new social movements, which are not only consultative but are without designated leaders, become a platform for one to acquire and practice leadership skills, listening, and critical thinking. When one is in a violent altercation with the police, surviving arrest or physical harm are the dominant preoccupations. Thus, students learn ways to maximise their impact with little consequences on themselves. Be it about learning how to make a Molotov cocktail, picking a discharged stun grenade or a tear gas, or even having handkerchiefs to cover ones' nose; these skills are essential to lessening the impact on self. During the Arab Springs, street- smart youth, who were football fans, taught non-street-smart youth how to deal with the security forces by dodging teargas and stun grenades (Glasius & Pleyers, 2011). For instance, students at the UWC were able to procure police riot gear; thus, their combat with the riot police became a different set of ball game. Therefore, involvement in violent protests might be a platform on which one can gain survival skills.

Consequences of Violent Protests

The major challenge with the use of violence is that it offers benefits, as issues that precede it get priority, and media regards violent protests as breaking news. Violent protests often cause a public uproar, because they have dire consequences for all concerned as discussed in the next section, irrespective of their role in such situations.

Normalisation of Violence

The nature, prevalence, and normalisation of violence in South Africa are a result of history (Cronje & Kane-Berman, 2015; Goebel, 2011). There is, however, a steaadfast belief that South Africa's transition to democracy was peaceful, as there was no war. This statement overlooks the numerous clashes that occurred in communities and those that had university students agitating and partaking in violent clashes, whether it was against police repression or in favour efforts to curtail struggle efforts. Violence has left an indellible mark on the psyche of South Africans and

in the ways they resolve conflict (Langa, 2011). Whereas, the government made efforts toward national healing, the Truth and the Reconciliation Commission (TRC) separated the nation further with its emphasis on forgiveness over accountability and its major focus on selected perpetrators of political violence. This narrow focus overlooked the complexity of violence and how it affected the entire population. Moreover, it was a once off conversation, which had it continued would have probably changed the manner in which South Africans solve problems.

For South Africans' violent acts are symbolic accomplishments of power and domination. These portrayals of power were seen throughout the #FMF protests when some student threatened the university management, staff, and other students (Senior Executive Team, 2016; van der Merwe, 2015). In other instances, violence was a tool to humiliate, denigrate the authorities, actions that were engaged in with little consideration of their effects on others. Students engaging in these behaviours characterised their pain as primary and as needing to vent it out unadulterated (Nhlapo, 2016; Seekings & Natrass, 2015). Repetitive violent acts confuse power and respect, limit opportunities for social cohesion, and lead to hypersensitivity.

Psychosocial Effects

Violent behaviour attacks the psyche of its victims, creates insecurity and unpredictability that leads to tension, uncertainty and constant stresses (Krug et al., 2002; Aliyev & Karakus, 2015). A state of predictability enhances social functioning and well-being and affords agency over one's life. Importantly, predictability allows the pursuit of higher-order needs, hence, the need for safety and security precedes those of self-esteem in Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Those who engage in violent protests may suffer short to long- term effects of violent protests. Short- term risks include arrest and/or injury, which may include physical and/or emotional distress, the medium and long-term risks may include suspension or expulsions from the university (Achilov, 2016; Brancati, 2014; Estanque & Fonseca, 2012; Piccini, 2013).

Violence at HEIs shatters the sacred space aspired for by these institutions. With the current group of students having had no experience of police brutality, exposure to rubber bullets and teargas, and arrest, experiencing these events, has certainly affected their well-being. The following statement reveals the extent to which students were psychologically affected by the police violence: "These fire crackers are triggering my experiences with stun grenades and the

police. I'm on the edge" (Sibongiseni_G, 2016). In situations where police officers and the security officers bear the brunt of the violence occurring during protests, students are equally responsible when they use violence against their peers and other university stakeholders to advance their agenda (Rapatsa, 2017). For instance, a student who witnessed protestors breaking the windows and the doors of a venue where he was writing the examination, regarded that as the most frightening experience in his life (Qukula, 2015).

One wonders how these students coped with the triggers in their environment. While not seeking to be alarmist, there is a likelihood that this generation of students might display a range of emotional disorders, especially when left untreated. Post Traumatic Stress Disorders (PTSD) are ranges of negative emotional responses that are triggered by being or remembering earlier occurrences. A Libyan quantitative study conducted from a sample of 215 protestors revealed that they experienced outbursts of rage, aggression, decreased sexual desire, and nightmares (Elfaydi, Mikail, & Kirembwe, 2016). Notwithstanding the potential drastic effect violence has on academic performance, universites find themselves in a quandary where their business takes precedence to the impact of violence (Patton, Woolley, & Hong, 2012). Hence, students have to focus on their academic work, to help calm their emotions. Students who are unable to cope with the violence triggers, may either transfer to other institutions or drop out. Those that remain may use substances to numb their pain or even commit suicide. While the violence that occurred during the #FMF is not the sole contributory factor of suicides, it seem to have exarcebated student mental health issues as in August 2018, four students in the Gauteng province committed suicide (Peter, 2018).

Academic Related Effects

HE is a time-bound pursuit and failure to perform prescribed activities renders the curriculum outcomes incomplete, forcing universities to devise measures to remedy the situation about the progression of students. Whatever options implemented, there are shortcomings such as students lacking in-depth knowledge of the subject matter. In some cases, there are possibilities of progressing students who would otherwise have not passed. Moreover, because of insecurity, highly qualified and marketable academics are likely to leave violent prone institutions leaving junior lecturers as the custodians of knowledge, despite their minimal experience and skills (Aghedo, 2015; Mama, 2006; Zeilig, 2008). Since the reputation of an institution rests on the research impact of its academics, the departure of qualified academics subsequently affects the

quality of the qualifications obtained, research generated, and opportunities for third stream income (Kamola & Noori, 2014). Dwindling student numbers are not necessarily related to quality education, however; the loss of revenue that comes from low student enrolments can have an impact on the institution's ability to attract expertise, and the provision of services.

Financial Allocations

Worldwide, the numbers of university students increased to phenomenal levels amidst decreasing government subsidies, making tuition fees, and third stream income primary sources of income. A university case study on the generation of third-stream income across four African institutions revealed that while there is a general trend across the world to promote such income, various factors that ranged from legislation to external stakeholder relations impacted on the success of institutions of the study (Mamo, 2014). In 2015, third-stream income at UCT and SU was at 39% and 36%, whereas for UL and UFH, it was at 8% and 12% of the total income. These figures reflect the skewed legacy inherent in the HE sector (Stats SA, 2016c). Although third-stream income is valuable for the academy, in some countries, it increased casualisation of the academy as a cost saving measure, leading to moonlighting of academics.

The decline in academic staff is attributable to the sector not systematically investing in the training of a new breed of academics. For instance, South Africa produces 28 doctoral students per millon population, in contrast with its counterparts Brazil and North Korea, where the numbers were 187 and 48 respectively (Cloete, Mounton, & Sheppard, 2015; Herman, 2011; Universities South Africa, 2015). Compounding the challenge is that the HE is not attracting young academics because of increased administrative duties, micro-management and low salaries compared to the private sector. However, when comparing salaries of South African academics with those from Botswana, Namibia, and Mauritius, those at UCT fared rather well. While salaries in South Africa are better in comparison to some in the continent, the conditions at universities continue to deteriorate as the system is overstretched and struggling to cope (Trotter, Kell, Willmers, Gray, & King, 2014). The above conditions somewhat discourage youth from joining the sector.

The generalised economic decline, high inflation rate, the devaluing of the local currency, and job losses in the primary and secondary sectors further contributed to the unaffordability of HE (Stats SA, 2016b). Probably, unwarrantable was the non-implementation of the free higher education report recommendations commissioned in 2012, despite the MDHET pledge (Ray, 2016;

Saul & Bond, 2014). In an environment of austerity, it is prudent to minimise spending; however, property damages during violent protests university increase unnecessary spending. As such violent university protests, despite their magnitude, put undue pressure on the meagre university financial resources. The costs of the protests during 2015, 2016, 2017 along with the no fee increase for 2016, the expansion of the NSFAS threshhold and the tendency of the state to offer inadequate subsidies imply that tertiary institutions are in dire straits (PMG, 2016; Stats SA, 2016c).

Theoretical Perspective on Violence

Exploration of literature shows that HE in South Africa remains segregated according to race and social class; hence, the apartheid conflicts continue. Democracy as a political system acknowledges protests as part of its character; however, these have to adhere to the rights-based principles. Therefore, violent student protests deviate from the democratic ethos and the purpose of HE. The study takes a micro perspective to explore and explain the reasons for students to engage in violence to solve their problems with the university authorities. This study adopts the symbolic interactionism philosophy, which advances that individuals meaning and reality is unique, which means that truth is contextual, dynamic and is a factor of individuals' interpretation of their environments (Moore, 2012). In essence, an individual's interpretation of events and processes in their environments creates and recreates meanings they deem essential. Studies that use symbolic interactionism apply the phenomenological approach, as it reveals the research participants' views about the research topic (Nassauer, 2016; Opp, 2009).

The rationale for using the micro perspective is because violence is a relational phenomenon and exploring it at a micro level helps to understand the processes that cascade to its generalisation, especially when interacting with university authorities. This study uses procedural justice theory, which incorporates the Social Identity Theory (SIT) and the Group Engagement Model (GEM). These theories explain how relationship dynamics shape the meanings and processes that are associated with the use of violence during protests from an individual's perspective. Both theories illustrate how relationship dynamics can determine the course of the conflict. Where the identity is collective, there is likelihood for cooperation and willingness to

overlook personal goals for those of the group. The discussion below looks at the relation between the violence and collective identity.

Social Identity and Categorisation

The theory builds on the lost identity thesis, founded on the work of Turner and Tajfel (1979) who propose that individuals have two identities, the personal and the social. The former is private, revealed to significant others, unlike the latter, which is apparent in the groups that we belong to and does, to an extent, reveal the norms and values that people hold. Belonging and identifying with different groups result in distinctive and multiple social identities, a crystallisation of the self and public perception (Philipps, 2016). One's identity is a constellation of belonging and identifying with a specific group, which bestows self-esteem on its members. Emotional needs, roles, and statuses are realised within the groups to which one belongs; thus, groups strive for a positive social identity. A group that promotes a positive social identity is one in which its members undergo self-categorisation, and self-stereotyping. Self-stereotyping is a strong identification with a group, separate from other and it determines acceptable action within specific contexts (Bazana & Mogotsi, 2017; Reicher, 2001).

Historically, student-authority relations had been fraught with conflict. In South Africa, the application of segregation laws ensured that the Black population was excluded from attaining quality HE. Students who challenged the status quo were severely punished. In the democratic dispensation, the negative identity associated with Black students remained because the university environment is still exclusionary. Therefore, students became hostile to the authorities' assertions that tuition fee cancellation were unrealistic. Fuelling the hostility was an account of the financial reserves that some universities held which were not distributed equitably and the reports that allocations of the NSFAS were returned to the treasury (Higher Education Transformation Network [HETN], 2015; Kalipa, 2016).

This hostility created competitive goals between students and the university authorities (Eicher, 2010). Therefore, conflict is a consequence of these three features, negative stereotypes, chaos, and provocative treatment. In terms of negative stereotypes, students see the university

authorities as uncaring and in protest situations, where calling on the police exacerbates the stereotypes. University students' protests often attract negative attitudes, and since they hardly seek permission to march, such negativity escalates. However, other factors such as poor communication, fear and uncertainty over how the protest will unfold can contribute to the negativity and chaos of the protest. During protests, both police officers and demonstrators can act provocatively towards one another (Granström, Guvå, Hylander, & Rosander, 2009). Therefore, the chaos that leads to violent protests is a conglomeration of cognitive, relational factors but Tajfel (1982) claims that conflict between groups escalates because of the loss of organisational legitimacy, and long-standing intergroup tensions. This lack of legitimacy becomes concrete when individual efforts to transcend negative circumstances persist, the issue of unaffordable fees is a case in point.

Within the South African context, the authorities' failure to come to the aid of vulnerable students fermented tensions. The non-response of the authorities resulted in the students seeing themselves as an "in-group or us" against those in authority who are labelled as "out-group or them" identities. These identities become salient in times of conflict and resource strain. These character distinctions de-personalises the "out-group" and associate it with negativity, making it acceptable to level violence against them. Other studies point out group normlessness is the result of anonymity, emotional contagion, and mob psychology (McPhail, 1983; Reicher, Stott, Cronin, & Adang, 2004). Although this assertion is valid, it labels the protestors as an irrational group of followers, who lack agency and ignores that small groups often commit violent acts. The processes of social categorisation and self-stereotyping are salient in escalating violence, as students use violence in their attempt to gain concessions with university authorities.

Media attention, the police force, and security officers' aggressive approach accentuated and strengthened the students' resolve to retaliate against the university. These sentiments enhanced a positive identity of the students as the"in-group" and the university management became the indifferent and oppressive "out-group". The indifference, then, became an identity trait of the de-individuated university management, likely to perceive students as uncooperative. Students' positive identity absolved them from being labelled; hence, their violent behaviour was a reaction to an oppressive system or Black pain. For the "in-group", environmental factors were the reasons they engaged in violence.

Procedural Justice and Legitimacy of the Authorities

The study applied the procedural justice model as its theoretical framework to explain the reliance of university students on violence to solve problems. The desirability of the model rests on parties- in-conflict engaging in the conflict resolution process, leading to the authorities gaining legitimacy. Albeit a subjective attribute, legitimacy is earned. Thus, it is a belief that those who are in power will do their utmost to ensure that institutions, interrelations and dynamics meant to address the needs of the populace are efficient, effective, and inclusive (Jackson et al., n.d.; Tyler, 2006a). This belief grants super-ordinates authority to influence and impose sanctions over the actions deemed unacceptable (Jackson & Bradford, 2010). Legitimacy has three distinctive but iterative types, namely institutional or pragmatic, moral and cognitive. Institutional legitimacy is an internal state or organisation-driven process, gained through social processes, obligations, and activities. As an internal process, legitimacy is a social control mechanism that relies on subtle coercion to cultivate consent where organisations that meet their purpose or those evaluated as meeting the needs of their communities are legitimate (Negrón-Gonzales, 2013). The above definition implies that legitimacy relies on force, which manifests through laws and regulations. On this basis, individual's freedoms are not absolute. Although, legitimacy involves some form of coercion, it is those on whom it is exerted who define it.

The second type is moral legitimacy, which is the manner in that the populace evaluates the choices that the organisation makes on their behalf. Universities and the DHET lost their moral ground because they continuously introduced fees despite the austerity measures imposed. The fee increases were the same, even for differently-resourced merged universities. A student at TUT shared with the VC that it was unfair for their merged universities to charge same amounts for differently resourced campuses (Jansen, 2016). For example, students at HBUs do not have laundry facilities as their peers, thus the hand washing. Lastly, cognitive legitimacy relates to the definition of organisational objectives and activities as appropriate, proper, and desirable (D'Agati, 2015; van der Merwe, & van Reenen, 2016). Ideally, HEIs ought to make decisions that meet the needs of their beneficiaries, with little or no consequences. Where either of the above conditions are met, then the authorities are deemed legitimate as students surrender their power to the authorities, thus they comply with the regulations imposed on them. Subjective legitimacy myths are beliefs that

the system will genuinely promote the interests of the beneficiaries (Lee, 2012), hence, repressive governments can be legitimate based on how those in power appeal to the emotions of the subordinates. The myths cease to hold when the needs of the populace are unmet, creating conditions for conflict (Jost, Chaikalis-Petrisis, Abrams, Sidanus & van der Toorn et al., 2012). To prevent dissonance between the populace expectations and the legitimacy myths, the authorities need to adhere to procedural justice. Although, legitimacy involves some form of coercion, it is those on whom it is exerted who define it. Justice is the condition of equitable and fair distribution of assets or services to those requiring them without prescribed barriers to access. Although justice is about fair distribution of resources, it is heavily reliant on legitimacy, as organisations that are just are typically regarded as legitimate; the inverse is however not true (Sleat, 2015). Legitimate organisations can also act unfairly, as seen in conditions for university access and success.

The Group Engagement Model of Procedural Justice

The Group Engagement Model (GEM) is one of the models aimed at explaining the effects of procedural justice on those at the receiving end. Balancing the means as opposed to the outcomes and participation is what is imperative in this process. GEM relates to the SIT and notes that identification with the group or organisation is likely to positively affect the interaction dynamics. The university is one of the legitimate structures that comes to existence based on statues as it is aimed at meeting personal and civic duties through the training of its youth. In pursuit of its mandate, universities bring together people from diverse backgrounds, whose experiences of the university are shaped by race, sex, and social class. Each of these traits affects how students relate to the university environment. Therefore, when students believe that they are treated fairly and respectfully, they are likely to respect the authority and accept the legitimacy of the authorities. In most instances, respect for authority is mandatory as a result of rules, regulations, and consequences. However, where students feel that the authorities are interested in their issues, discretionary behaviour instead of mandatory behaviour becomes normative. Establishing discretionary behaviour is, therefore, a consequence of how the authorities relate to and treat the students. Considering that South Africa is a polarised society, students and authority relations are not as harmonious: annual fee protests are evidence of this fractured relationship.

Normative discretionary behaviour is the ideal for which all hierarchical organisations strive. Discretionary behaviours are internalised system of values that guide behaviour and illustrate a shared identity, cooperation and trust in the authorities (Tyler & Blader, 2003; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Building on these behaviours is consequent to the authorities taking the following actions: engaging students in decision- making processes, taking them into confidence about issues that affect them, are imperative. When authorities give subordinates their time, they convey respect and interest in their wellbeing. This treatment allows students an opportunity to identify with the authorities and surrender their power to them. The GEM becomes efficacious and builds trust through dialogue, transparency, genuineness and interest from the authorities (Blader & Tyler, 2003; Hollander-Blumoff & Tyler, 2011; Hough, Jackson, Bradford, Myhill, & Quinton, 2010; Jackson & Gau, 2016). The previous elements also apply to individuals who see themselves as collectives, thus, eliminating conflict- driven self-interest. From this information, it can be deduced that the GEM solidifies social identity.

Conceptual Framework

Grant & Osanloo (2016) define a conceptual framework is an outline of the critical components of how to conduct the study including the relationship between the identified variables. Embedded within the framework are the researcher's concepts that relate to the research problem. There seems to be no consensus on what a conceptual framework is, as some scholars use it synonymously with a theoretical framework: they submit that conceptual frameworks are subsumed in theories. Ravitch & Riggan (2012) perceive the conceptual framework as an umbrella concept and not the theoretical framework. Casanave & Li (2015) use these terms interchangeably. This study adopts Ravitch & Riggan's (2012) definition of a conceptual framework. These authors share that a conceptual framework has these three elements: personal interest, relevance, and theoretical framework. Adom, Hussein, & Agyem (2018) note that conceptual frameworks project the thinking behind the research process and the relationships between the key variables. Yabreen (2009) highlights that conceptual frameworks provide an interpretative approach to social reality. With this background in mind, the study uses SIT and GEM as part of the procedural justice theory to answer the research question.

The violence that occurs during university student protests presents a challenge to the purpose of HE and reconfigures its identity as an environment for self-expression. The conceptual framework for the study situates violence within the relational perspective, implying that there is a breakdown of relationships between students, university authorities, and other stakeholders. As such students believe in their long-standing grievances, like exclusionary fees. Driving the tensions is that university systems seem to be perpetuating instead of expunging social injustices (Bicchier, 2018). Within the South African society, these social injustices are stratified according to race, class, and geographical location, amongst others. Since universities bring together a critical mass of people, students from deprived groups realise that their social identity is unfavourable (von Holdt, 2012). Black student status and socio-economic position do not afford them respect, pride and a positive identity from those in authority. Justification for the preceding claim was seen in the demeanour of the authorities towards students, which included obtaining court orders, banning protests at universities and having secret meetings with certain cliques that they believed could dissuade students from protesting (Lephatsa, 2015). The lack of transparency creates mistrust. Consequently, all these conditions create ideal conditions for intergroup violence to flourish. Historical and prevailing political factors contribute to the use of violence as a means to solve problems, which can entail no violence and morph to violence. Below is the conceptual analytical framework for the study.

Conceptual analytical framework

Table 2.1: Survey questions

Social identity theory Turner/ Reicher	**Factors**	**Empirical indicators**	**Survey questions**
Personal identity	Biographical factors	Age, sex, university, individual mobility, uniqueness, self-interest, student.	7. Please describe your race/ ethnicity. 8. Who is responsible for your academic related expense?
Social identity	Social categorisation	University, university authority, social class, race, group membership, self-stereotyping, sensitivity of university authorities to students' needs.	10a. It is justifiable for students to destroy property to show their anger. 10b. Given a second chance, I will choose this institution again. 10f. The use of violence is normal in the protests of university students.

	Social identification	Attachment, belonging, relatedness, responsiveness of authorities to student needs, self-esteem, social creativity.	10c.Resorting to violence signals the failure of the university system to instil qualities of responsible citizenry in the students. 10g. The university management strives to promote positive relationships with students. 10k.Closing the university to prevent further damage to property is the most practical solution. 12. What will make you participate in a protest? Choose one: nothing, peer pressure/ fear of reprisal, moral reasons, personal reasons.
	Social comparison	Aggression, conflict, heterogeneity, resource competition, in- group bias, unstable relationships, social class, unstable relationships.	10i. With the use of violence, student's issues are dealt with quickly. 10j. The university management is rarely sympathetic to the issues of the students.
	• Inter group conflict	Grievances, lack of trust, protests (indirect, direct violence).	10a. It is justifiable for students to destroy property to show their anger. 10f. The use of violence is normal in student protests 13. Which of the following activities are typical of protests on campus. Choose any three? Vandalism, sit –ins. threats, looting, boycotting lectures, petitions, arson. 10h. A peaceful protest is a sign of weakness.
Group engagement model			
Quality decisions			
	Fairness	Equitable resource distribution, satisfaction with services, tolerance.	10d. The SRC always acts in the best interests of the students. 10n. Participation in a protest is always as individual student's choice. 10e. I am satisfied with the fees charged at my institution. 10m. I am satisfied with the standard of services offered at my university.
	Voice	Consultation, dialogue, engagement, self-determination, protests, reason for protesting.	10h. A peaceful protest is a sign of weakness. 10n. Participation in a protest is always as individual student's choice. 12. What will make you participate in a protest?
Quality treatment	Genuineness	Willingness to listen, acknowledgement of diversity issues, upholding	10l. Both the police officers and students are equally

		decisions, honesty, respect, belonging, affect.	responsible for the violence during protests. 10i. With the use of violence, student's issues are dealt with quickly. 14. What is it that mainly contributes to the protests? Lack of transformation, financial exclusion, mismanagement of funds by the SRC/ university authorities, poor communication between students and university authorities, academic exclusion, financial exclusion, uncertain.
	Neutrality	Impartial application of rules across all student groups, conformity.	10d. The SRC always acts in the best interests of the students.
Legitimacy	Cooperative behaviour	Retributive, procedural justice.	17. What can be done to curb violent protests on campus? Choose one: academic suspension, arrest of 'violence perpetrators", expulsion from the university, fine for damages, periodic feedback from the university authorities, transparency in the governance of the university, uncertain.

Table 2.2: Student activist/ leader interview questions

Social identity theory Turner/ Reicher	**Factors**	**Empirical indicators**	**SRC student leaders/ activist interview questions**
Personal identity	Biographical factors	Personal identity, uniqueness.	1-7 Identification particulars
Social identity	Social categorisation	Roles and statuses within university.	8. Name of organisation you are representing. 9. Position within organisation. 10. What are the challenges that you experience as a student leader? 11. How do you relate to the following stakeholders; student population, lecturers and authorities within the university? 12 What is it that triggers protests? 15. Comparatively speaking, how violent are the protests at your university? 16. How do violent protests affect the university?
	Social identification	Attachment, belonging, relatedness, responsiveness of authorities to student needs, self-esteem, social creativity.	
	Social comparison • Inter group conflict	Aggression, conflict, heterogeneity, resource competition, in- group bias, unstable relationships, social class, unstable relationships. Grievances, lack of trust, protests (disruptions, violence).	
Group engagement model			
Quality decisions			
	Fairness	Equitable resource distribution, satisfaction with services, tolerance.	13. How are decisions to protest reached? 14 Why do student protests often turn violent? 17. What sanctions do you level against those who engage in violence during protests?
	Voice	Consultation, dialogue, engagement, self-determination, protests, reason for protesting.	
Quality treatment	Genuineness	Willingness to listen, acknowledgement of diversity issues, upholding decisions, honesty, respect, belonging, affect.	
	Neutrality	Impartial application of rules across all students' groups, conformity.	
Legitimacy	Cooperative behaviour	Retributive, procedural justice.	17. What sanctions do you level against those who engage in violence during protests? 18. What measures can be used to curb violence?

Table 2.3: Student interview questions

Social identity theory Turner/ Reicher	**Factors**	**Empirical indicators**	**Student interview questions**
Personal identity	Bio-graphical factors	Age, sex, university, individual mobility, uniqueness, self-interest, student.	1-7 personal identification details
Social identity	Social categorisation	University, university authority, social class, race, group membership, self-stereotyping, sensitivity of university authorities to students' needs.	8. Why are some universities engulfed in violent protests and some are not? 9. What perceptions do you hold towards authority? 10. What is it that typifies the use of violence during protests in campus? 11. Which violent behaviours are typical during protests on campus? 12. What are the benefits of these violent protest behaviours? 13. Can you describe the costs associated with violent protests? 14. How do students relate to the SRC, lecturers and the University authority?
	Social identification	Attachment, belonging, relatedness, responsiveness of authorities to student needs, self-esteem, social creativity, self-esteem.	
	Social comparison • Inter group conflict	Aggression, conflict, heterogeneity, resource competition, in- group bias, unstable relationships, social class, grievances, lack of trust, protests (indirect, direct violence).	
Group engagement model			
Quality decisions			
	Fairness	Equitable resource distribution, satisfaction with services, tolerance.	9. What perceptions do you hold towards authority? 15. What is it that escalates conflict to violence?
	Voice	Consultation, dialogue, engagement, self-determination, protests, reason for protesting.	
Quality treatment	Genuineness	Willingness to listen, acknowledgement of diversity issues, upholding decisions, honesty, respect, belonging and affect.	
	Neutrality	Impartial application of rules across all student groups, conformity.	
Legitimacy	Cooperative behaviour and identification	Retributive, procedural justice.	16. What can be done to arrest students' violent behaviour during protests?

Table 2.4: Key informant interview questions

Social identity theory Turner/ Reicher	Factors	Empirical indicators	Key informants interview questions
Personal identity	Biographical factors	Personal identity, knowledge, skills and experience.	1. Identification particulars
Social identity	Social categorisation	Roles and statuses within university.	10. What are the typical problems of students at your campus that have potential to escalate to violence? 11. How do these problems affect students? 13. From the position of those in authority, what perceptions do they hold about students? 14. What is the attitude of students towards the university management and other authority figures namely academic and administrative staff? 17. Are the programmes available to foster a common campus identity between students and those in authority? Please elaborate o these and their effectiveness. 18. How receptive are the students to SRC including its decisions? 19. What are the students' attitudes to the use of violence? 24. What benefits were yielded from engaging in violent protests in the short and long term? Were these different from those in the previous years? 25. What are the social value that can contribute to reducing violence?
	Social identification	Attachment, belonging, relatedness, responsiveness of authorities to student needs, self-esteem, social creativity.	
	Social comparison	Aggression, conflict, heterogeneity, resource competition, in- group bias, unstable relationships, social class, unstable relationships.	
	• Inter group conflict	Grievances, lack of trust, protests, protests (indirect, direct violence).	
Group engagement model			
Quality decisions			
	Fairness	Equitable resource distribution, satisfaction with services, tolerance.	12. How and where should these problems be expressed? 15. What support structures are available to deal with the problems of the students? 16. How effective are the structures developed to deal with the students' problems? 20. Why would students choose to use violence instead of other mechanism to solve problems? 21. What are the typical violent behaviours that the students engage in when they are making their claims?
	Voice	Consultation, dialogue, engagement, self-determination, protests, reason for protesting.	
Quality treatment	Genuineness	Willingness to listen, acknowledgement of diversity issues, upholding decisions, honesty, respect, belonging, affect.	
	Neutrality	Impartial application of rules across all student groups, conformity.	

			22. How does the university respond to violent protest? 23. How effective are the above measures in dealing with the use of violence? 26. How can institutional grievance procedure maximise violence prevention?
Legitimacy	Cooperative behaviour	Retributive, procedural justice.	How can education be used to promote a non-violent approach to problem solving

Conclusion

The chapter firstly considered the landscape of violence in South African concerning how it affected youth, as either victims or perpetrators. Irrespective of their role in violence, the statistics indicated that youth are relentlessly exposure to violence, and thus were likely to be in a constant state of arousal or indifference. Despite its ubiquity, violence proved a complex concept as its meanings and manifestations are contextual and relational. Therefore, to capture both its narrow and broader aspects, a comprehensive definition was employed. Its desirability was that it captured both abstract and concrete aspects of violence, including the overlaps inherent in the commission of one type of violence. Overlaps are apparent in protests, which, though conceived disruptive, do, to an extent, incorporate subtle characteristics of violence. For instance, the success of shutdowns relies on cajoling peers to support the cause, at times, disregarding the rights of others. The roots of violence are multifaceted and straddle micro and macro levels.

Society does not take kindly to violence that occurs at universities, although students perpetrating it are part of the widespread community protests associated with the non-delivery of essential social services. For the public, this cohort of youth lives in a democratic society that affords them avenues to express their issues, unlike the previous generation who could not dissent against the state. The student concerns are, to an extent, warranted, but they overlook the multiple identities of students and insurgents. Entering the HE sector requires that students redefine themselves for purposes of adaptation and assimilation. However, a system that requires others to change without the same expectations for the superordinate group is liable to cause constant conflict between these parties. Disparities in behaviour are prevalent at HWUs, which define and determine behaviour and criteria for accessing the spaces. While, the government conceived that massification would close racial and social class fissures, this goal is far from reality.

Although students have consistently called for system reform that the state relegated to the universities. As indicated, violence in South Africa is a common tool for accessing benefits that people feel entitled to, but the massification programme created unrealistic expectations; students' actions mirror this reality. The benefits of using violence have made its use pervasive and morally acceptable, with little regard for its effects. Notwithstanding that, students and university authorities have tenuous relations as evidenced in times of contestation. Often, the resolution involves security personnel who escalate the conflict to violence.

In their attempt to have their issues known, students often engage in low key, cooperative tactics, which escalate each time when there is no response from the university authorities. Whereas disruptive tactics are non-violent, the university often responds negatively to such, by deploying private security personnel on campus and sparking outrage on the part of the students who attempted to get their audience. Involving third parties like the police officers in violent protests does little to stop conflict, the reason being that it creates perceptions of dominance and repression. The reason for the conflict to escalate is that police intervention does not solve student grievances. Hence, students distanced themselves from the violence that occurred during the protests, as they believed that the behaviour of the authorities was provocative. Their statement that the authorities were provocative implied that students felt undermined. The way the authorities treat those that they lead bestows dignity on them (Pratto, Sidanius, Levin 2006; Tyler 2006a; Stewart et al., 2015). In respect of the dynamics at South African universities, Black students' concerns have been neglected. As a result, these students lacked a sense of belonging and mistrusted the university management, subsequently eroding the quality of their relationships (Tyler & Wakslak 2004; Tyler, 2006b; Hollander-Blumoff, & Tyler, 2011; Pauwels 2014; Bain, 2015).

Furthermore, the conception of a university as a business makes students customers who believe that they have entitlements, thus, their insistence to meet with university management instead of their representatives (Marshall, Fayombo, & Marshall, 2015). Instead of engaging the students the universities and those in power have sought to de-legitimise the student movement often suggesting that their actions are a result of a third force or seeking private security personnel and the police intervention to disperse students (Cloete, 2016b; Seedat, Baw, & Ratele, 2010). Such statements discount the agency of the students and hamper opportunities for cooperation in solving the impasse and eroding the development of trust. The social milieu has to an extent,

shaped relations at university campuses. Following the link of the individual in the environment, the next chapter looks at the field work strategy that the researcher implemented to understand motives for student violent protests.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

The chapter discusses the methodology of the study and its application in the field. Attention is on the processes that the researcher embarked on to answer the main research question. Justifications are made for the choice of research philosophy, methodology approach and design, choices about data collection methods, instruments and data analysis as well as the context within which data was collected. The chapter concludes with the limitations of the study and how the researcher circumvented them, the ethical principles applicable to the study, and how the researcher believed she influenced the data collection process. This chapter lays the foundation for the quantitative data analysis, in which the descriptive, inferential, factor and multinomial regression techniques are used.

Methodology

Methodology is an all-encompassing term detailing the implementation of the research process. It is the operationalisation of the research process aimed at answering the research (Hesse-Biber, 2010). It indicates that methodology involves all the elements of the research programme, from conception to conclusion, or it is an expression of the "philosophical framework and the fundamental assumptions of research" (Creswell, 2012; Tavakoli, 2013). Essentially, a methodology is about understanding the nature of reality and the manner of generating such knowledge, through making decisions on what is to be done, when, how and why, including the specification of the alternatives (Everest, 2014). Research methodology covers the abstract and the specific aspects of how to conduct research. Although various experts have provided succinct descriptions about the differences between research methodology and methods, some authors use these terms interchangeably. For example, an interview is a methodology or a data collection method (Garrett, 2016; Seidman, 2006). For the purpose of the study, the methodologies are abstract, and methods are the tools that the researcher employs to collect data. Choosing a methodology is premised on the researcher's values, which determine philosophical assumptions pertaining to knowledge, its generation and processes to be employed. Scientific studies are premised on philosophy, which can be conceived to be a standard or representation of how the

research problem is approached, conceived and researched (Mertens, 2016; Schönfelder, 2011; Walter, 2013).

The following are the elements of a philosophical frameworks: ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology. The pragmatic or dialectical philosophical stance was appropriate for the study. The study sought to describe the nature, extent of violence and the dynamics that shape and escalate tension to violence. The nature of the study takes on a post-positivist perspective, which is pragmatic, hence, it applied realism and relativism. The motivation for combining these perspectives was to capture the contextually determined multiple realities of the different university stakeholders. Maree (2007) posits that post-positivist perspectives afford researchers an opportunity to incorporate elements of quantification and the idiosyncratic perceptions of the research participants. Methodological purists argue that combining realism and relativism is imprudent. Onwuegbuzie (2012) justifies the reason for the use of a pragmatic mixed methods research philosophy, arguing that science cannot be separated from ideologies. The philosophy was an option because, firstly, it offers multiple perspectives of the meaning, the facts and experiences associated with the use of violence (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006; Wong, 2014). These philosophical wars reflect power dynamics in the knowledge generation arena. In this instance, the use of the pragmatic philosophy illustrated meanings of violence as determined by power (Cohen, 2007). The purpose of this study was to build on the identified related subject matter and MMR methodological gaps. From this perspective, one can deduce that the relations at the universities are contestable and dependant on the interactions between concerned stakeholders. The following discussion is an exposition of the research philosophy adopted in the study following Walter's (2013) outline:

Social position: Social position relates to the personal aspects of both the participants and the researcher, which relate to age, gender, socio-economic status and language to list a few (Bergen, 2013). These personal characteristics can potentially shape the course of the research process. In this context, ones' social position shapes their reality and within the university context, different stakeholders have their conceptions of violence, from its conceptions to its instrumentality. With South African institutions facing students' displeasure on systemic and structural violence, it was crucial that the researcher is aware of her position of power and privilege.

Consciousness on the interplay between one's social positions is necessary to help understand student's perceptions of relations with those in authority and their likelihood to resort to violence when having issues with them. Hesse-Biber (2010) highlights that researchers ought to be conscious of how their characters shape the research process. Attia & Edge (2017) emphasise that this awareness has developmental benefits for the researcher because it is a growth and learning curve.

Standpoint: Standpoint refers to the unavoidable cognitive influences that bear on one's perceptions and stem from an individual's social position. To understand why university students resort to using violence, the researcher contacted the students themselves, the majority of whom were actively involved in the protest actions at the three universities. Importantly, standpoint theory reflects the power differences that create marginalisation across various social groups. Universities are hierarchical structures where students have the least power and influence at institution despite their involvement in decision-making structures. Where there are power differences, conflict is likely, thus the recurrent incidences of violent protests at various institutions. Obtaining information from the students as the affected group promoted their voices and captured their social realities or their truths. Accordingly, the individual is the expert, understanding people's lived experiences is imperative in the resolution of social issues (Dawson, 2015). The sensitivity of the topic and the implications for students meant that some students were reluctant to participate in the study as they feared being marginalised. This stance for example connected to allegations of victimisation and unwarranted arrests, exclusions and suspension of the ringleaders of the #FMF protests (Norsted & Breinmo, 2016).

Court orders, disciplinary actions and university memoranda and communication bearing threating undertones were some of the tactics used by universities to deter students from protesting. The study adopted a pragmatic philosophy, because it situates the research problem within its social and historical context. Creswell (2014) shares that this philosophy recognises that the researcher's actions and methodologies they opt for are the result of their values, beliefs and politics (Evans, Coon, Ume, 2011). Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004) advance that pragmatist philosophies are useful and practical given that their concern is to capture meanings as per the participant's definition.

Ontology: The concept refers to the nature of truth or what exists. Ontology is a process of logic and thus deductive in nature (Pitard, 2018). To attain a level of deductive reasoning and to distance selves from influencing the research process, the researcher designed a questionnaire to uncover typical violent behaviours that are present when students are in conflict with the university authorities. Studies that apply the pragmatic philosophy acknowledge that although the research process is rigorous, various variables come into play when it comes to understanding their reality. Although, post-positivist studies are objective and neutral, the findings may be somewhat subjective. In this case, although the study used questionnaires to collect data, the findings personal and contextual factors have somewhat altered the process of constructing the scales. The distance that the researcher maintained in the data collection process minimised intrusion. The questionnaire measured the relationships between the dependent (biographical data) and students' attitudes to the use of violence as a mechanism for solving violence (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Tavakoli, 2013).

Epistemology: Epistemology is a philosophy concerned with the discovery of the knowledge that captures our views about knowledge, in terms of what is knowable and what is worth knowing. From a pragmatist philosophy, violence is both an emotive and relational phenomenon. It was imperative that the researcher immersed herself in the data collection process. Interviews with students, SRC leaders and the university authorities to obtain their perspective on the topic were methods that the researcher used to immerse herself in the data collection process. Whereas, the researcher was not at the research sites during the protests, she shared her experience of the violence that she observed when she was a student and currently a lecturer at an HBU. Self-disclosure facilitated building rapport as it created a common ground with the participants and helped to put the participants at ease.

Theoretical framework: The study adopted symbolic interactionism theory, which looks at the nature of relations between individuals within particular contexts and the meanings that they attach to their experiences (Styker, 2008). As an interactional phenomenon, violence takes meaning from its context, but such contexts are temporal and dynamic. The #MustFall protests indicate the fluidity of the meaning of HE as students and service workers at most universities redefining social interactions with those in authority.

Essentially, symbolic interactionism theory captures how students conceived the meanings of their interactions, both within micro and macro spaces (Lipp & Fothergill, 2015; Moore, 2012). The hierarchical- paternalistic nature of the universities and uneven power distribution were the reason for opting for symbolic interactionism. Unequal power relations are the regular source of discontent between students and the authorities. To amplify their voices, using violence becomes their tool, as they have had prior experience pertaining to its efficacy (Booysens, 2016). In situations where violence is efficacious for a short period, reliance on it further strains relations between students and the university management. Procedural justice explained how social relations became strained when parties are not involved in decisions that affect them. Dialogue paves way for fairness, neutrality, respect and genuineness as per the group engagement model of procedural justice. Meeting these criteria affords the concerned parties' opportunities. This is especially for the university authorities who gain opportunities to exert their power with little resistance from students as these parties are seen as trustworthy and genuine. Therefore, to foster belonging and identity cordial relationships between students and authorities, dialogue and interaction are necessary (Carter & Fuller, 2015). It is because of the above that the researcher chose the micro approach to understanding the dynamics of violence.

Methodology: Methodology is a derivative of the research philosophy that provides details, pertaining to the choices of research design, strategy and methods. Creswell (2007, 2012) shares that the methodology is a philosophical framework that includes assumptions of research and shapes the research process. Therefore, the methodology is reflected in the research design, which is a plan for carrying out the research. Of the three concepts, methods are practical as they detail data collection and analysis techniques. A research strategy is an overall plan of the research plan that details how the research was conducted. It provides direction and structure to the research process as it is a systematic plan of the study. The research question opted for, determine the strategies to be employed in the study. Strategies determine the methods to be used in the data collection process.

Methods are closer to the implementation of the research project, thus define the tools to be used to collect data. Mounton (2009) advances that methods are high order abstractions utilised at different stages of data collection. Methods can be quantitative, qualitative, multi or mixed: the research problem and the worldview of the researcher determine the choice.

Quantitative research methods follow a deductive logic, as they aim at proving or disproving theories from data gathered. Execution of this logic requires that the researchers collect facts about the case. As the researcher aims for generalisability of the findings, there is a need for a representative sample so that data gathered is reliable, valid and replicable (Mouton, 2009, Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007). Studies that apply quantitative methodologies are carried out in the natural environment; researchers can regulate extraneous variables that may distort the results. Qualitative methodologies apply an inductive logic as their focus is on obtaining details of the research problem understudy. Qualitative researchers recognise that reality is subjective and intricately linked with the social world. Therefore, the research participant is an expert of their experience. The researchers also need to be aware of their biases and how these can potentially shape the research process (Noble & Smith, 2014).

This study used a mixed methods approach and combined the two strategies. Mixed methods surfaced out of the quantitative–qualitative paradigm wars and combine these philosophies to research problems (Cameron & Miller, 2007). Mixed methods differ from multi-method studies; the latter involves integration of either data, methodologies, investigator or theory. Studies of this form overlook the principles of mixed methods. Mixed methods' approaches combine the "what, why, how" questions and capture both the numbers and the associated reasons behind phenomena understudy. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner (2007) claim that mixed methods research uses both quantitative and qualitative research elements, which range from philosophies, data collection and analysis to understand the scope and depth of the research problem and for research collaboration.

The rationale and the philosophy of the study, which were considered at the onset of the research project provided the necessary grounding for the mixed methods philosophy (Halcomb & Hickman, 2015). The combination of the research strategies related from the complexity of the topic at hand as relying on one strategy would have not fully revealed the intricacies associated with the use of violence.

Lastly, other academic studies within the field of students' activism used the approach and provided guidance to the researcher (Moreku, 2014; Mugume, 2015; Muya, 2014). Several authors concur that mixed methods studies are pertinent in understanding violence (Bachman & Brent, 2014; Kundalaputra & Vayachuta, 2016; Thaler, 2011). Ultimately, the research question determined the application of the pragmatic research philosophy.

Research Design

Research designs are blueprints to conduct research studies. This study is a three- pronged research design which was followed as per the prescriptions of the mixed methods research. Hereafter follows a discussion of these designs:

Quantitative Research Design

Quantitative research designs in the social sciences have evolved from the rudimentary description of being numeric, a feature that made them rigorous. In light of these developments, quantitative research designs aim to establish causality or relationships between variables with the aim of establishing convergence for generalisation of results (Spadling University Library. n.d). To achieve this objective, quantitative studies rely on measurable data to make their case; such studies seek large representative samples and apply procedures proven to be rigorous. The search for universal truth requires objective measures and apply deductive reasoning (Fraser, 2014; Nguyen, 2015). Post–positivist philosophies unlike their original acknowledge an element of relativity in the quest for truth. These philosophies are "intuitive, holistic, inductive and exploratory" and interpretative in nature (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006, p. 194; Vagle & Hofsess, 2016). Post-positivism acknowledges the dynamism of human nature, the contextual and individualised nature of reality and their multiplicity. Desirably of this approach is the emphasis on the relationship between the researcher and the participants, who is viewed as an expert (Bhattacherjee, 2012). The rationale for opting for the pragmatic, post-positivist philosophy is that the use of violence represents a plethora of personal and environmental influences.

Quantitative research designs fall under the experimental and quasi –experimental designs, which involve stringent experimental conditions that include a control group to establish the efficacy of the experiment with little or no intrusion from the researcher.

These research designs establish the cause -effect relationship, describe, explore and predict issue at hand (Babbie, 2013). Standardised checklists, large and representative samples that generate numeric data and stringent analytical processes are a requirement to attain the above goals and to make generalisations. For the purpose of the study, the descriptive research design was used in order to establish factors that propel students to use violence when they have problems with authorities.

Descriptive designs are divided into cross sectional and longitudinal designs (Alder & Clarke, 2011; Creswell, 2012; Rubin & Babbie, 2010; Neuman, 2009). The study applied a cross-sectional design instead of the longitudinal designs because it looked at the research problem within a specific period, March 2015 to 2016, as opposed to a longer period of time. Cross-sectional design offer different perspectives of an issue as data is collected from different individuals and assists in making inferences to the total student population. Descriptive designs are a low-level form of quantitative designs, as they are non–experimental in nature. Their usefulness rests in their ability to give a snapshot of participants' attitudes and opinions including capturing changes that have occurred over time and to establish the norms into the use of violence in relation to problem-solving at universities (Adler & Clark, 2011; Bhattacherjee, 2012; Walliman, 2011). The following reasons account for the choice of the descriptive research design: the nature of the research question, and the pervasiveness and spontaneity of violent protests. Therefore, the descriptive designs indicated the common protests tactics and their typology according to violence and prevalence at the universities' understudy.

Qualitative Research Designs

Qualitative designs are narrative in nature as they capture in-depth information about the underlying reasons that trigger students to use violence, thus sample sizes are smaller. These designs are flexible because they recognise that human experience cannot be subjected to static rules (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2009). Dynamism does not mean the lack of guiding principles and measures in the application of the qualitative approach. Qualitative research designs are interpretative in nature and can take various forms, namely the narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory, ethnomethodology and case study to list but a few (Yin, 2011).

The phenomenological research design was opted for because it complimented the essence of this study, which was to "understand how one or more individuals experience a phenomenon" (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2009). Phenomenological designs capture lived experiences and seek to bring about new insights about issues (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, & McKibbon, 2015; Groenewald, 2004).

Phenomenological studies can take a descriptive, interpretative approach or use the Vancouver design, which is similar to the former designs, but follows a 12-step process, bracketing and descriptive validity (Halldorsdottir, 2016). The descriptive approach requires a sense of objectivity, requiring that the researcher be aware of their subjectivities in the research process. Three processes - intentionality, inter-subjectivity and reflexivity - assist the researcher to be objective. Intentionality is the purposeful process of generating thought that bridges the gap between the subject (thoughts) and the person stating these. Intentionality represent the spaces within which individuals create relations to other, or the links to our environments (Vagle & Hofsess, 2016). Inter-subjectivity is associated with diversity of individual's experiences, acknowledgement and acceptance of such. The last related concept is reflexivity, which is the conscious process of self-critiquing socially constructed beliefs and their impact on the research itself. Adherence to these processes is bracketing, a process that requires taking the meanings of issues as per the participants. Descriptive phenomenology gives the perspectives of the participants. Therefore, the validity of the study is enhanced through bracketing. Bracketing is a self-reflective, awareness raising process requiring the researcher to explore the participants' opinions, judgements and prior knowledge about the research topic (King, 2014). In some instances, bracketing involves the removal of self from the phenomenon. Meaning that the researchers ought to steer clear from subject-related matter to lessen its influence on their perceptions. Bracketing seems an insurmountable task as the choice for research topics are subjective and based on interest: these are values in themselves (Chan, Fung, & Chien, 2013). The researcher's experience with the research topic was the reason for her choice of the interpretative design.

The Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) recognises that even though research is a rigorous process, it cannot be purely objective as the parties concerned influence it. This means that the personality, values, knowledge and other characteristics of the researcher shape the research process. To understand the meaning that participants associate with violence, the

researcher to contextualised the participants' experiences or feelings. The goal of this approach is to give voice to and make sense of experiences of the participants who are within a specific context (Callary, Rathwell, & Young, 2015; Larkin & Thompson, 2012). Accordingly, meanings associated with the issue under study are derived from reading between the lines. The researcher's self-reflection is important to capture these succinctly. Prior knowledge about the research subject can enhance the data collection process as the researcher identifies with the issues under investigation (Charlick, Pincombe, Mckellar, & Fielder, 2016; Reiners, 2012; Wilson, 2015). The researcher opted for the interpretative strand because the researcher is an HBU alumnus currently employed in one and has witnessed protests gravitating to violence as both a student and employee.

IPA seeks to uncover the meanings associated with daily events. Violent protests are a culmination of unresolved conflicts between the students and those in authority. This approach is in synergy with symbolic interactionism and procedural justice theory that attribute the meaning of issues to the nature of interaction and social relationships (Reiners, 2012). IPA is a relatively new approach and is subject to critique. Hence, IPA is said to fall short of the scientific criterion of objectivity and inter-subjectivity (Gorgi, 2011). Other authors maintain that IPA downplays the role of language in the interview process as it is a crucial element to meaning-making; thus, both the researcher and the participants ought to have requisite communication skills to describe their experiences. Finlay (2012) also indicates that the interpretative aspect of the IPA is not unique because it is part of a continuum between description and interpretation. The researcher can reflect on the data as it is projected or seek deeper meanings associated with the issues that are investigated. Mayoh & Onwuegbuzie (2015) and Wilson (2015) share that the idiographic nature of IPA studies may hamper theory development. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the researcher pursued IPA. The reasons for this undertaking are that IPA is a micro perspective that is pursuant to descriptions and interpretations in the analysis process. It is flexible in nature and it illuminates individual experiences (Smit, 2004). The process of meaning-making in data collection means that the researcher engages in double hermeneutics, to capture participants own meanings about students' use of violence as a problem-solving mechanism (Jones, 2016).

Another pertinent reason for using IPA is the ability to record and illuminate the emotional memory of the participants and to create spaces for the researcher to empathise with the participant's experiences (Englander, 2012; Tuffour, 2017). The ability to empathise with the research participants was necessary in this study, as most were traumatized by the violence that they experienced and witnessed at their respective campuses. This aspect was crucial for the researcher, as she understood the likely effect of violence on the participants and perceived lack of support from the institution. Therefore, the research study became a platform for acknowledgement of students' feelings that stem from their witnessing and involvement in the violence of the #FMF.

Visualisation of Project

Visualisation entails illustrating the process in the mixed methods designs in a schematic way (Curry & Nunez-Smith, 2015). This visual scheme guides helps the researcher decide whether or not to use the mixed methods approach and guides the researcher entire research process. Fig. 4 illustrates an outline of the study.

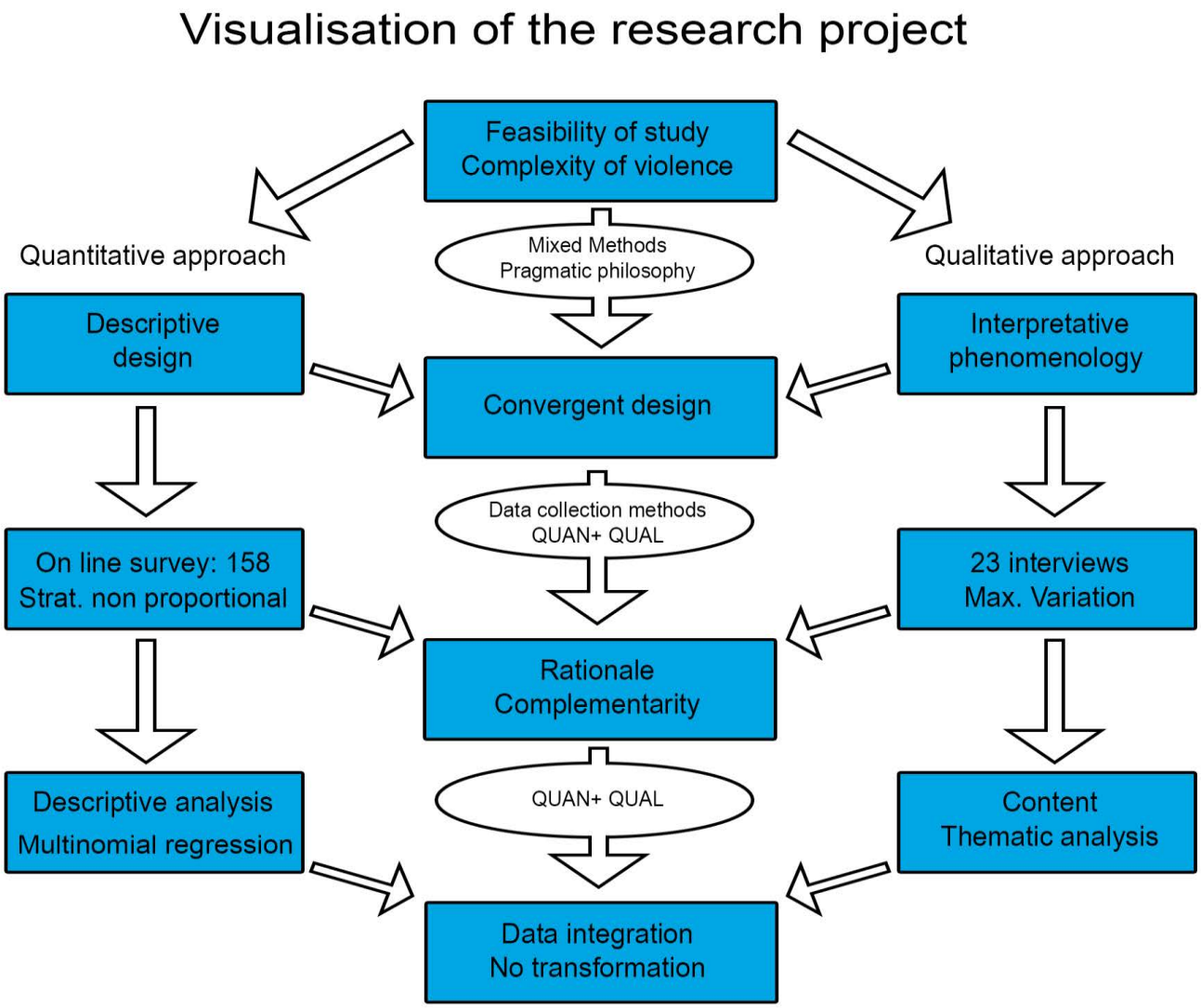


Fig. 4.1: Rationale for using the mixed methods design

Adapted from Creswell, 2012

Mixed Methods Research Designs

Mixed methods have their distinct research designs that prescribe the order of qualitative and quantitative research. Research designs are purpose-driven frameworks premised on the research question. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004) identify that mixed methods research designs can be sequential, convergent-triangulation and transformational (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Tariq & Woodman (2013) added the embedded and the mixed methods systematic review to the typology. The goals of each design make them different. Sequential designs can be explanatory or exploratory, meaning that the researcher decides whether the qualitative or the quantitative strand takes precedence in the data collection process. In the sequential explanatory design, quantitative data is collected prior to collecting qualitative data; the object thereof is to give credence to the quantitative data and to see whether qualitative data supports the quantitative findings derived from the survey. Hence, the objective of the study is to strengthen, provide insight and details under which students are likely to use violence. Concisely, quantitative data is embedded in qualitative data as its findings inform quantitative data (Creswell, 2014; Tavakoli, 2013). The sequential exploratory design is similar to the former; however, qualitative data takes precedence.

Though sequential designs are easy to implement because they are straight-forward in nature, they are time-consuming because the researcher has to analyse one data set prior to continuing with the other. Researchers using mixed methods designs have to make decisions on the timing, weighting and priority of the collected data sets (Creswell, 2012, 2013; Hesse-Biber, 2010). The researcher used the convergent design. Studies applying this design allow the researcher to collect two data strands without prior analysis and interpretation of any data set. Convergent designs are timesaving as data can be collected at once and are suitable for resource constrained researchers (Creswell, Klaasen, Plano Clark & Smith, 2011). While timing is the sequence to follow to collect data, for convergent designs it is not as important as in sequential designs. Weighting refers to which data type takes precedence in the reporting stage. Priority of data can be equal or unequal. For the purpose of this study, both the quantitative and qualitative data sets were treated with equal priority and were integrated at the data interpretation stage.

The sequencing and the stage at which the different data sets were integrated is based on the purpose of the study (Adu, 2015; Babbie, 2013; Creswell, 2012; Yin, 2011). Though classified as the most challenging research design to implement, convergent designs allow the researcher an opportunity to almost remove herself from the data collection process without due influence on the subsequent data collection process (Adu, 2015). However, the minimal immersion may hamper in-depth analysis of issues that emerged from either data set.

Background Information of the Study Sites

The diagram below illustrates that South Africa has 26 public universities spreads across its nine provinces. The data collection plan was to have six institutions across five provinces. Of the six campuses, three gave permission for conducting the study, one refused participation and two did not give feedback. Despite the setback, the study was conducted at three study sites that are distinctive in terms of geography, socio-economic status and political consciousness and openness. For example, the UFS is rather politically dormant when compared to UWC and Wits. These differences lie in each of the founding principles of each institution. Both UWC and Wits have been at the forefront of promoting social justice issues, with the identity of UWC cemented in 1985 when the institution declared itself the home of the intellectual left. In its open defiance of the government's discriminatory policies Wits was a champion of the rights of the Black people. The UFS on the other hand was a bastion of Afrikaner nationalism. Of these three institutions, the UWC is the youngest, apartheid -established institution.

Map of South African Universities

Figure 4.2. shows the location and the types of universities in South Africa. These institutions are categorised as traditional (research intensive and theory focussed), universities of technology (career focussed with a practical outlook in training) and comprehensive universities (offer research based and career focussed programmes). For the purpose of this study, traditional universities are the focus.

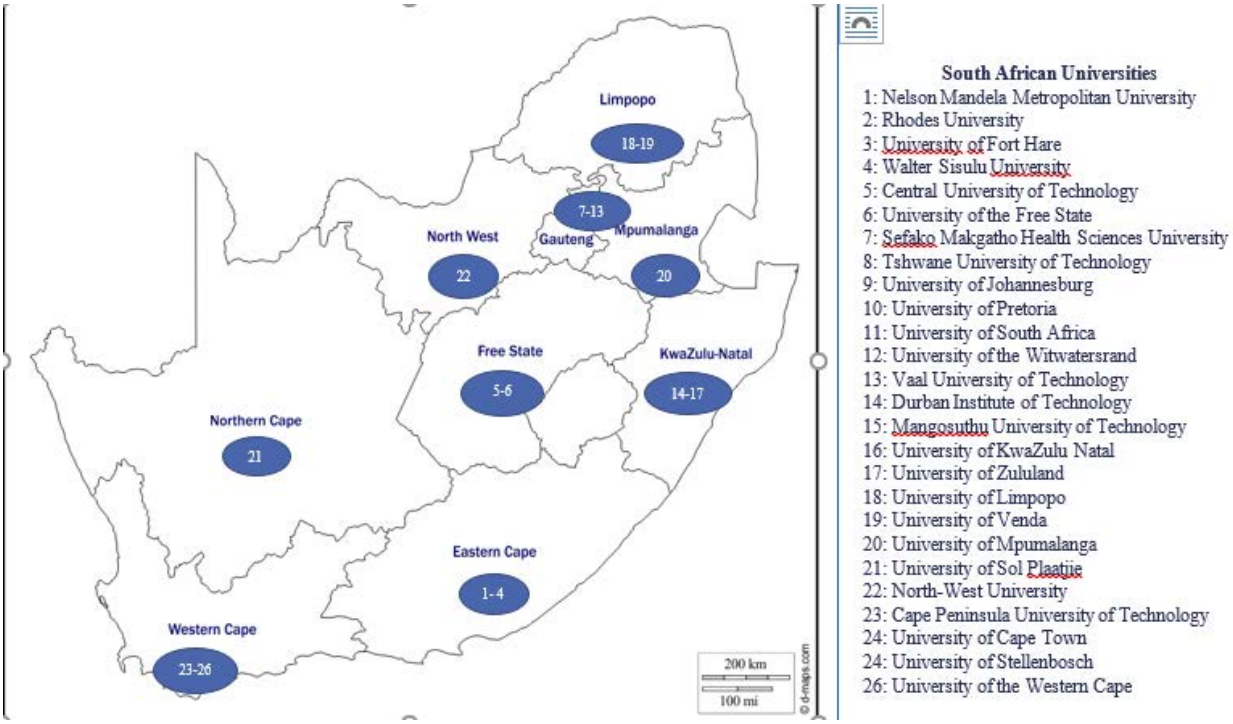


Figure 4.2.: Map of South African universities (adapted from d-maps)

Sample Selection Criteria

A sample is a manageable and representative unit of a population under study. Samples must share the same characteristics to infer the results to the population (Creswell, 2012; Tavakoli, 2013). Sampling is important because when done properly, it increases precision of data as the sampling error can be established and it helps minimise research costs (Everest, 2014). Initially the population of the study was six traditional HWUs and HBUs; spread across five provinces.

However, three institutions formed part of the study. Institutions were chosen based on their historical character relating to their use of violence during protests, involvement or witnessing in the #RMF and #FMF, geographical location. This was inclusive of the violence incidents for the 2015/2016 academic year.

The sampling frame for the study was campus resident female and male students, aged between 18 and 28 years, registered from second to fourth year levels in the Faculties of Law and/or Arts, Social Sciences or Humanities (Struwig & Stead, 2013). The following are the reasons behind the choice of sample. Firstly, students between the ages of 18 and 28 years are between the stages of childhood and adulthood. This is a stage of liminality that offers students an opportunity to abandon parental prescripts to carve their own identity within an exciting and stimulating HE environment and allows them opportunities to resulting in their being liable to influence of others (Roudi, 2011).

Society's view of university students as having more leisure time, less responsibilities and being adventurous, and their over-representativity in community protests overlook issues that affect youth. Thus, fermenting tensions and conflicts within institutions were outlined in chapters 2 and 3. This assertion takes on Bandura's stance that youth transitions are linear and that student's decisions are ill-considered, though personality and environmental issues may be contributory factors. Overall, the HE environment offers these young adults an opportunity to define themselves in relation to what occurs in their settings (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; LeFrancois, 2013; Cuervo, Barakat & Turnbull, 2015; Nyundu, Naidoo & Chaigonda, 2015). Literature reveals that students in the Faculties of Law and the Social Sciences are more likely to be activists than those in the fields like Engineering or Economic and Management Sciences as their curriculum tends to sensitise them to social problems including means to address such problems (Altbach 2006; Luescher-Mamashela, 2015). For these students, activism is a platform to put theoretical learning into practice (Nakayiwa & Kaganzi, 2015). The Natural Sciences recorded insignificant numbers of student activists (Prusinowska, Kowzan & Zielińska, 2012).

Moreover, unlike students in their first year, students who are in their second year are more aware of the undercurrents of their environment and are likely to be involved in student organisations, and if not, likely to have informed opinions. Finally, the choice of on campus (resident) students is informed by the insight that campus residents are easy to mobilise (van Dyke, 1998).

The university setting offers residential students the spaces to get together at a time convenient to all of them without much costs to them. Other studies revealed that normally people join protests because their peers invite them (Ansala, Uusiautti, & Määttä, 2015). Apart from targeting students, the study also targeted key "informants", namely student activists and /or leaders, the general student populace and university authorities responsible for the resolution of student issues, or anyone who was likely to provide valuable information pertaining to the topic at hand. Staff at the Student Affairs departments across the three institutions and two Vice–Chancellors formed part of those interviewed.

Mixed Methods Research Sampling

Convergent research designs employ probability and non-probability sampling procedures. Probability sampling procedures not only grant an equal chance of participating as they are systematic in nature and prescribe criteria for the process (Kumar, 2011, Gravetter & Forzano, 2012). Sampling designs within the mixed methods research are time bound, require the researcher to make decisions about how the quantitative and the qualitative sampling procedures are to be structured and the relation between the two approaches. To illustrate the similarities and differences that exist between the campuses, along with stakeholders' attitudes about violence, the researcher used the maximum variation sampling procedure. Aspects of variation were the university sites whose history, location and institutional culture affect the nature of their protests. For instance, UFS and Wits are both HWUs with conservative and liberal founding values, respectively, that affect their conceptions of violence during protests. The synopsis below illustrates the relationship inherent in the qualitative and the quantitative designs (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007):

- Single case: The same participants get a survey that has open and close-ended questions, thus, both aspects are simultaneously addressed.
- Parallel: Participants are divided into two distinct groups, though the sample is derived from the same population, without losing their characteristics.
- Multi-level: The participants in the study are differentiated, meaning that the samples come from several population groups that best answer the issue at hand.
- Nested: The same sample participates in a two-stage process, each strand pulling out different strands associated with the study.

For the study, the relationship between the participants was multi-level, premised on the reasons outlined above. For each university, the researcher used the following homogeneous sampling procedures: self-selection and snowball sampling or ongoing sampling (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg & McKibbon, 2015), which entailed three participants volunteering to be interviewed. The latter procedure identified 20 participants (through referrals and cold calling) willing to be part of the study. Homogeneous procedures are part of the purposive sampling procedure that hinge upon the experience, knowledge, willingness and availability of the participants to form part of the study (Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, & Wisdom, 2015). Homogeneous samples provided coherent information from a wide variety of stakeholders. A total of 23 participants were part of this study and of these, three participants self-selected during the survey stage: two were ordinary students and one a student leader. Of the 20 sampled using availability or snowball procedure, 11 were student leaders and activists, two were worker-activists; five were in management and two in executive management. The combination of the different sampling procedures is consistent with the purpose of complementary triangulation that provided a personal and narrow, yet detailed view of the use of violence as a mode for expressing problems (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007; Palinkas, et al. 2015; Egan et al., 2013). The study opted for the purposive sampling procedure because data was collected during the height of the #FMF student movement; thus, the study captured the experiences of those who were at the forefront of the movement.

Random Sampling Procedure

Random samples apply prescribed procedures to give potential participants an equal chance of being selected to participate in the study. Depending on the goals of the study, the randomisation can be basic or complex (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Creswell, 2012). Stratified non-probability sampling procedure focussed on the characteristics described in the selection criteria above. The procedure can be proportional or non-proportional, with representativity relative to the population under study. The target population for the quantitative design was 4405 students; UFS had 275, Wits had 3340 and UWC 790 students who met the criteria. Of these, only one institution granted the researcher access to students' details; hence, the researcher opted for the screened sampling procedure to enable the other two institutions to send the survey link to students who fit the criteria (Ackland 2013, Struwig & Stead 2013).

To maximise the chances for the completion of the survey, the survey link to all the potential students had the necessary information. A number of 157 students completed the survey using non-proportional stratified sampling procedure where participants' details are given, thus improving representativity and generalisability. The response rate for the study was 23%. Although, the response rate is low, it is acceptable as it is above 20%. Sample representativity is essential for purposes of generalising results to similar populations. As the study applied the convergent triangulation design, the phenomenological part was also completed; the process is explained in the next section.

Non-Random Sampling Procedure

Qualitative studies rely on small samples because their goal is to promote in-depth understanding and not generalising the findings of the study. Qualitative research, unlike quantitative research, focuses on replication logic instead of sampling logic (Wong, 2014). There is no consensus yet pertaining to the prescribed minimum criteria to have design specific, extensive and relevant samples for mixed methods studies (Wisdom, Cavaleri, Onwuegbuzie, & Green, 2012). There are different views as to the required sample size when doing IPA studies, with numbers ranging from a minimum of three participants to a maximum of 20 participants (Giorgi, 2011, Groenland, 2016, Hesse-Biber, 2010; Leedy, 2005; Mayoh & Onwuegbuzie, 2015, Wilson, 2015). Moreover, there is no indication as to how many participants are required in case of conducting a multi-site, multi-participant sample. Literature proposes that the researcher discontinues interviews when they reach a point wherein additional interviews do not yield new information on the issue or saturation (Creswell, 2012; Mason, 2010; Smith, 2013; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). In this case, the researcher decided on saturation as the cutting off point for interviews.

Biographic Details of Research Participants

The section that follows gives details on the sources of information of the study. The first part shares details of those that took part in the survey. This is followed by details of interviewees, discussed on page 151 in Table 4.1.8.1.

Table 4.1: Analysis of survey responses received and identified gaps in responses

	Institution	Faculty	Gender	Age	Race	Sponsor	Level of study
Valid	154	153	154	154	152	152	105
Missing	0	1	0	0	2	2	49

Table 4.1. shows the biographical details of the survey participants. A number of 157 questionnaires were received. Of these, three were discarded because the participants did not complete most of the questions. Subsequently, a total of 154 questionnaires were analysed. From this total, the identified gaps are as follows: one participant did not indicate faculty, two did not identify their race and sponsor, respectively, and 49 did not include their level of study. One may attribute the reason for these missing values to the participants missing the question or their thinking that a response to the question was unnecessary.

Name of the institution

Table 4.1.1. Sample by name of institution

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
UFS	46	29.9	29.9	29.9
Wits	73	47.4	47.4	77.3
UWC	35	22.7	22.7	100
Total	154	100	100	

A large percentage of the participants were from Wits (47.3%), followed by the UFS (29.9%) and the UWC (22.7%). One may attribute the vast differences in student participation to their levels of interest in the study. However, this is not sufficient reason, especially for the UWC, as students at this campus are as politically active as at Wits. Plausible reasons may be firstly that students may have been concerned about their safety since there were allegations of victimisation at this campus. Thus, the study aroused their suspicions; secondly, the timing of the study as highlighted in the methodology chapter may have been the reason for the low response at all the campuses; lastly, despite their interest, students at the UFS given that they pay for internet data usage, may have perceived participation in the study, costly. The free data offer from four major telecommunications companies, Telkom, MTN, Vodacom and Cell C to university students for study purposes at the end of 2016, emphasises the last point.

Sample of participants by faculty

Table 4.1.2: Sample by faculty that the students is enrolled in

	Faculty	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Valid	Arts	1	18.8	19	19
	Humanities/Social Sciences	78	50.6	51	69.9
	Law	46	29.9	30.1	100
	Total	153	99.4	100	

The table gives the number of participants who indicated the faculty in which they were registered. The majority in the faculties of Humanities or the Social Sciences (50.6%), Law and Arts at (29.9%) and (18.8%), respectively. The study limited the sample to students registered in these faculties, as literature indicates that they tend to have greater interest and are more active in politics unlike their peers in other faculties.

Sample of participants by faculty

Table 4.1.3: Sample by gender

Sex	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Female	66.2	66.2	66.2	66.2
Male	52	33.8	33.8	100
Total	154	100	100	100

The researcher used an official and accepted categorisation of gender, excluding the 'other' category. On retrospect, it would have been judicious to include an open question, phrased as the other category to allow participants to state their sexual orientation to ensure representativity. A recent USA study revealed that people are receptive to answering questions about their sexual orientation; however, studies that do so are rare (American Psychological Association [APA], 2016, Wronski, n.d.). According to this classification, the table on the gender breakdown illustrates that female students participated twice as much than their male counterparts 66.2% and 33.8%. Several reasons may account for the above. Firstly, the number of female students in HE continues to increase. For example, in 2012 there were more female students than male students at UDW (DHET, 2013). In 2016, universities had 58% of female undergraduate students nationally (Stats SA, 2019). Although, statistically, female students are more than males these differences in participation may illustrate that female students are interested in issues of student activism and politics as seen in the surge of female student leaders across the country's universities. For instance, all the three surveyed institutions including Univen and NMMU - had female SRC presidents. Most importantly, the strong female leadership in student politics that lead the 2015/2016 #FMF seems to have inspired female participants. For male students, the possibility may be that they did put off completing the study until its closing date or as stated earlier, the data costs or their need to self-protect affected participation.

Table 4.1.4: Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
18-22 years	117	76	76	76
23-27 years	29	18.8	18.8	94.8
28+ years	8	5.2	5.2	100
Total	154	100	100	

The results in Table 4.1.4 are consistent with official data on student enrolments at universities. A number of 76% of students between the ages of 18 and 22 years reflect the normal trajectory of youth transitions to adulthood. This means that these students may have gone to university immediately after completing their secondary school education. Those older than 22 years may have not continued with their education straight after school owing to financial difficulties or lack of academic success. This finding is consistent with the fact that the majority of students do not finish their studies in record time; whereas the majority tend to drop out at second and third year levels, these findings held true for Black students (Bokana, 2010; Bunting, Sheppard, Cloete, & Belding, 2010; van der Bank & Nkadimeng, 2014). A 2019 Stats SA report on the education and skills indicated that 49.7% of South African youth were not furthering their studies (Stats SA, 2019).

Table 4.1.5. Sample by race

Race	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Black	89	57.8	58.6	58.6
Asian	3	1.9	2.	60.5
White	34	22.1	22.4	82.9
Coloured	26	16.9	17.1	100
Total	152	98.7	100	

Majority of students were Blacks who accounted for 57.8%, Whites at 22.1%, Coloured 17.1% and Asian at 1.9%. The concentration of Black students may be for two reasons. Firstly, HE has become more accessible and that they were more interested in the topic, as they may have participated in campus protests. In 2016 enrolment statistics according to race at South African universities stood at 71.9% for Black students, 15.6% were White students, 6.3% were Coloured, and 5.2% (DHET, 2016).

Table 4.1.6. Sample by sponsor

Race	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Parents	89	57.8	58.6	58.6
Bursary	27	17.5	17.8	76.3
Study loan	21	13.6	13.8	90.1
Self-funding	15	9.7	9.9	100
Total	152	8.7	100	

Notation

Parents refers to one or two parents or guardian

Study loan refers to NFSAS or any other loan from an institution

Self- funding refers to self -payment for fees or no source of funding at all

Table 4.1.6 reflects the different modes of income sources that afford students access to HE with parents being the source of income for 57.8% of the students. One can assume that funding for HE still remains the responsibility of the parents, despite alternative sources of income that can fund tertiary education. In this case, one understands the financial pressures that the parents of these students may be facing, as costs of HE have been rising above the inflation rate, making their salaries insufficient to cover the needs of their children. The finding corresponds with the age of the participants, the majority of whom were between the ages of 18-22, and thus solely dependent on their parents. Bursary and loan schemes were recorded at less than 20% each (17.5% and 13.6%). A much smaller number, 9.7% of the participants, were self-funding, meaning that they have probably worked before pursuing their studies, were working on a part-time basis or may have had inherited the monies. The students' agency and independence are admirable as they are

taking charge of their future. One can only imagine the stress that they may be facing with each announcement that fees will increase. Additionally, literature has revealed that part-time work was stressful for students, because their earnings were insufficient to cover their academic expenses thus not worth the effort.

Table 4.1.7: Sample by level of study

Race	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Second year	60	39	57.1	57.1
Third year	31	20.1	29.5	86.7
Fourth year	14	9.1	13.3	100
Total	154	100		

Missing value: 49 /31.8%

Data projected in Table 4.1.7 reveals that the majority of the students were in their second year 39.1%, third year students accounted for 20.1%, fourth year totalled 9.1% and 31.8% did not indicate their level of study. The results reflect that the majority of the participants are between the ages of 18 and 22 years and may have not worked prior to pursuing their HE. Fewer students were enrolled in fourth year degree programmes, which are normally professional degrees like law and social work.

Interview Participants' Biographical Data

The section that follows gives a picture of the interview participants who were interviewed at the three universities. Data covered in this section: details by the researcher gives on the participants. The interviewees were students, student activists and staff members employed at the universities, who are referred to as key 'informants. Full-time employment at the university is the distinction made between a student and key informant. Tables are used to present data in this section.

Table 4.1.8: Sample by interview participants according to institution

Institution	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
UFS	8	34.7	37.4
Wits	9	39.1	86.7
UWC	6	26.0	100
Total	23	100	

Data reveals that Wits students formed the majority and the UWC had the least participants. Moreover, each institution had three key informants. The higher level of interest at Wits and the UFS may be that the researcher was able to conduct face-to-face interviews with participants. Her availability seems to have allowed the participants an opportunity to make informed face value judgements about their involvement in the study. Other than that, students at the UWC may have been more suspicious as their campus was one of those closed for some time because of violence. Maringira & Gukurume (2016) shares that students at the UWC were reluctant to participate in their study because of fear they would be victimised.

Table 4.1.8.1: Details of participants

University	**Students**		**Key informants**	
	Sex, Race, Position,	**Date of interview**	**Sex, Race, Position,**	**Date of interview**
UFS	Itu: M,B, L	24.09.2016	Pete: M, W, SA	27.7.2016
	Xolani: M,B,S	23.7.2016	Vongani: M, B, A	29.10.2016
	Mpho: M,B,S	26.7.2016	JJ: M, C, VC	15.12.2016
	Lesedi: F,B,L	27.7.2016		
	Gugu: F,B,L	27.7.2016		
Wits	Xoli: F,B,L	17.7.2016	Joy: F, C, SA	28.8.2016
	Kganya: F,B,L	28.7.2016	Cole: M, B, A	31.8.2016
	Odwa: F,B, L	28.7.2016	AB: M, I, VC	31.8.2016
	Botshelo: M,B,A	28.7.2016		
	Naledi: F,B,L	28.7.2016		
	Malaika: F, B,L	28.7.2016		
UWC	Tuli F, B, A	25.8.2016	Heather: F, W, SA	2.8.2016
	Sine: M, B, A	28.8.2016	John: M, B, SA	25.8.2016
	George: M, B, A	1.5.2017	Kyle: M, B, SA	23.8.2016

*Notes: F/M: Female/Male; B/C/I/W: Black/ Coloured/Indian/White, L/A: Leader/ Activist, S: Student, Activist: A, SA: Student Affairs, VC: Vice Chancellor.

Table 4.1.8.2: Sex

Institution	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Female	13	56.6	56.6	56.6
Male	10	43.4	43.4	100
Total	23	100		

More than half of the participants were females. This information is consistent with that reflected in Table 4.1.3. These results are consistent with the national population and DHET university enrolment statistics.

Table 4.1.8.3: Race

Institution	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Black	17	73.9	73.9	73.9
Coloured	2	8.7	8.7	82.6
Indian	2	8.7	8.7	91.3
White	2	8.7	8.7	100
Total	23			100

Table 4.1.8.3 reveals a fair representation of all racial groups, though Asians were a bit above the national proportion of 2.5% and the Black population were at 79.5% (Stats SA, 2017). Unlike key informants', students were more racially-homogeneous, overall (60.9%). The reason for staff heterogeneity is that South African universities are likely to have staff diversity than that of students. However, sample bias may be contributing, as studies such as these tend to prioritise students over staff.

Table 4.1.8.4: Years at institution

Institution	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
> 3 years	8	34.9	34.9	34.9
4-15 years	11	47.8	47.8	82.7
+16 years	4	17.3	17.3	100
Total	23			100

Data above shows that the majority of the participants (47.8%) have been with the university for between four and fifteen years. This category consisted of university staff members and students - some of the latter were pursuing second junior or repeating a year or a postgraduate degree. Two of these students were identified while they were doing their undergraduate studies. The researcher could not find ideal replacements when she was in the field. The number of years that students spent at an institution may show that they were comfortable that their universities were offering the education that would allow them to join the labour market. Overall, the duration participants had been at their institutions made them suitable sources of information for the study.

Table 4.1.8.5: Qualifications

Institution	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Student	10	43.4	43.4	43.4
Postgraduate	13	56.4	56.4	100
Total	23			100

The results in Table 4.1.8.5 suppose that majority of the participants have postgraduate qualifications and this applied to a few students.

Data Collection

A pilot study preceded the data collection process. The section that follows outlines how the pilot study was conducted. The account exposes the nature of pilot studies and discusses the participants and the challenges that were encountered during the implementation process. The piloting of the instrument fashioned the design of the final version of the questionnaire.

Pilot Study

Pilot studies are trial runs of the main study, the objective thereof is to assess the extent to which the data collection process might be hampered (Lancaster, 2015). Some scholars distinguish between pilot studies and trial runs whose sampled units are the same as those of the actual characteristics, unlike feasibility studies that allow flexibility. Some scholars term these concepts as interchangeable (Janghorban, Roudsari, & Taghipour, 2013; Thabane et al., 2010; van Wijk & Harrison, 2013). In terms of the recruitment process, 200 potential participants were recruited through a Facebook group wall, 30 e-mails and WhatsApp messages. Of these, 19 participants completed the questionnaire. Despite the low response, the pilot study was essential as it revealed the following issues of concern (Simon, 2011; Thabane et al., 2010)

Pilot Study Issues of Concern

The implementation of the study was a learning curve. Despite the use of technology such as WhatsApp and Facebook, some internal and external factors hampered the data collection process. Below is the synthesis of the challenges that the researcher encountered including their solutions, which may have improved the efficacy of the study.

Timing of the Pilot Study

The spate of protests that started in October 2015, affected the daily running of the institutions, as majority were closed, examinations were postponed, and these uncertainties delayed the pilot study as students had other preoccupations. The pilot study was conducted in February 2016 instead of between September-October 2015. The reason for the postponement was that potential respondents received the link on their phones, via Email and Facebook and WhatsApp groups during the period the universities were closed and, thus, they did not have access to internet. In February 2016, a generally quiet period at universities in terms of academic work, the academic year was disrupted including at the study sites. Regardless of the challenges, the researcher conducted the pilot study as it was unclear when the protests were likely to end.

Use of Online Questionnaires

The researcher used an online questionnaire, which was tested on a few mobile devices to ascertain that it opened seamlessly and that users could complete it. The issue with the online questionnaire was that a number of respondents struggled to open the link sent to them. As a result, some gave up on this task. Though the researcher offered support, its remoteness may have had a role to play. Secondly, incompatibility of the mobile phone operating systems and the Microsoft Word versions was identified as the reason for the link not opening. In such instances, the participants were sent the questionnaire through e-mail. Furthermore, of all the respondents, only two were able to choose multiple answers as per the instructions. Hence consideration was made regarding the use of multiple -choice questions. To avoid potential frustrations, the researcher used Survey Monkey to design and distribute questionnaires, which were easier to complete for the students.

Wording of the Questions

The returned instrument had some unanswered questions: the reasons may have been the sensitivity of the question or an honest mistake on the part of the participant. Subsequently, the researcher reworded 12 questions and refined four instructions on how to complete the questions. Redundant questions that were repeated or implied in other sections were changed or deleted. Reverse scoring was also identified as an issue that needed attention during the piloting of the instrument, one which was addressed through survey monkey (Hazzi & Maldaon, 2015).

Length of the Questionnaire

Although the majority of the respondents were satisfied with the length of the questionnaire, some of the questions were redundant, while others did not add any value in terms of the information yielded. Subsequently, these questions were removed. Ultimately, the instrument had 89 variables instead of 104.

Apart from the survey, the researcher piloted the interview checklist within the context of a research seminar workshop. This exercise was valuable as feedback was received from both peers and an expert (study supervisor). The setting allowed the researcher to also test out the efficacy of the recording equipment for future use. Feedback received included narrowing the opening statements to the role of the participant and controlling the flow of the interview instead of rigidly adhering to the interview guide checklist. While the process was challenging; valuable information was gathered.

Data Collection Process Schedule

Table 4.1.9: Survey process

Institution	**Permission Granted**	**Population**	**Date sent**	**Target sample**	**Sample**	**Date closed**
UFS	4.5.2016	275	9.5.16	161	51	13.9.16
UWC	18.5.16	790	18.5.16	220	35	20.9.16
Wits	5.5.16	3304	9.5.16	309	72	15.7.16
Non -participating institutions and details						
UCT	Last contact was made in September 2016 and researcher decided not to continue pursuing the institution for permission.					
UL	Permission to conduct the study was refused (**See Appendix** H)					
UNW	No response was received from the institution despite several follow-ups Last contact was made on the May 9, 2016. Hence, the supervisor was asked to contact the office concerned, but no response was received.					
DHET	Verbal and written requests to interview the Deputy Minister were sent on December 2, 2016, with several follow ups made, the last done in May 2017.					

Table 4.1.10: Institution of participants

Institution	Students	Student leaders/activists	Key participants
UFS	2	3	3
UWC		3	3
Wits		6	3

Types of Data Collected

Two types of data sets were collected, namely, primary and secondary data. They are distinguished from each other based on the researcher's involvement in the project. The former means active involvement in the data collection process, whereas for the latter, the researcher relies on the material that other parties have gathered (Tavakoli, 2013). Though different, these data types complement each other in unearthing information about the topic of the study. The first step in this process is the collection of secondary data or literature review. Secondary data is the foundation onto which research is based and naturally it is the first step that the researcher follows, aptly named desktop research as it does not involve field work (Cheng & Phillips, 2015). Sources of secondary data included relevant literature, university websites, newspaper articles and Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. Social media (SM) proved to be an invaluable information repository about student political party related information at the concerned institutions. The value of social media cannot be overstated. For instance, Twitter offers readers current textual and visual information, which is possible to follow up on Facebook and YouTube (Goldstuck, Sperling, & Wronski, 2016). Claims about the efficacy of SM in social activism are contested, as some authors argue that they complement rather than surpass the use of traditional media (Bosch, 2016; Fuchs, 2012; Wojcieszak & Smith, 2013).

SM platforms were valuable as they provided the researcher with first-hand information, though the background of the issues was at times not provided. Other advantages of secondary data are accessibility and dependability on the source, credibility and reliability of data. Disadvantages of secondary data can include the classification of information by the authorities on the grounds of national security, preventing access, currency and validation of issues previously identified. For example, Twitter has an archive of the #FMF, but its cost is prohibitive. Primary data involves the researcher actually immersing herself in the process of data collection and calls for active engagement. Primary data is worthy because it is original and is about the interaction of the researcher and the participants about their experience (Anonymous, 2016).

Primary data can be solicited or spontaneous. Evidence of solicited data are questionnaires or interviews, while spontaneous data is covert and gathered without the knowledge of the respondents. Covert data lends itself to non-participant observation. For the study, data for interviews was solicited whereas covert data was obtained in SM. Despite its originality, primary data relied on the availability and willingness of the targeted parties to partake in the study. On several occasions, the researcher, rescheduled interviews at the convenience of the participants. This means that compiling primary data required both concrete and abstract resources. Primary data involved a limited number of participants from whom data was collected for seven months. Whereas these distinctions between primary and secondary data are necessary, there is a possibility of overlaps, for instance, sharing primary data with a colleague automatically renders it secondary. In a nutshell, primary data offers the researcher control over the data collection process (National Research Council [NRC], 2014; Walliman, 2011; Wong, 2014).

Survey

On-line surveys and interviews were used to collect primary data (Hesse-Biber, 2010). Prior to collecting data, potential participants were made aware of the study through notices at the student residences. Moreover, questionnaires contained recruitment messages for participation (*Appendix B and D*) with those completing the survey required to complete a statement of intent. Decision to participate in the study was on an informed choice. Benefits of structured questionnaires are that they are less taxing on the participants, offer agency as they are answered at a convenient time and offer a sense of privacy.

Online surveys can generate expansive datasets to make future decisions because they can be generalised, are easy to administer, and less resource-intensive. Further, inputs made can be corrected with ease. The survey had a progress bar to make respondents aware of tasks completed and this provided motivation. Online surveys are commonly used with university students because they are a homogeneous group that is exposed to research, have access to the internet and are over-represented in its uses. Despite the internet penetration among students, on-line research is notorious for low response rates, ethical issues and self-reporting (Creswell, 2012; NRC, 2013; Neuman, 2007; Rubin & Babbie, 2010; Yin, 2011). To combat the low response the researcher contacted the concerned institutions and requested that reminders be sent to the potential participants.

Questionnaires can have a combination of questions; the majority, thereof, have structured predetermined answers. The study used an electronic questionnaire consisting of 17 close-ended categorical, dichotomous, multiple choice, ranking scale and open-ended questions (Cox, 2015). The number of variables were reduced as per the recommendations of the pilot study. Categorical questions helped to filter the participants' biographical data in determining the attitudes and opinions at an ordinal level. The last four types of questions afforded the participants an opportunity to agree, disagree or indicate their neutrality on the topic at hand, thus, capturing their attitudes. Varying questions stimulates the participants' attention as predictability about the structure of questions was reduced. The categorical questions were subsequently relabelled to produce four factors. The descriptive names given to the four factors were: satisfaction with overall university conditions and relations with university authority, conditions when violence is sanctioned, contributory factors to violence, and treatment and self-efficacy. These factors mirrored the conceptual framework of the study on as was discussed in Chapter 3.

Interviews

The other part of the study involved conducting interviews. Although the researcher had initially planned to conduct Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with ordinary students and student leaders, these were cancelled at one site. For consistency purposes, the researcher opted for individual semi-structured interviews. The researcher used the survey respondents preferred contact modes of telephone or e-mail as listed on their questionnaires to contact them.

The researcher used synchronous time and place 'face-to-face' interviews and 'location asynchronous' telephone interviews to collect data (Opdenakker, 2006). Meetings were scheduled as per the participant's availability on campus at a venue suitable to them. Venues included a seminar room, outdoor spaces, offices and participant's rooms; all these spaces had the necessary ambience for the task. On average, the one-on-one sessions lasted an hour with pleasantries exchanged prior to sharing personal background, the purpose of the study and the rights of the participants. All participants were given a consent form before the interview, the contents thereof were read together with the participants. The statement of ethics covered in the consent form included the purpose of the study, the rights and risks associated with participation, and recourse to deal with potential risks (See Appendix E-G).

Accordingly, an interview "is a short-term secondary social interaction between two strangers with the explicit purpose of one person obtaining specific information from the other" (Neuman, 2007, p. 190). Sharing information about one-self and the motives for the study is crucial for establishing a relationship with the participants and gaining their trust. Moreover, it affords them an opportunity to decide whether to agree to participate. Consequently, as strangers, the parties engaged in the process of identity work as they gain common ground to ease their interaction (Ryan, Rodriguez, & Trevena, 2016). In some cases, the researcher adopted asynchronous telephone interviews because she was unable to secure interviews at a convenient time. These interviews were a measure of last resort. However, the pervasive nature of technology in our daily lives, its boundlessness and its ability to protect the identity of the participant make them an acceptable data collection method.

The level of anonymity and social distance that these interviews provide can promote easy engagement with the topic without experiencing feelings of embarrassment (Oltmann, 2016). This was necessary because of the sensitivity of the topic and the potential victimisation of the students. For the researcher, telephone interviews enabled her to take notes without distracting participants because of the need to maintain eye contact. Disadvantages associated with telephone interviews include costs, inability to observe, and technical glitches like dropped calls. The researcher compensated the inability to observe participants' gestures with listening for repeated words, hesitations when starting sentences and incomplete sentences. Interview data closed research information gaps, generating a multiplicity of meanings on the research problem (Gumbo & Maphalala, 2015).

The process may have promoted self–reflection and awareness on the part of the participants as they had an opportunity to explore their thoughts within a safe and non-judgemental environment (Adler & Clark, 2011).

Semi–structured interview checklists are necessary for consistency purposes and are common in mixed methods studies (Lampropoulou & Myers, 2013; Mitropolitski, 2015; Moorkens, 2015). The overlap between the descriptive and interpretative phenomenology were apparent in the data collection process. Researchers applying descriptive phenomenology are encouraged to use semi-structured interviews, which are a way of removing oneself from literature or bracketing (Chan, Fung, & Chien, 2013). The researcher needing to resist the temptation to seek guidance from literature is an action that may narrow one's perspective and create challenges for the researcher. This considers that interviews are experiential-based endeavours likely to emanate sensitive matters (Hesse-Biber, 2010; King, 2014; Wilson, 2015). Other authors expand the process with emphasis on the ethical issues likely to arise in each stage (Levine, Taylor, & Best, 2011). Prior to conducting the interviews, the researcher reflected on her preconceptions about the students' use of violence when they have problems with the authority figures. Key to raising this awareness was the process of reflection, where she documented her experiences, and thoughts (both pre-and post-the interviews). The interviews followed these stages:

- Thematising and designing: The purpose of research was to establish why students use violence when they seek to address issues with the university authorities. The research question raised moral and legal aspects for students who engaged in violence and for the authorities who have to handle these protests (Neuman, 2007). Importantly, the research instrument avoided ethical breaches. For instance, participants had prior knowledge of the issues that they were to be interviewed about as they were sent the schedule and also an information sheet (See Appendix E-G).

- Interview situation: The onus was on the interviewer to put participants at ease. This was achieved through transparency, sharing the purpose of the research, making participants aware of their rights to participate, thanking them for sharing their time and finding commonalities. Considerations were made about issues of space, which were physical and included the ambiance that the researcher created to facilitate the process of the interview.

All interviews were conducted at the convenience of the participants, within supportive spaces that are free of noise and other external intrusions. Adherence to these environmental aspects reduced the level of obtrusiveness associated with interviews because they are often recorded. As cited earlier, in all interviews and self-disclosure expectations the researcher shared the roles of the parties involved. Participants were offered to share their stories in any official language, but all opted for English. Occasionally, a few words were spoken in the languages of the participants.

- Transcript: A transcript is a written account of the interview process and can be detailed, verbatim, summarised, or interpreted (Creswell, 2014). The researcher opted for verbatim transcripts, because they allowed her to be close to the data, capture and make sense of non-verbal cues. The researcher transcribed most of the interviews, but she had to ask for help as the process affected her well-being.

- Analysis: This is the process of making sense of the data generated from the interviews. It entails integrating all the data and developed the themes that answer the research question. Details of the analysis process are in chapter six.

- Verification: The verification process seeks to establish the veracity of the results and it is often advisable to get input from the participants themselves; the results ought to reflect participants' feelings and thoughts. Transcripts and audio recording of the interview were sent to the participants from September 2016 to March 2017. No-one has responded to date to provide any feedback, and on this basis, it is concluded that the content reflected their inputs.

- Reporting: The reporting process accounts for the process embarked on from the conception of the problem to data analysis.

Validity and Reliability of Instruments

Validity and reliability are different, but interdependent concepts as they relate to the ability of the measure to yield quality data from the sample under study. Validity is the ability of a research instrument to measure that which it purports to measure. Validity excludes any concepts not related to the research questions or that which will not produce quality and usable results. Reliability is the ability of the research instrument to consistently yield similar results (Anonymous, 2016; Mohamad, Sulaiman, Sern, & Salleh, 2015). As indicated in earlier pilot studies, were used to test the validity of the questionnaire. Data from the pilot study helped improve face validity; the questionnaire was redesigned for a seamless user interface. A progress bar was added to the questionnaire and a recruitment poster that gave information about the study was upgraded (See Appendix B). This type of validity though basic and subjective because it is based on an uninformed judgement, is important as an attractive instrument may encourage its completion. During the construction of the instrument care was taken to only include concepts that relate to the topic. Content and construct validity are an arena for subject matter experts and are concerned with the extent to which responses to the questions reflect the study, meaning that only concepts that are related to the culture of violence, problem solving, university students and university authorities formed part of the research instruments. The study related concepts were covered in the conceptual framework on p.116. When an instrument has internal, content and criterion validity, it has a high level of generalizability or external validity (Bashir, Afzal, & Azeem, 2008; Snape & Spencer, 2003; Tisdale, 2004; Zohrabi, 2013).

The above presents a linear continuum of the complex concepts where research studies are subject to biases and errors to potentially threaten validity and reliability. Biases and errors can stem from either the subject matter, respondents or the researcher. Sampling bias is unavoidable as individuals who partake in field studies do so because they are interested in the topic: the following biases were particular to the study. Self-selection is one of the biases inherent in research and it arises because people who are interested in a topic are likely to have more commonalities than differences. Apart from interest in the subject matter, the inclusion of only students with internet access in the study was another bias. Secondly, it is plausible that the participants may have responded to the questionnaire and the interview questions in a socially-desirable manner, to

avoid being labelled. This is besides the assertion that both research instruments stressed anonymity and confidentiality where sending the survey online also afforded the participants some privacy. Thirdly, biases and errors of the researcher included priming the participants to respond in a particular manner, be it based on the behaviour or preconceived notions about the subject.

During some interviews, the researcher felt frustrated with some of the participant's responses. For example, when one stated that "we are going to burn everything." she found herself stumbling for words, in order not to antagonise the participant. Despite, the care, it is undeniable that the researcher may have influenced the participants. Some of the biases became apparent in the manner that the participants responded to quantitative and qualitative questions. For example, male participants were likely to share that the violence that they witnessed at their institutions was inconsequential. Fourthly, the data collection process occurred parallel to the #FMF with participants still sensitive, thus biasing the results. The fifth and last point namely, reliability and generalisability overlap in a reliable instrument to generate consistent results across similar populations. Reliability issues related to the small sample size, which affected the results generated the Cronbach alpha scores. These were lower than the recommended 0.8, affecting the factor analysis results. Low alpha scores violate assumptions of the reliability model. Hence, it was important that the Pearson correlation valued at 5% significance level was conducted, yielding a significant value score of $0.016 > 0.05$ that was obtained through the sig.(2-tailed). Thus, the first question was found to be valid (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Tavakoli, 2013). A larger sample would have been the most viable solution but was unfeasible to implement because of time and logistical constraints. The limitations section gives an account of these constraints. Additionally, other factors that related to sample selection, namely representativity, setting, and history and construct effects affected generalisability. In light of the above challenges, the researcher opted to be transparent about the challenges encountered and how these impact on the results (Tracy, 2010).

The combination of research approaches or mixed methods as a developing approach, while desirable, attracts more challenges regarding their validity; such is expected as there are myriad factors ranging from the researcher's bias, which may affect the collection of qualitative data. It is for this reason that more emphasis is on the legitimation of issues than on validity. First is the complex nature of transforming experiences and feelings to numbers. Although the practice is useful, it may water-down the insights of the participants. Moreover, sample sizes for each strand

were not comparable. Thus, the researcher did not transform either of the data generated, as inferences and generalisations would not have been possible (Lisle, 2011; Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). Audit trails, which are documents that show how the study was conducted were kept along with a reflection diary. Additionally, conducting the study in different sites legitimised results, as results were compared (Korstjens & Moser; 2018; Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). These were necessary to address legitimation threats. In essence, transparency about the research process and adherence to ethical principles including the practicality and the feasibility of the research are equally important matters that mitigate the legitimation threats which were considered. Credibility of the research project is reason for the combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods. When the quantitative strand meets the prescribed sampling principles, validity and reliability, then its results can be generalised (external validity) to its population. In terms of internal validity, the research instrument needs to be consistent with its content and cover constructs that are in tandem to the research questions. Criterion validity affects the generalizability of the instrument or external validity (Zohrabi, 2013).

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of making sense of the information gathered during the survey stage. It is the culmination of the research process as it meant to answer the research question (Hayes, 2018). The quantitative data analysis followed this process: data entry, coding, cleaning and interpretation. The study employed the Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 25 and Atlas.ti version 8 to analyse data. The study applied the following data analysis techniques: descriptive, inferential, factor analysis and multinomial regression. Descriptive statistics provided a global outlook of students' attitudes to the use of violence as a tool for problem solving. In line with the descriptive aspects of data analysis tables, graphs and charts were used to depict summaries and frequencies occurring with issues concerning the study. The analysis used non-parametric tests because the research instrument had ordinal data, which was not normally distributed because of the small sample size (Hazzi & Maldaon, 2015).

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy indicated that the sample size considered was adequate and the Bartlett's test of sphericity revealed that at least two variables

were highly correlated, thus four factors were extracted despite their low reliability scores. Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was done in an attempt to correct the reliability score coefficient through rotation; however, the scores remained low. EFA is a technique that groups related variables in a cluster to facilitate the interpretation of a cluster rather than individual variables (Taherdoost, Sahibuddin, & Jalaliyoon, 2014). Assumptions associated with EFA are that the sample size should be more than 300, though samples of 150 are acceptable if the factor loading is > 0.80 (Gie Yong & Pearce, 2013). The descriptive names given to the factors were: satisfaction with overall university conditions and relations with university authority, conditions when violence is sanctioned, contributory factors to violence, and treatment and self-efficacy. Each factor loading had between two and five factors. A chi square test of significance was done to establish whether there were significant relationships between categorical variables, after reducing the Likert scale from five to three to allow the scale to work well. Since the results of the chi square test measured the effect of one explanatory variable at a time, the study used the multinomial logit regression to establish the important variables.

The forward selection method was used instead of the backward elimination method. The technique involves adding variable one at a time to see whether they fit a model and retain those with a statistically significant relationship. Reason for choosing the former stepwise technique was because of the small sample size as the latter resulted in challenges with convergence of parameter estimates. Criticism abound because the technique relies on expert judgement and not theoretical assumptions (McDonald, 2014). The forward selection technique, then tested whether the results of the chi square were replicated or not; this was only in some cases, and not in others. The choice of techniques enabled the researcher to gain in-depth information on how each variable predicted the likelihood that students would use violence. These differences would not have been apparent had the researcher solely employed descriptive statistics (Struwig & Stead, 2013).

Qualitative data analysis is the process of finding coherence and meaning in the information collected from the participants to highlight daily realities as shaped in their social contexts (Nguyen, 2015). As an interpretivist perspective, thematic data analysis unearths predetermined themes that emerge from the data (Wills, 2013) or directly from the data using the intuitive or an emergent strategy popularly associated with grounded theory (Smith, 2013). In this sense, thematic and content analysis are different as the former focusses on the overall message

conveyed whereas the latter on the prescribed micro meaning. The similarities inherent in content and thematic analysis and its flexibility lends them to be combined, particularly in the first phases of data analysis

Over the years, qualitative data analysis has undergone a series of developments, including the acceptance and wide use of computer -assisted analysis, which seem skewed towards quantifying qualitative data. For novices, the flexibility of data analysis procedures may be challenging due to lack of guidance and standardisation; however, the situation may encourage creativity and innovation. Moreover, as a process of capturing the different lived experiences of the participants, standardisation is not that imperative. Despite the assertion, several techniques for data analysis were used in this study content and constant comparisons allowed the researcher to establish the circumstantial-based similarities and differences associated with the concepts, which were reduced into themes. Computer-supported analysis can condense complex data, but they require the researcher's direction in data analysis (Carcary, 2011; Schönfelder, 2011; Wiedemann, 2013). ATLAS.ti v 7 was used for analysis: for visual depictions to enable justifications, for the modification of coding or categorisation of data, and for making connections, patterns and testable models of conceptual structure of underlying model (Radermaker, Grace & Curda, 2012). The analysis phase followed the stages of data reduction, presentation, conclusion and verification. These stages are referred to as initialisation, construction, rectification and finalisation (Craver, 2014). The following process was part of the study:

- Transcription: the transcripts captured verbatim audio and field notes into a comprehensive text. These accounts gave in-depth detail of participants' accounts of the issues.

- Reading: the researcher engaged in a three -stage process of literal, reflective and interpretative absorption of the text (Smith, 2013) to establish areas that answer the research question. The absorption of data required that the researcher became one with the data or in a process of immersion to discover main, recurrent and interesting ideas. Immersion is an involved process that requires the researcher to maintain balance through distancing or blocking so that results are not biased (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen, & Snelgrove, 2016). While the researcher recognised the importance of distancing, the process was challenging and emotionally draining, hence, the reflection notes.

- Coding: the study adopted a three-pronged progressive data reduction process that entailed open, axial and selective data coding. Though open coding is time-consuming, its elaborative nature ensured that codes generated were exhaustive, specific, and applied deductive and inductive reasoning (Costa, Pinho, & Bakas, 2016). The inductive and deductive approaches to coding were applied to the data that was read literally, reflectively and interpretatively (Smith, 2013; Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen & Snelgrove, 2016). The inductive approach is an open coding process without a particular framework or structure. In short, there are no pre-conceived ideas pertaining to the coding of data. As a comprehensive form of qualitative data analysis, open coding afforded the researcher to identify key meanings, events and metaphors associated with the use of violence in addressing issues (Burnad, Gail, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick, 2008). Furthermore open coding facilitated understanding of participants' thoughts and feelings about the research problem (Callary et al., 2015; Charlick et al., 2016). For instance, data revealed that student detachment from their violent behaviour seemed to foster the cycle of such behaviour. Data generated from each participant were compared in order to establish patterns and divergences. This was with the use constant comparison (Ngulube, 2015).

- Thematising: thematising involves generating overall recurring meanings derived from the data. In this sense, the study implemented the deductive approach. As data were extensive, the material was reduced to themes. Thematic data analysis is a descriptive data reduction process that helped the researcher to discover the latent and manifest issues relating to the culture of violence and problem-solving (King, 2014; Vaismoradi et al., 2016; Yin, 2011). Content analysis was used in conjunction with key word analysis which identifies the definition of concepts according to the participants. This explored the cultural meanings of associated with the concept under study (Chan, Fung, & Chien, 2013; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2011). The researcher used low inference descriptors, as per the meanings from participants. This was essential for interpretative validity and to help the researcher to remain close to the data (Tavakoli, 2013). For instance, student referred to violence as a norm. Although they denounced its use, thus, its instrumentality was a pull factor.

- Reviewing: involved a process of identifying whether there are gaps in the categories listed and that all the data fits well in the categories. Journaling was done for the purposes of reflection and to detail the activities that were engaged upon during data collection (Struwig & Stead, 2013).

- Defining and naming: This process involved stating what is unique and specific about each category.

- Reporting: presentation of the data but for the purposes of trustworthiness, the transcripts were made available to the participants, so that they could check whether the information captured reflects their views. IPA is sceptical of member checks for the entire research report (Mjøsund et al., 2017) to approve of it. Nonetheless, the researcher opted for such checks to legitimise the results of the study, create a platform for dialogue on the implications and allow for possible revision of the study especially for institutional leadership (Larkin & Thompson, 2012). Additionally, the use of different methods legitimated the study results.

Mixed methods allow data to be integrated during the data collection, analysis or interpretation phase. However, Yin (2006) posits that integration is built in all the stages of the research process, with the goal of producing a genuine mixed methods study. Bazeley (2009) cites that data integration occurs when both the qualitative and the quantitative aspects of the phenomena are brought together to illustrate elements of the study not naturally revealed by each data strand. The rationale for the study and the research design determines whether the data analysis will be embedded, integrated or transformed. Data integration can occur at either the philosophical, data collection, analysis or at the interpretation stage. Moseholm & Fetters (2017) share that data merging analytics can be relational (iterative or separative), directional (unidirectional, bidirectional or simultaneous) and methodological (weight of data type). For the purpose of the study, the data merging analytics are done separately and follow a simultaneous bidirectional framework with data equivalently driven.

In other words, the study used the contiguous approach to integration as the quantitative and qualitative results were separated; the interpretation, however, covered both aspects of the findings (Fetters, Curry, & Creswell, 2013).

The non-transformation of results was based on the research philosophy adopted and the need to maintain the originality of the results (van der Roest, Spaaij, & van Bottenburg, 2013). Moreover, the researcher interest was on identifying the complementary relationship that existed between the data types (Everest, 2014). Scholars have pointed out that the ideological differences make mixing the different data types pose challenges; albeit the weakness, the advantages of the mixed methods approach far outweigh the disadvantages, which the growing knowledge body continue to address (Pluye & Nha Hong, 2014). As the field continues to grow, details pertaining to data integration are extensively presented Guetterman, Fetters, & Creswell (2015) share that joint displays can be used to integrate data.

Ethical Considerations

Ethics are about the professional behaviour of the researcher and emphasise that research participants must be treated honestly and with respect (Gravetter & Forzano, 2012). The research followed a multi-pronged process related to adherence to ethics. Firstly, the proposal and the instruments were presented to the university tribunal, thus facilitating the granting of an ethical clearance certificate (See Appendix A). Additionally, ethical clearance was sought from the universities concerned, through either their Research, Student Affairs/ Vice-Chancellor or Deputy Vice Chancellor's, Registrar' Office, or a combination thereof. As part of the request for accessing the three universities, the researcher submitted the following documents: the research proposal and ethical clearance certificate from the University of Málaga, and data collection instruments with a statement for intent of participation, including study supervisors' endorsements.

All but one institution granted the researcher students' details, as doing the opposite was against their policy. Permission to conduct the study at the UFS was granted to commence in 2016: on March 14 (Research Office) and April 5th (Student Affairs) on May 18 for UWC and May 10 at Wits. Following this, sample specifications including the link to the survey were sent to the Office

of the Registrar and its service desk then distributed the questionnaires to the respective student body, except for the UFS where the questionnaires were sent directly to the selected students. Full disclosure was made about the purpose of the study. All participants were informed of their participation associated rights and including the right to withdraw their participation should they feel uncomfortable (NRC; 2014; Tavakoli, 2013) (See Appendix E-G). Though the survey was done electronically, it included information about the study, a consent form for participation and recruitment for interview participation. Data from the survey were anonymised and no personal details were shared, the same applied for qualitative data. Where personal details were requested, the purpose, thereof, was explained. For example, the participants who volunteered for interviews were requested to share their e-mail or cell phone numbers for the purpose of further contact. The need to follow up with the participants presents dilemmas like having to sign the consent forms (which also raises issues of privacy and anonymity), thus the participants were encouraged to use pseudonyms. Documents with personal data were anonymised and kept in a safe place, in a password protected computer; this applies, also, to the recordings and transcripts (NRC, 2014; Neuman, 2007; Posel & Fiona, 2014). As cited earlier some information was obtained from social networks. These were public rather than personal sites, namely, #FeesMustFall, #national shutdown, and the VCs' Twitter pages. In cases of cold calling, a friendly request and a message detailing the purpose of the contact were sent to the prospective participant. Hence, data extracted was of a public nature. Thus, outmost care taken to respect the privacy of all concerned.

Limitations of the Study

Research, especially in the social sciences, is never a sanitised process as it is carried out in the participant's natural environment. Therefore, it is essential for the researcher to anticipate the challenges that are likely to hamper the research process, with a view to come up with alternate measures. However, unforeseen circumstances can have an impact on the research process (Tracy, 2010). The following limitations arose in relation to conducting the study. Firstly, the plan for the study was to include six universities, namely, NWU, UL, Univen, Wits, UJ and UP. However, these research sites were revised as per the beginning of the #RMF and #FMF student movements in the 2015-2016 academic year. The research sites were then NWU, UL, UCT, UFS, UWC and Wits.

Permission to conduct the study was obtained at the UFS, Wits, and UWC. However, in the case of the UCT the researcher believed it was injudicious to pursue it further, since the last communication had been received in September 2016 from this institution. Empirically, the study left out two of the most under-researched institutions continuously faced with a spate of violence during student protests. For the UL, interest was largely during the apartheid years. For example, as Ray (2016) highlighted protests at the NWU have received little public attention as the media did not make their issues headlines.

Challenges associated with the process of applying for ethical clearance from the universities prompted the use of the convergent data collection. While permission to conduct the study was given in May 2016, the timing was less than ideal as this was the time when universities went on the Easter break. Soon thereafter students prepared for and wrote their midyear examinations which was followed by the June to mid -July winter break. Thus, the interviews were done after the winter break, before departing for Spain, with the last conducted on July 28, 2016. Secondly, the dynamics of being an international student also affected the fieldwork. The researcher's stay in South Africa was extended, however further extension was impossible because of the need to renew the Spanish identity card by September 2016. Subsequent interviews were done either telephonically or via e-mail. Thirdly, FDGs had to be abandoned because the participants cancelled the meeting twice. In the interest of time and progress, face-to-face interviews were selected, all of which were done at the convenience of the participants.

Fourthly, apart from the challenges about the application for ethical clearance, the beginning of the 2016 academic year registration programme had to be postponed at Wits and UWC because the #FMF protests continued. The protests did affect the work of the researcher. For instance, at the UNW the research office was burnt. Consequently, this may have made granting permission a challenge. Where there was permission to conduct the study, the researcher had to revise the length of the questionnaire as per the prescriptions of the institutions, which was possibly related to reducing their data costs. The instrument was reduced from 104 to 14 questions. The reduction of the questionnaire length was enough motivation to conduct one-on-one interviews instead of focus group interviews - the latter although offering a shared perspective into an issue, might silence some voices. Fifthly, although effort was made to make the study sample representative in terms of race and gender, the majority of the participants were female and Black.

These demographics while a reflection of the university populations might have perhaps skewed the results.

Sixthly, the sensitivity of the topic resulted in the cancellation of numerous interviews, especially with student leaders. Lastly, the above conditions had a bearing on the size of the sample as it was anticipated that at least 345 students would complete it (Survey Monkey, n.d). The challenges stemming from this may be that the results cannot be generalised to other institutions, especially when considering their peculiarities. Albeit this limitation, the total response rate for the study is acceptable. The research used novel approaches, both the MMR and the IPA. Accordingly, there is debate about their veracity, regarding different sample sizes that each strand requires. Another confusion was with bracketing, which seems fluid in its application (Callary et al., 2015; Finlay, 2012; Pluye & Nha Hong, 2014). In these instances, the researcher chose the middle ground as an acknowledgement to her experiences about the topic and their potential effect on the study. Albeit, the need to elevate the voices of participants including the various doctoral research projects that have applied IPA to studying violence were important guides.

Researcher's Background and Role

Qualitative data collection research, albeit rich in nature, requires that the researcher is conscious of herself, including her values. The researcher's interest in the topic stemmed from the realisation that over the years some protests at universities have concluded violently with damage to property and police presence. As a lecturer at an HBU, attempts were made to understand factors driving the students to resort to such actions, especially within the democratic context where students are given a voice through formal direct representation. This includes opportunities to directly engage with the university authorities. Thus, there seemed to be a contradiction between the policies advocated by HE as promoting and seeking to instil democratic values and that of social justice. Additionally, other personal characteristics of the researcher such as age, level of education, socio-economic status and gender, race and academic discipline, as a social worker, had a bearing on the study.

For example, in terms of the power dynamics some of the participants referred to the researcher as "*Ausi*" *Keamo*, 'Sister Keamo' in reference to her being older; to neutralise the power imbalance the researcher also referred to the participants likewise.

Other dynamics that have had an impact on the fieldwork is the researcher's experience of working with sexually-abused and marginalised children and youth. Thus, she is keenly aware of how violence impairs one's wellbeing. In all interviews with the students she suggested that they go for counselling or speak with a trusted person. Care was taken not to be forceful about this aspect, allowing the participants to decide whether or not to take the suggestion. Thus, having been in an HEI for more than a decade, the researcher brings with her "baggage" and theories associated with youth development, which frames the youth from a competence-based approach. While the fieldwork was an enriching experience, it brought about painful issues that Black students at universities dealt with on a daily basis. She was oblivious to most of these issues before undertaking the study. She offers the recommendations of the study in the hope that these will help resolve some of the challenges are discussed in chapter 5 and 6.

Conclusion

The chapter gave an exposition of work carried out by the researcher to answer the research question. The sections that were covered in the discussion of this chapter were the methodology; this section discussed the philosophical underpinnings of the study. Considering that the study defined violence as context-based and an individual experience, it applied symbolic interactionism as its overall theoretical framework. This framework afforded the application of the SIT and GEM a derivative of the procedural justice. These micro perspective theories were used for the study. The salience of SIT and procedural justice was their centring of the individual in the process of defining issues of concern. Key concepts from the two theories were operationalised to construct the research instruments. The research designs used for the study, were of an MMR nature, and were descriptive - the interpretative phenomenological and the convergent design. Initially, the study was meant to be conducted at six universities, but the #FMF redefined the universities that could be included in the sample. Though strategic, given that the proposed sample would have covered five provinces, three universities located in three provinces agreed to partake in the study. Despite this setback, the study retained the multi-level relationship to choose three geographically and historically-distinct universities as part of the sample.

The non-proportional stratified sampling procedure was selected for the quantitative approach and purposive based approaches namely: self-selection, snowball and purposive sampling procedures were employed. However, the pilot study that was conducted pointed out to potential issues that could arise when conducting the study. Some of the challenges encountered were the interaction with gatekeepers and the timing of the data collection process. As a result, the survey yielded a lower number of responses than expected. This was particular for the UWC because the sample was not racially- representative of the university population, which is Coloured rather than Black dominated. Qualitative samples at other universities were more representative, especially on the part of the key informants. Other than primary sources of data, social networks proved useful in supplementing secondary data.

Methodologically, there were the challenges with the operationalisation of some IPA and mixed methods research concepts, such as sample size and bracketing. Empirically, the survey sample size affected the data analysis techniques used. For example, non-parametric techniques were opted for instead of the inverse. Challenges relating to the analysis of qualitative data included transcription and open coding fatigue for the researcher. Thus, the researcher outsourced the transcription duties. To ensure that data was legitimate, the researcher reflected on her thoughts, feelings and attitudes before, during and after field-work. Despite the challenges encountered when conducting the study, data gathered was sufficient to apply novel research designs and methodologies, which are discussed in the subsequent chapters. The preceding one covered quantitative and then qualitative analysis.

Chapter 5: Quantitative Data Analysis and Findings

This chapter explains the process of data analysis and the findings on the use of violence as a mechanism for solving problems with authority at universities in South Africa. To effectively apply the regression analysis models the Likert scale, questions in question 10, the number of responses were reduced from five to three. The first part of the analysis shows the common protest tactics at the three universities. Thereafter, principal and exploratory factor analysis techniques are used to determine and to cluster related questions into four factors, which the scree plot identified. Subsequently, the rotated component matrix, a principal factor analysis technique is applied to establish correlation between the variables and the components. Reliability scores of each factor loading are presented in a table. The factor loadings, which range from two to five are then subjected to the chi square test and multinomial regression analysis to establish the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variables. Graphs and tables are used to present descriptive and inferential data. Data on this section is linked with aspects of the literature section in Chapter 2 and 3 and the main issues that are observed form part of chapter 7, which is the discussion section.

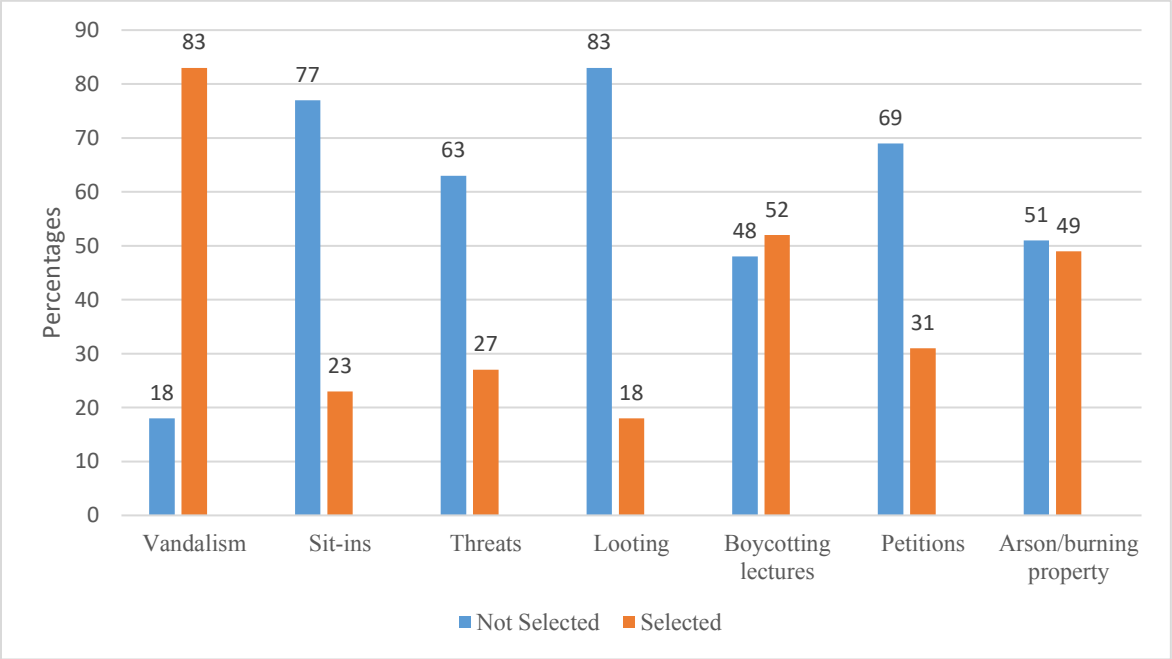


Figure 5.1: Nature of protests at university

In the student's perceptions, vandalism (83%), arson/burning of property (49%) and boycotting lectures (52%) were key protest tactics at their campuses. The least popular strategies are sit-ins (23%) and looting (18%). When the #FMF intensified, campuses suffered property damage, broken windows, strewn litter, graffiti and burnt litterbins. The high uptake of vandalism may be that it is easier to execute, carries less risks and may serve a warning to the authorities of significant impending anarchy. Of the three tactics boycotting lectures has the least physical consequences for protestors and is less likely to attract harsh measures from the authorities. Whereas, vandalism was among popular tactics, it seems that students may have opted for arson because arson potentially creates fear and uncertainty, more than vandalism. These indirect but violent tactics aim to pressurise the university authorities to accede to protest demands as they destabilise the campus. The figure reflects that students were more likely to use violent tactics than non-violent ones.

Exploratory Factor Analysis

The study applied exploratory factor analysis, which is a statistical technique to reduce data to a smaller set of summary variables and it uses correlations (Flora & Flake, 2017). Additionally, the technique explores underlining theoretical structure of the phenomena. Exploratory factor analysis was applied to the responses for question 10 in the questionnaire. Question 10 consisted of 14 ratio-scale questions which covered the following aspects: to assess satisfaction with overall university conditions, normality of violence, dynamics of violence and treatment levels and self-efficacy (See Appendix D). To ensure that the Likert scale works well with the chi-square tests of independence, the initial scale was reduced from a five point to a three-point Likert scale. The condensed categories then became 'disagree', 'uncertain' and 'agree'. Thereafter, the first step was to determine the number of factors to extract using a scree plot.

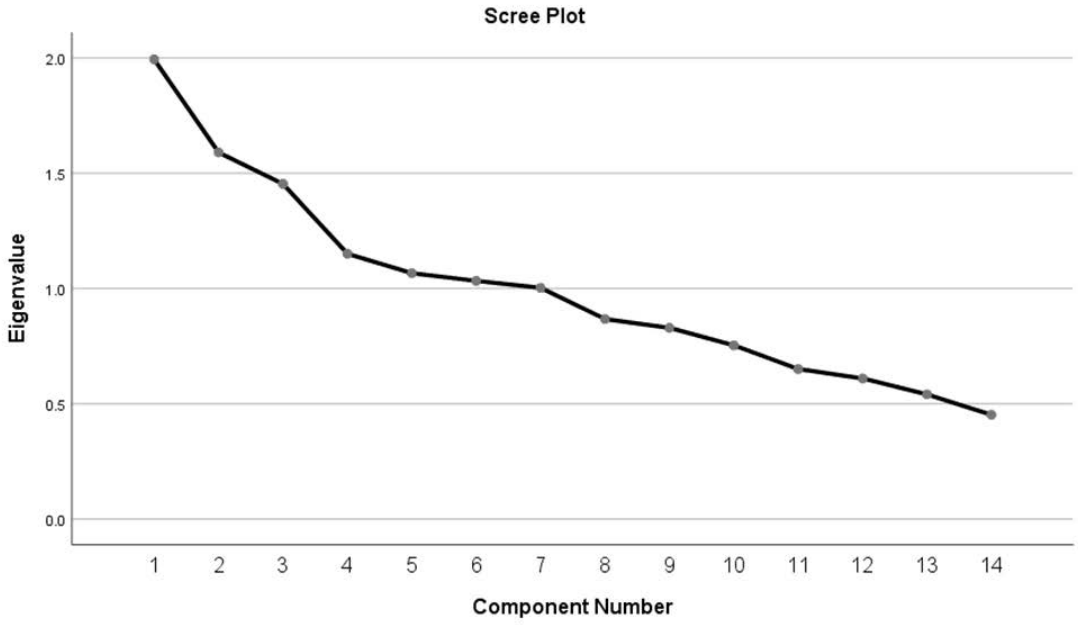


Figure 5.2: Scree plot

The number of components is the point at which the graph makes a sharp turn making an "elbow". Close inspection of the graph shows that the first elbow is at component number 4 and another at component number 7. The former was not considered in the analysis because there are only 14 variables to be measured. Below are the results of the four extracted components:

Table 5.1: KMO & Bartlett Test 1

Kaiser—Meyer Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy		.539
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi Square	.172.731
	Df	.91
	Sig	.000

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy is 0.539. The value is above the cut-off point of 0.5 and indicates that the sample size considered is adequate. By contrast, the Bartlett's test of sphericity is significant and indicates that at least two variables considered in this study are highly correlated (Taherdoost, Sahibuddin & Jalaliyon, 2014). The four factors extracted account for about 44% of the variability in the data. The table below shows how the variables load onto the factors which were 'positive attitudes towards university', 'normality of violence', 'dynamics of violence and treatment levels', and 'self-efficacy'.

Table 5.2: Rotated component matrix

Rotated Component Matrix[a]				
	Component			
	Satisfaction with overall university conditions	**Normality of violence**	**Dynamics of violence**	**Treatment levels and self-efficacy**
It is justifiable for students to destroy property to show their anger.		.619		
Given a second chance I will choose this institution again.	.447			
Resorting to violence signals the failure of the university system to instil qualities of responsible citizenry in the students.			.690	
The SRC always acts in the best interests of the students.				.742
I am satisfied with the fees that are charged at my institution.	.422			
The use of violence is normal in the protests of university students.		.440		
The university management strives to promote positive relations with students.	.707			
A peaceful protest is a sign of weakness		.712		

With the use of violence, students' issues are dealt with quickly.			.506	
The university management is rarely sympathetic to the issues of students.	-.518			
Closing the university to prevent further damage to property is the most practical solution.			.685	
Both the police officers and students are equally responsible for the violence during protests.				.470
I am satisfied with the standard of services offered at my university.	.621			
Participation in a protest is always an individual student's choice.				.444
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.				
a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.				

The naming of factors is often described as an art and an intuitive process (Yong & Pearce, 2013). This is because finding a suitable descriptive concept that best clusters the factors loadings is not a straight-forward process. Four factors were identified and named as noted above: positive attitudes towards university, normality of violence, dynamics of violence and treatment levels and self-efficacy. The naming of the fourth factor was not as straightforward as the other three, which confirmed Yong & Pearce's assertion on this issue. On the first factor about positive attitudes towards the university, the questions cover elements that determine the nature of relationships. Reicher (2004), shares that when individuals and groups feel that they belong to a society, they then have a positive social identity. Noteworthy, is that anti-social groups do also endow a positive social identity to their members (Littman & Levy Paluck, 2015). Therefore, this factor relates to social identity, which comprises of these variables; belonging, responsiveness, administrative indifference and pride (Reicher & Haslam, 2013).

Factor two was named normality of violence, expressed as indignation, aggression, in-group bias and resource competition (Jasper, 2014, 2016; Leonard, 2010). The variables tally with stereotyping, which is attained through intergroup comparison (Radburn & Stott, 2018). Hence, students perceived their social identity as unfavourable based on the non-response and the reaction of the university authorities and other stakeholders to their long-standing grievances (Masehela, 2018). The last two factors, the dynamics of violence, the treatment levels and self-efficacy indicate the level of perceived injustices and the lack of trust in the authorities. On the dynamics of violence; lack of voice, non-responsiveness and sanctions are the components of this factor. And when the authorities disregard these values, then protests are likely to occur. The treatment that students gain from those in their social environment can prevent or lead them to use violence. The indicators of factor 4 are interest, responsiveness, neutrality, respect and self- efficacy. These four factors embody the characteristics of the SIT and procedural justice.

The identification of factors required that the reliability of the instrument be checked for internal consistency. Rossoni, Engelbert, & Bellegard (2015) share that the Cronbach alpha coefficient is a measure of internal consistency of a factor based on obtaining the average correlation of the extracted factor. Ideally the value of Cronbach's alpha should exceed 0.7. In this case the value is 0.088, way below 0.7. The next step was to check if the reliability of this factor, as measured by Cronbach's alpha, could be increased by removing some of the variables. Reliability statistics did not improve despite removing some variables. For instance, the second factor, the value of Cronbach's alpha, is 0.423 and the results show that removing any of the variables loading on that factor would actually reduce the reliability of the factor. Similarly, for the third and fourth factors, the reliability coefficients were 0.390 and 0.376 and it was not possible to increase this value by removing any one of the variables. Reasons accounting for the low reliability score were the homogeneous sample and the low number of questions, which were decreased from 109 to 14 to increase questionnaire completion (Gie Yong & Pearce, 2013). Despite the low reliability scores, the identified variables measured in question 10 were grouped according to the extracted factors. Such circumstances require that the researcher be transparent in their analysis. This is because attaining standardised measures may be challenging. Barchard (2010) and Lakens et al.,(2018) share assert that exploratory factor analysis is appropriate when internal consistency shows neither reliability and nor uni-dimensionality.

The first part of the data analysis process descriptively analyses the four identified factors. Bar graphs are used to chart the frequencies with which factor loadings occur per factor under discussion.

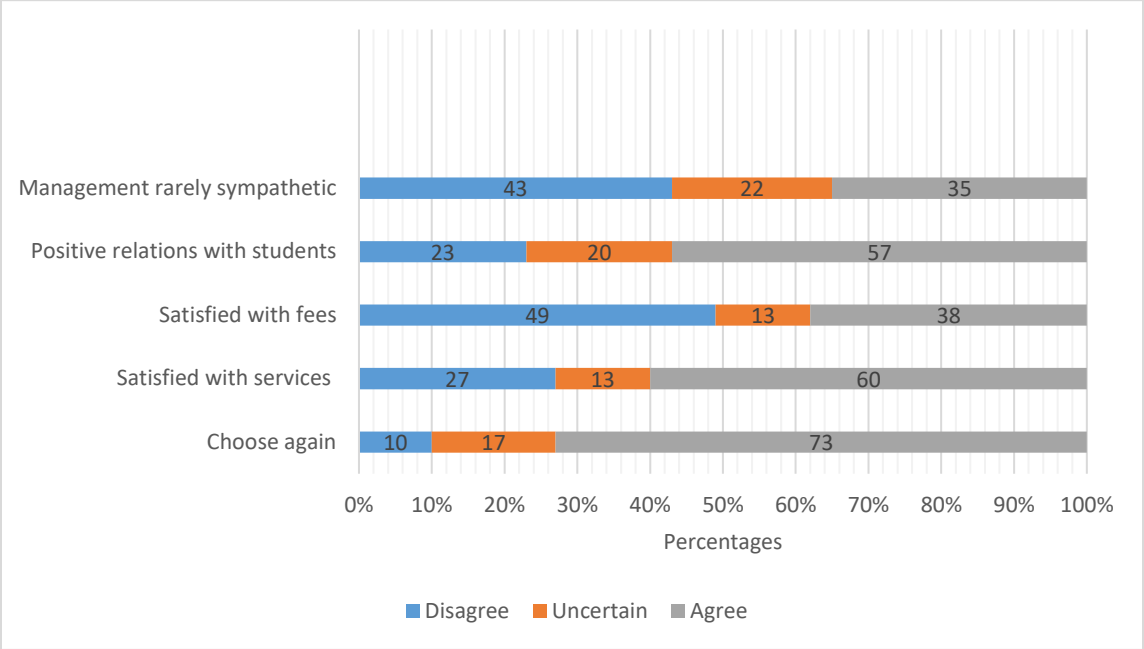


Figure 5.3: Satisfaction with overall university conditions

Figure 5.3. is a descriptive analysis of factor 1, labelled satisfaction with overall university conditions. This component was named as such because from the above figure it appears that the majority of the students are fairly happy with their institutions. Seventy-three percent specified that they would choose their institution again if given a second chance. Sixty percent indicated that they were content with the fees charged at their institutions and 57% were of the opinion that management at their institutions attempted to create positive relations with students. There were, however, mixed feelings about satisfaction with fees and whether the management is sympathetic to student issues. Only 38% of the students indicated that they were satisfied with the fees charged at their institutions and 49% were not. A similar pattern of results emerged for the question on whether management was rarely sympathetic to student problems. It is plausible for students to assume that the management is unsympathetic as they make strategic decisions about the financial

state of universities and the necessary measures to ensure its efficiency. Students' beliefs that the management is hardly sympathetic to their issues may prompt a level of scepticism about the motives behind management's decisions. There exists a possibility that students project these negative and conflictual feelings when entering into negotiations with the university management, increasing the likelihood of violence when there is no common ground.

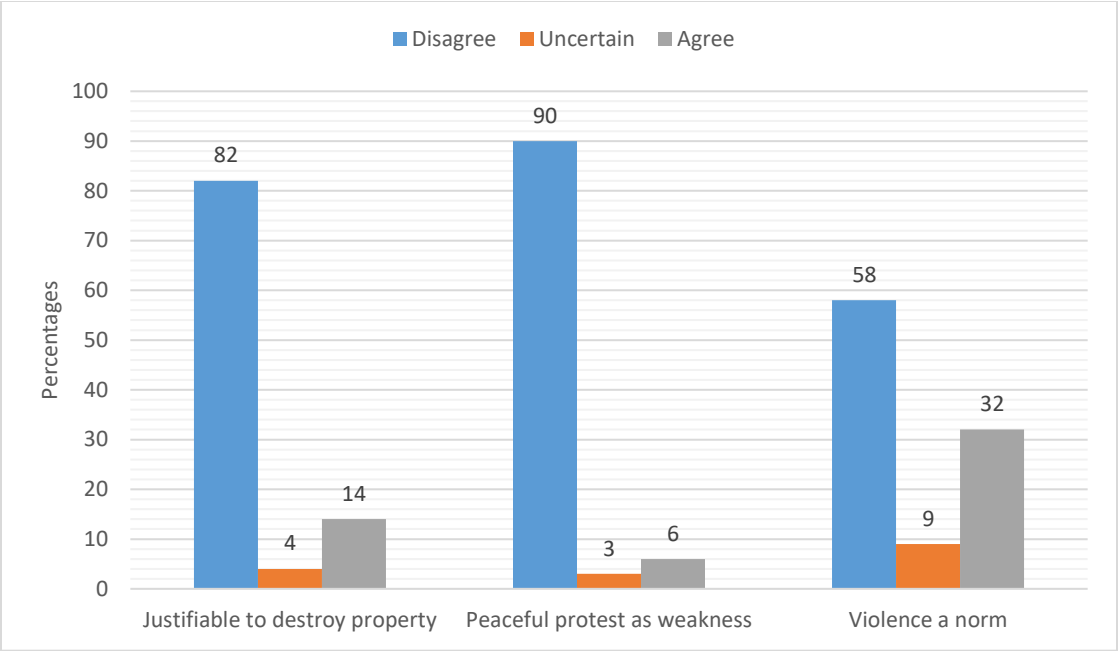


Figure 5.4: Normality of violence

Figure 5.4. covers elements that normalise the use of violence during student protests. Bohler-Muller, Roberts, Struwig, Gordon, Radebe & Alexander (2017) share that attitudes of the Black population have become more approving of violent rather than peaceful protest. In this regard, students' actions are reflective of what occurs in their communities (Lodge & Mottiar, 2013; Fomunyam, 2017). The questions asked were whether or not (i) peaceful protests were a sign of weakness; (ii) if there is justification to destroy property when angry; (iii) and if violence was a norm in student protests? Majority of the respondents (82%) do not believe that it is justifiable for students to destroy property to show their anger and disagree with the statement that "a peaceful strike is a sign of weakness" (90%). Overall, students seem to be against violence; however, a few agreed with the statements above indicating that there were conditions where using

violence was acceptable during student protests. One may assume that this group of students have internalised violence as a common feature of student protests based on the response of the authorities. The attitudes of students are related to the propensity of community protests to turn violent. The justification, thereof, being that the authorities tend to respond violence (Booysens, 2016; Langa, 2011).

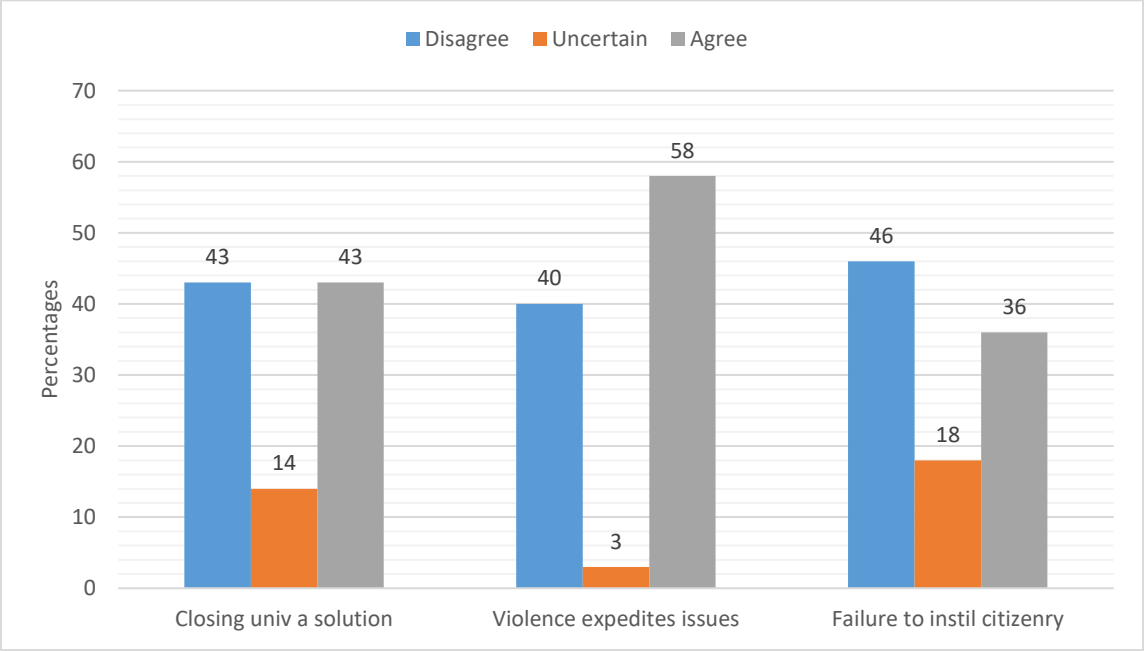


Figure 5.5: Dynamics of violence

Data projected in Figure 5.5. reveals the contributing factors of violence at the universities. Six in ten respondents believe that violence quickly solves students' issues. This response emphasises the instrumentality of violence and may be consistent with students' likely observations in their or other communities during service delivery protests. The figure also reflects responses in Figure 5.4 whereby the same proportion of 6 in 10 students considered violence as normal in student protest. Students expressed ambivalence about the practicality of closing the university to prevent further damage and whether resorting to violence signals failure of the university system to instil qualities of responsible citizenry in the students. Their reasoning may be linked with their realization that instilling values combines the efforts of several social systems rather than one.

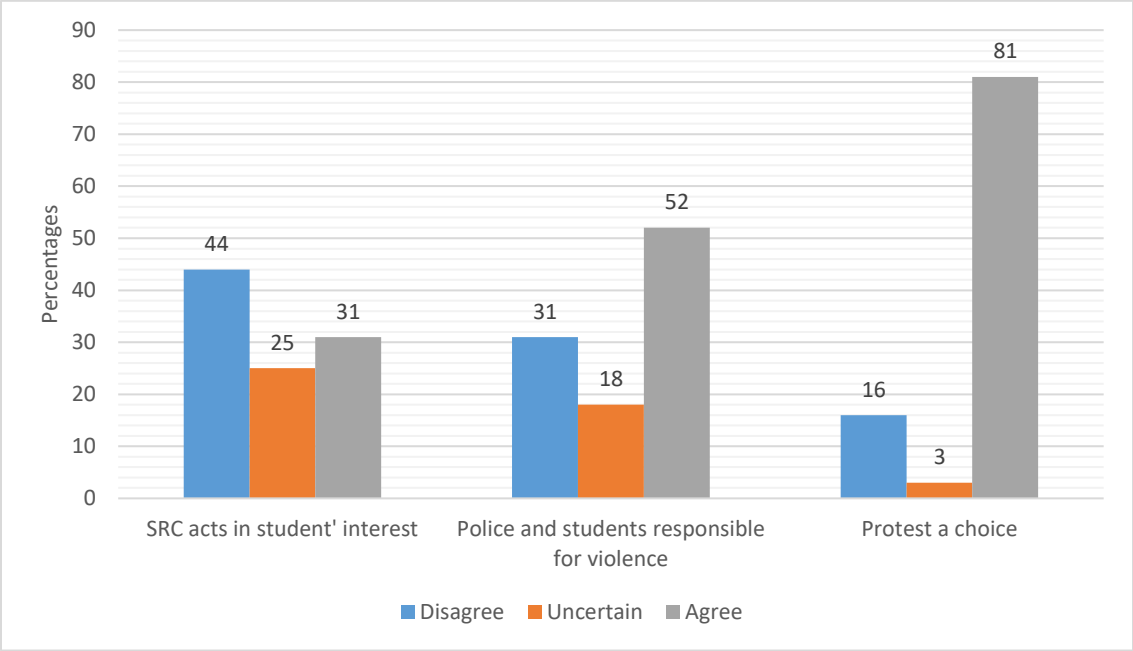


Figure 5.6: Treatment levels at university and self-efficacy

The fourth group of variables deals with treatment levels and self-efficacy. As Figure 5.6. shows just below half of the sample does not believe that the SRC always acts in their best interest. About three in 10 believe SRC does act in their best interests. Waning sentiments about the SRC indicate students' dissatisfaction and the lack of trust between students and formalised structures. An SRC that does not prioritise students' needs is unlikely to be seen as efficacious as it does not fulfil its purpose. A number of 31% of students noted that both students and police officers need to take responsibility for violence during protests. The reason for this may be that students do not often initiate the violence and that such violence may be a reaction to the way that the management handles students' issues. Of importance was that students determined whether or not to protest, though about 20% stated that they were somewhat coerced to partake in the protests. This information may be depicting that violence was, at times, used as a mode for mobilisation.

Association between the responses with other variables

The chi-square test investigated the association between responses of the students and demographic variables. The test is used to discover if there is a relationship between two categorical variables. The null hypothesis is that there is no association between the variables.

The alternative is that there is an association between the two variables (van den Berg, 2018). To test the two hypotheses, the observations are cross-classified according to the categories of the two variables; this is forming a contingency table with r-rows and c-columns. Here r and c are the respective numbers of categories for each of the two variables. The test statistic used to make a choice between the two hypotheses is a scaled sum of the squared deviations between the observed and expected (assuming there is no association) frequencies in each of the cells of the contingency table:

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum (O-E)^2}{E}$$

The summation is over all the cells of the contingency table.

If there is an association between the two variables, the deviations between the observed and expected frequencies will be large. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected when the values of the test statistic exceed a certain value which is obtained from chi-square tables. The null hypothesis is rejected if the p-value is less than the level of significance (usually 5%). For results to be valid, the chi-square procedure requires that at least 20% of cells in the contingency table should have expected frequencies greater than five. It is, however, known that when the expected frequencies are at least one in size, the chi-square test performs fairly well. Below, is a report on the percentage of expected frequencies that are less than five, including an indication of the size of the smallest expected frequencies.

The chi- square test measured the effect of one explanatory variable at a time, therefore the study also employed the Multinomial Logit Regression model to identify the most important variables. The model is applicable to response of a nominal scale with more than two outcomes. The multinomial logit regression model pairs each response category with a baseline or reference category. The model expresses the nature of the probability Π_i falling into a given category to the probability of Π_β of falling in the baseline category as a function of the explanatory variables through the equation:

$$Log\alpha\left(\frac{\pi i}{\pi\beta}\right) = \alpha i + \beta i1X1 + \beta i2x2 + \cdots . \beta kxkx$$

The size of the sample (154) affected convergence of parameters estimates when running a regression model with all the explanatory variables. In such circumstances, a forward selection algorithm was used to select variables to include in the model. The forward selection algorithm begins with a model containing only the constant (α_1) and tries to add one variable at a time, provided that the incoming variable will make a significant impact in the presence of the variables already in the model.

The information below reports on the results of the chi square tests along with the results of the multinomial logit regression model and further interprets the results of the chi square tests to identify the category of the explanatory variables which are significantly different. The same conclusions can also be made from the fact that the p value (0.05) in this case is significant.

Table 5.3: Satisfaction with fees that are charged at my institution

Variable	Chi square statistic	D.F	P value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum Expected frequency
Level	0.1	2	.929	33.3	3.43
Race	18.7	2	.000	0	7.46
Institution	6.8	4	.147	11.1	4.55
Faculty	4.0	4	.422	11.1	3.79
Gender	7.8	2	.020	0	6.75
Age	1.4	4	.850	4404	1.04
Sponsor	1.7	4	.0145	0	6.00

Table 5.3.1. Satisfaction with fees

I am satisfied with fees that are charged at my institution	Sig	Exp(B)	Lower Bound	Upper Bound 95% CI for Exp(B)
Intercept	.062			
[Black]	.002	3.921	1.662	9.249
[Coloured/White/Indian]	0			
Intercept	.001			
[Black]	.538	.578	.101	3.313
[Coloured/White/Indian]	0			

*The reference category is: Agree

The premise of Table 5.3. is to illustrate students' satisfaction with the fees that are charged at their institution. When subjected to multinomial regression analysis, data on the Table 5.3.1 reveals that the odds for Black students to disagree rather than agree that they are satisfied with the fees charged at their institutions are almost three times higher (292%) when compared to Coloured/ Indian and White students. These results rehash studies in South Africa, the continent and across the globe about unaffordable fees (Calitz & Fourie, 2016; Keen, 2012). As a disadvantaged group, Black student are mostly affected by these high fees. Moreover, Black students were less likely to be uncertain (43%) about their satisfaction about fees compared to White students. Albeit, the differences in perceptions about the fees charged, the reliability of the chi- square tests ought to be treated with caution as more than 20% of the cells have expected frequencies that are less than 5.

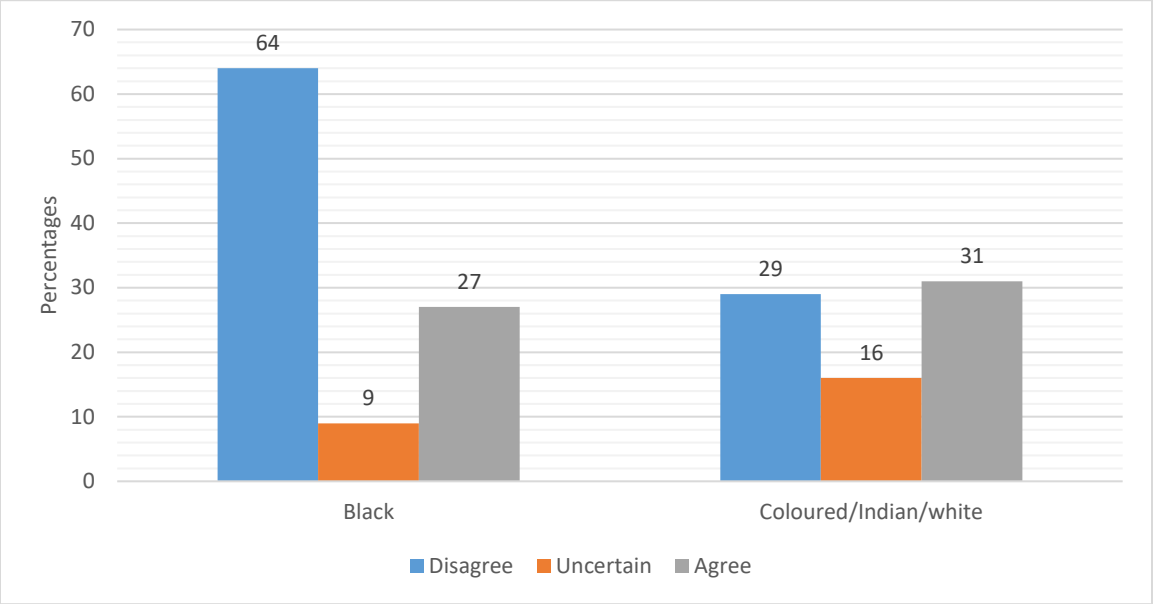


Figure 5.7: Race and satisfaction with the fees that are charged at my institution

Data on Figure 5.7 indicate that students were largely dissatisfied with fees that they paid at their institution. Only a marginal number were satisfied. There are more Black students (64%) and fewer Coloured/ Indian/ White students (29%) who are dissatisfied with the fees charged at their institution than would be expected if the two variables were independent. Conversely, there are more (56%) Coloured/ Indian/ White students and less Black students (27%) who are satisfied with the fees that their institutions charged than what would obtain if the level of satisfaction was independent of race. This result agrees with the ones Table 5.3.1 where the odds of a Black student disagreeing (as opposed to agreeing) are between 2 and 9 over those of a student from other races. The chi-square result for race is also valid because none of the expected frequencies are less than 5. Race and social class seem to account for the differences in opinion among students where Black students are more likely to face financial difficulties. These results confirm data in Figure 5.3 where (49%) of students were not satisfied with fees charged at their institutions. Notwithstanding fees, students stated that they were satisfied with their choice of university. This point illustrates that fees are a point of contention for majority of Black students.

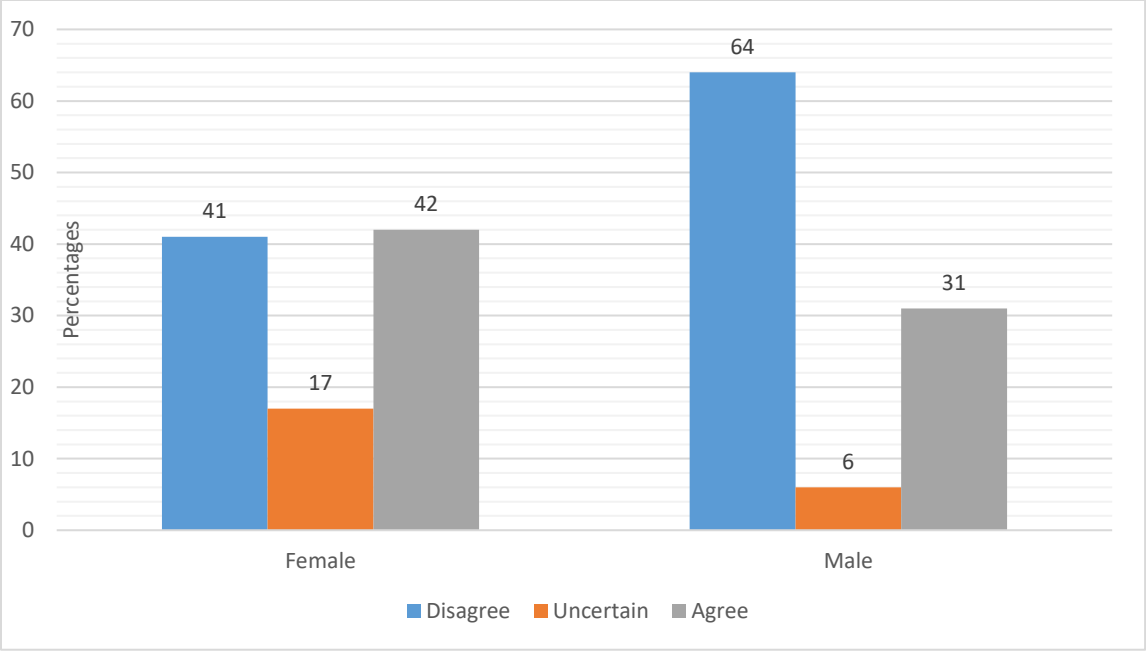


Figure 5.8: Gender and the satisfaction with the fees that are charged at institution

Data on Figure 5.8 stipulates that male students were less satisfied (31%) with fees than female students (42%). When comparing the female group, there seem to be a level of uncertainty about fees because the group that was satisfied with fees was almost equal to the group that disagreed at 41%.

Table 5.4: Chi square & university management strives to promote positive relations with students' relations

Variable	Chi square statistic	D.F	P value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum Expected frequency
Level	4.0	2	.0134	0	7.29
Race	34.6	2	.000	0	12.85
Institution	4.3	4	.361	0	7.05
Faculty	10.0	4	.041	0	5.88
Gender	3.1	2	.211	0	10.47
Age	16.7	4	.002	33.3	1.61
Sponsor	2.5	2	.276	0	9.47

Table 5.4.1: Regression analysis on university management strives to promote positive relations with students

The university management strives to promote positive relations with students	Sig	Exp(B)	Lower Bound	Upper Bound 95% CI for Exp(B)
Intercept	.000			
[Black]	.000	20.10	4.348	92.997
[Coloured/White/Indian]	0			
Intercept	.000			
[Black]	.089	2.681	.859	8.367
[Coloured/White/Indian]	0			

The reference category is: Agree

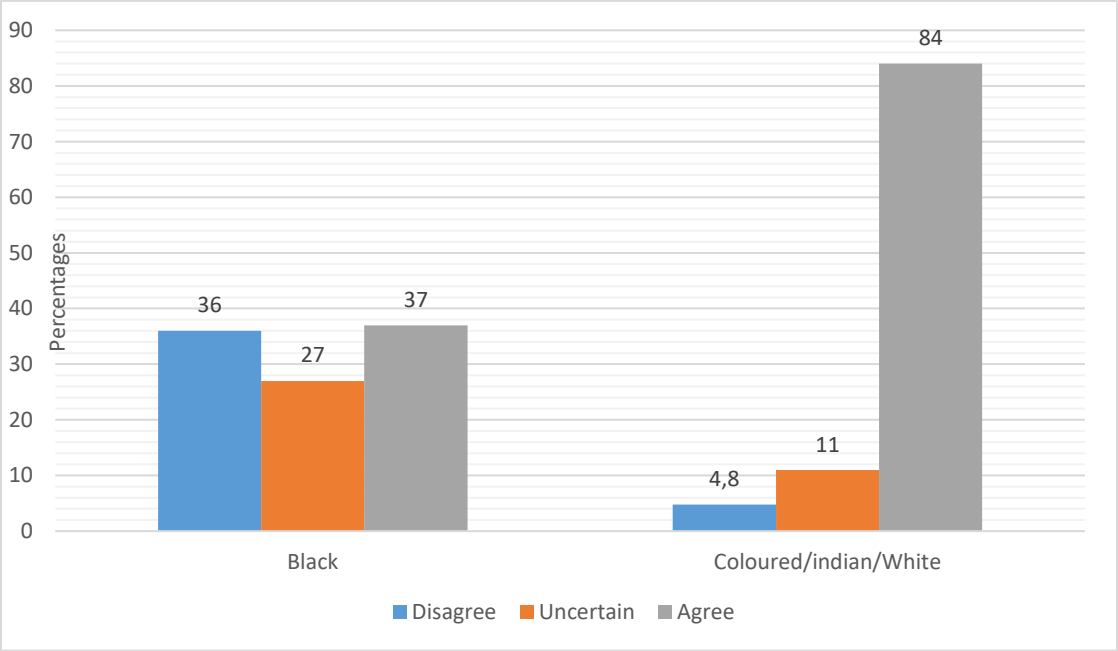


Figure 5.9: Race and management efforts to promote positive relations with students

Figure 5.9 shows that Coloured/Indian/White students largely agree (84%) that the university management strives to promote positive relations with students. This information contradicts that in Table 5.4, which shows that with probability .95, the odds of a Black student disagreeing (as opposed to agreeing) are between 4 and 93 times over those of a student of another race disagreeing. The discrepant perceptions may be related to historical reasons, where institutions were instruments that perpetuated racial exclusion and subjugation. Prior 1994, none of the three case institutions was explicitly for Black students. Rather the UFS was a historically White, Afrikaans university, Wits was an English tuition HWU and UWC was originally established for the Coloured population group, only. Therefore, it is understandable for the other race groups to have harmonious relations with the university authorities. It is likely that Black students may also shun efforts of the management, perceiving such efforts to be with suspicion. Considering that Table 5.3.1 illustrated that this group was most dissatisfied with tuition fees charged at their institution – this was led by dissatisfaction with fees from male students, as illustrated in Figure 5.8. One may conclude this to be one of the reasons for these students to perceive their relations with the university management as negative.

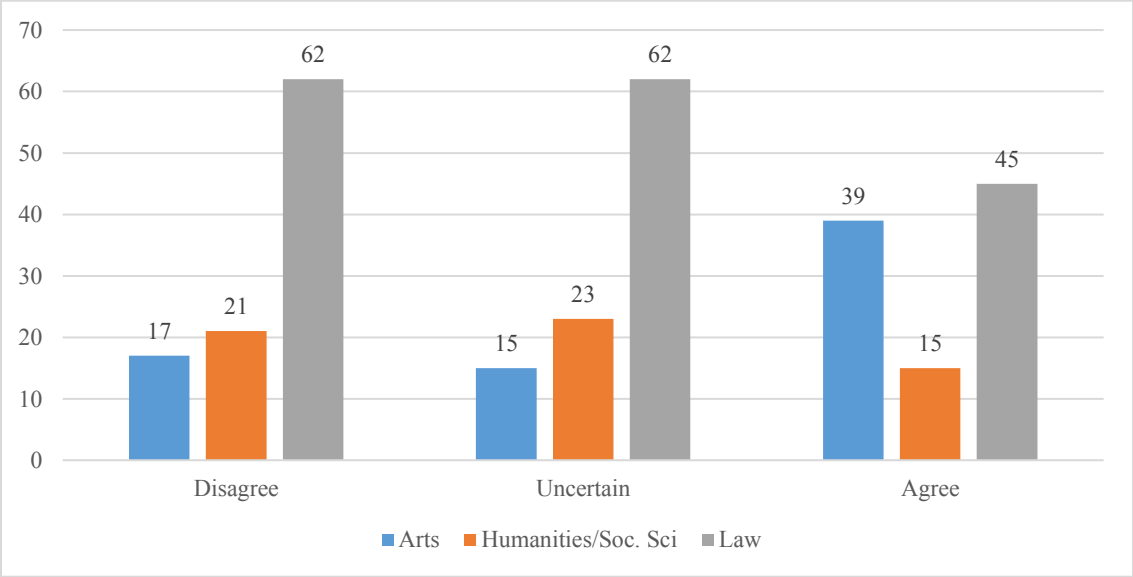


Figure 5.10: Faculty and management efforts to promote positive relations with students

Figure 5.10 illustrates that a larger proportion of students (39%) who are registered in Law were dissatisfied with their relations with the university management than students in the Faculties of Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities. The assumption is that students in this faculty are likely to be in SRC leadership positions and interact regularly with the university management. Some of these engagements do reach stalemates: there exist a possibility that students may see the authorities as hostile. Of the three faculties, the law profession prepares students to present and argue contentious scenarios (Nakayiwa & Kaganzi, 2015); however, students' skills seem inadequate to the resolution of issues. Subsequently, dissatisfaction with management may be grounds for conflict.

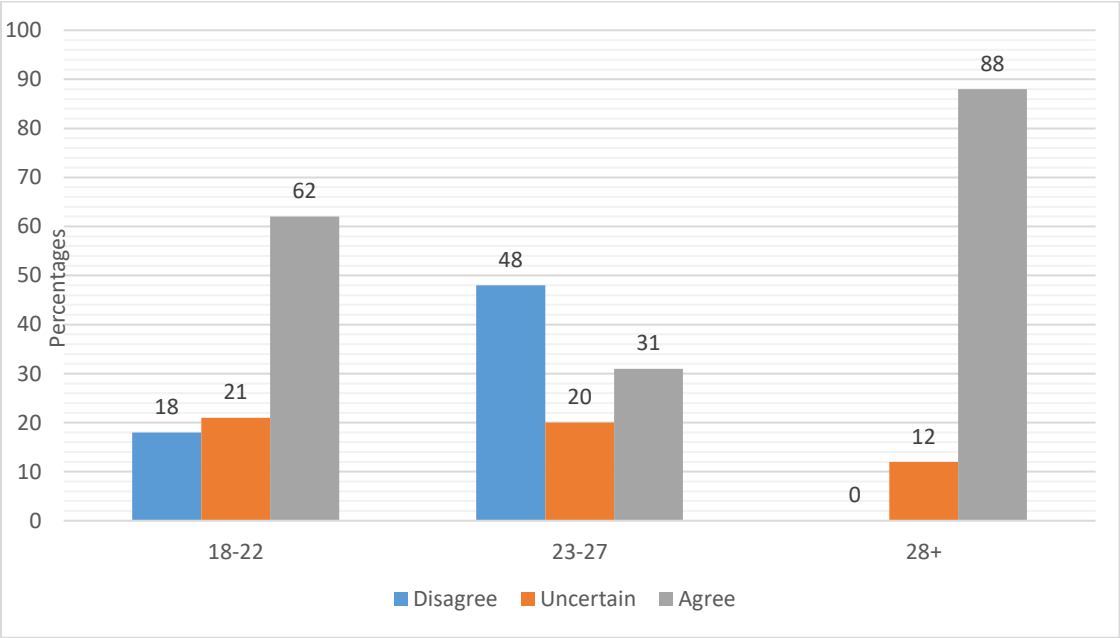


Figure 5.11: Age and the management efforts to promote positive relations with students.

Data on Figure 5.11 exposes that students at the three institutions, particularly the youngest and oldest groups, shared that the university management was making efforts to promote positive relations with students. Compared to the other age groups there is more disagreement and less agreement in the 23 - 27 age group (48% and 31%). It is assumed that students in this age category may be in student leadership positions and are aware of the challenges experienced in their interactions with the university management and any unfulfilled undertakings.

Table 5.5: Chi square and satisfaction with the standard of services offered at my university

Variable	Chi square statistic	D.F	P value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum Expected frequency
Level	5.1	2	.077	0	6.43
Race	2.5	2	.288	0	8.29
Institution	18.0	4	.001	11.1	4.55
Faculty	15.1	4	.004	11.1	5.88
Gender	.406	2	.816	0	6.75
Age	13.4	4	.009	44.4	1.04
Sponsor	.93	2	.628	0	6.32

Table 5.5.1: Regression analysis on satisfaction with the standard of services offered at my university service

I am satisfied with the standard of services offered at my university.	Sig	Exp(B)	Lower Bound	Upper Bound 95% CI for Exp(B)
Intercept	.565			
[Arts]	.875	1.110	.336	3.600
[Humanities/Social Sciences]	.001	.160	.53	.489
[Law]	.32			
Intercept	.000			
[Arts]	.439	2.00	.350	11.439
Humanities/Social Sciences]	.906	.914	.208	4.017
[Law]	0			

The reference category is: Agree

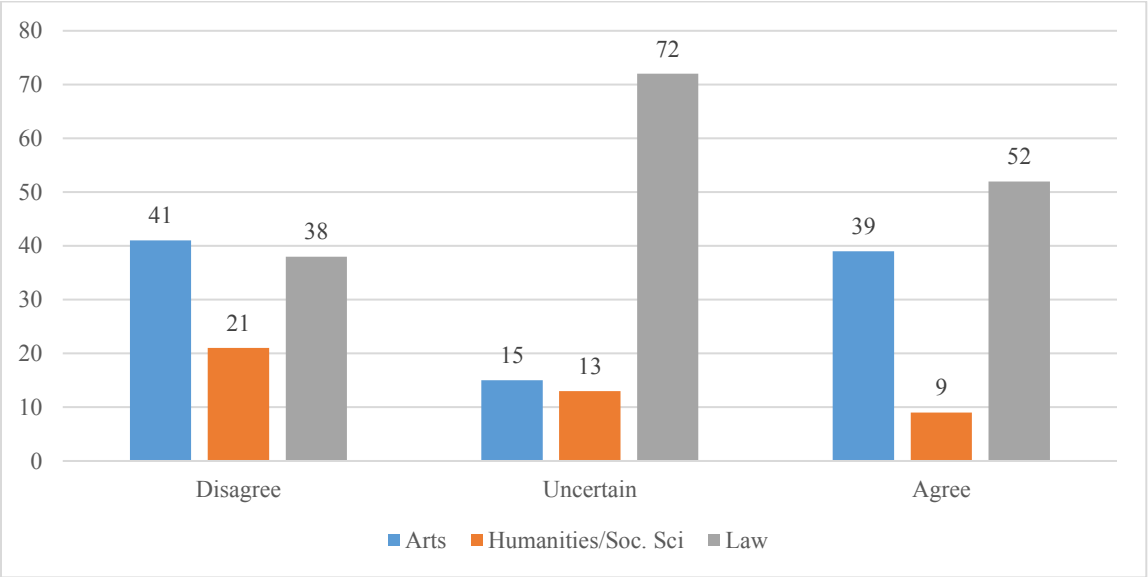


Figure 5.12: Faculty and service satisfaction at my university

While students from the Faculty of Humanities/Social Sciences (72%) are largely satisfied with the standard of services offered at their university, students from the other two faculties seem to have an even balance between "agree" and "disagree". Table 5.5.1 shows that when considering the true population effects, the odds of a student from the Humanities/Social Sciences disagreeing (as opposed to agreeing) are between 0.053 and 0.489 times those of a student from the Law Faculty doing the same. One may attribute the high level of disagreement for students in the Humanities / Social Sciences to the likelihood that these programmes tend to be over- subscribed leading to acute material shortages and needs.

Table 5.6: Chi square and university management is rarely sympathetic to the issues of students

Variable	Chi square statistic	D.F	P value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum e Expected frequency
Level	4.8	2	.091	0	8.4
Race	13.8	2	.001	0	14.09
Institution	7.2	4	.125	0	7.73
Faculty	6.1	4	.189	0	6.44
Gender	1.9	2	.380	0	6.44
Age	9.6	4	.048	33.3	1.77
Sponsor	.214	2	.899	0	10.42

Table 5.6.1: Regression analysis on university management is rarely sympathetic to the issues of students

The university management is rarely sympathetic to the issues of students.	Sig	Exp(B)	Lower Bound	Upper Bound 95% CI for Exp(B)
Intercept	.017			
[Black]	.010	.302	.122	.750
[Coloured/White/Indian]	0	.160	.5	.489
Intercept	.439			
[Black]	.293	.540	.172	1.701
[Coloured/White/Indian]				

The reference category is Agree

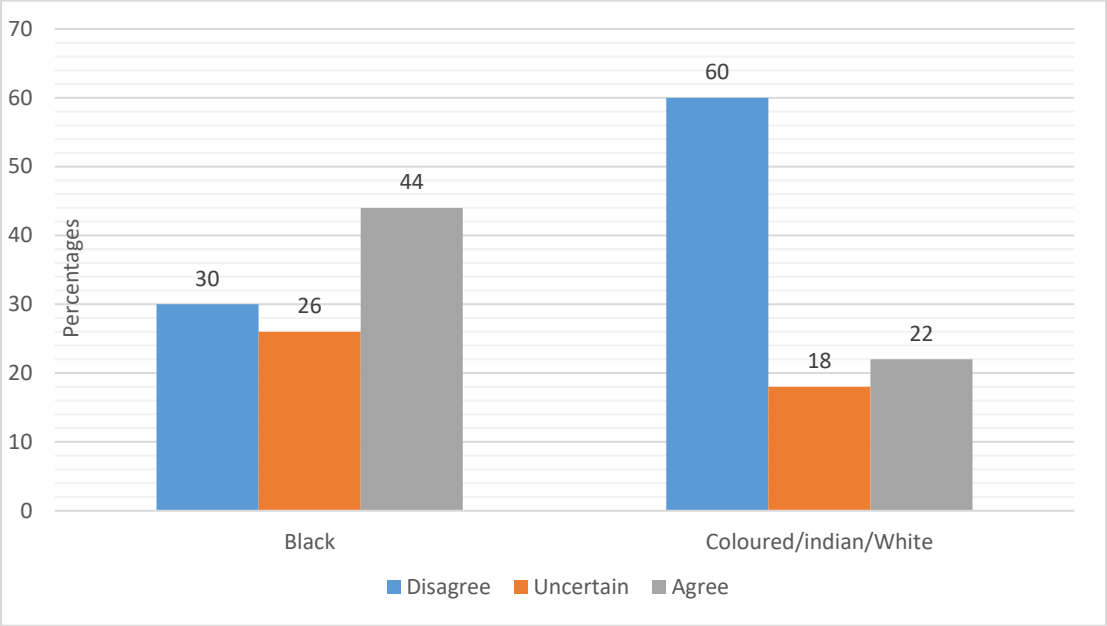


Figure 5.13: Race and university management is rarely sympathetic to the issues of students.

Majority of the Coloured/ Indian/ White students (60%) disagree that the university management is rarely sympathetic to issues of students, whereas Black students (44%) were likely to agree with the statement. It thus, shows that Black students generally have a critical attitude towards the university management. Table 5.6.1 shows that the odds of a Black student disagreeing (as opposed to agreeing) are between 0.122 and 0.750 as opposed to their peers. One may assume that a multiplicity of factors like dissatisfaction with fees charged at their institution as shown in Figure 5.7 and Figure 5.9, singled out Black students as less likely to believe that the university management attempts to form positive relations with students.

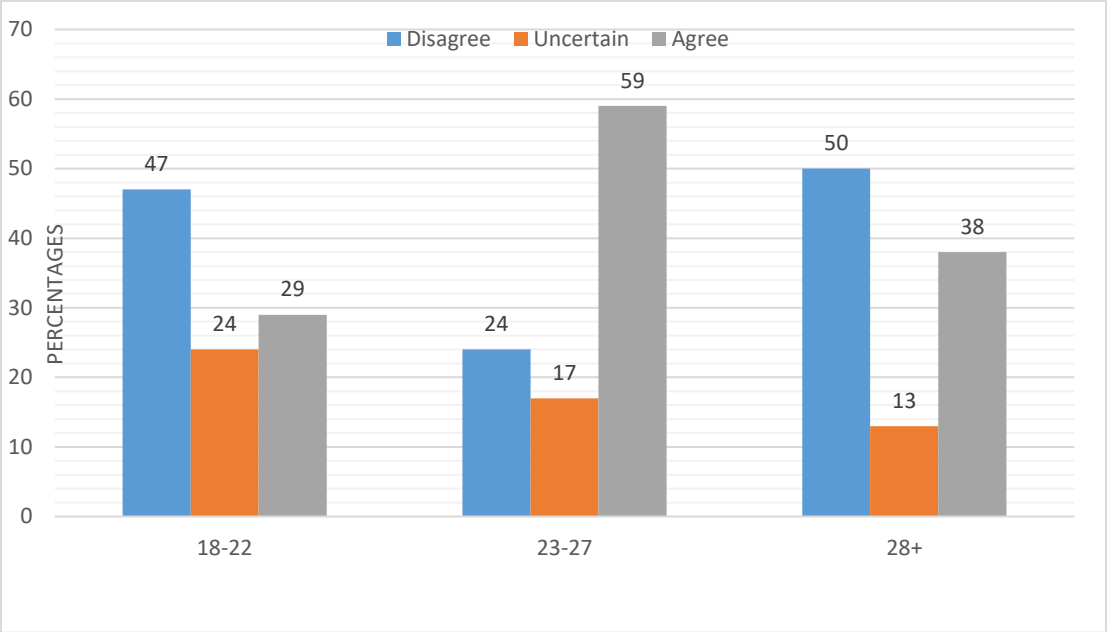


Figure 5.14: Age and university management is rarely sympathetic to the issues of students.

A high proportion of 23 - 27 age group of students are more likely to agree than disagree with the statement that the university management is rarely sympathetic towards them unlike students in the other age groups who hold opposing views. One assumes that maturity changed the perceptions about the university's authority**.** This information is consistent with that in Figure 5.11, that showed that older students believed that the university management attempted to form positive relations with students. Sources of the younger group's perceptions may be their dislike for bureaucracy that impedes management's timely feedback, and their expectations that universities have democratic and open decision-making structures (Moreku, 2014). Results of the multinomial logit procedure are not presented because it did not select age.

The information above gave details about the naming of the factors according to their commonalities. Factor 1: positive attitudes towards the university had five extractions. Four of the five questions were subjected to multinomial regression; the overall findings, thereof, indicate that students were generally dissatisfied with their universities although they shared that they would return to the same institution should they be given a chance. This assertion was made by three out

of four students. The finding may imply that students value the education that they receive at these institutions despite the challenges they experience. This statement can be supported by the exodus of Black students in the early 1990s to HWUs in search of quality education (Habib, 2001). A positive sentiment also applied to the level of services at their institutions, with the exception on fees and relations with the university management where the attitudes were more mixed.

The results conveyed that race and faculty played a significant role in students' satisfaction levels. Black students were less likely to be satisfied with fees and had a negative inclination towards the university management. Affordability may be playing a role, in this instance, because a caring and sympathetic university management is less inclined to make decision that will potentially prevent students from continuing with their studies. Of all the students, those in Humanities and Social Sciences were inclined to disagree that they were satisfied with the services. In this case, age, race, sex and faculty consistently surfaced in both the chi square test and the multinomial regression analysis. Essentially, being a Black male between the ages 23 and 27 years and enrolled in either the Humanities or in Law decreased the chances for one to have positive attitudes towards the university. This level of dissatisfaction may contribute to the manner in which issues are presented to the university management. On the other hand, being Coloured/Indian/White increased the level of satisfaction.

About the validity of the results, there were marked differences in the chi square test and the forward selection technique, in that variables selected as significant in the previous test were not selected in the regression. The discussion to follow looks at Factor 2, normality of violence, from which three questions arise, namely, (i) it is justifiable for students to destroy property to show their anger; (ii) the use of violence is normal in the protests of university students, (iii) and a peaceful protest is a sign of weakness. Data for this section is presented in this order: the chi square of significance and the multinomial regression analysis for variables that show a significant relationship and then a graph to illustrate the extent of attitudes of students towards that variable. The students' views follow.

Table 5.7: Chi square on justification for destruction of property to show their anger

Variable	Chi square statistic	D.F	P value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum expected frequency
Level	1.3	2	.529	33.3	1.71
Race	10.3	2	.006	33.3	2.49
Institution	12.0	4	.018	33.3	1.36
Faculty	6.2	4	.185	44.4	1.14
Gender	2.5	2	.287	33.3	2.03
Age	4.3	4	.373	55.6	.31
Sponsor	4.52	2	.798	33.3	1.58

Table 5.7 looks at students' attitudes regarding justification to destroy property to show their anger. Data from the last two columns of the Table reveals that the results of the chi-squared tests will not be reliable because in all cases more than 20% of the cells have expected frequencies smaller than 5. This problem is more serious for age and sponsor where some of the expected frequencies are less than 1. A larger sample size would have prevented this problem. Albeit the discrepancies, data above indicates that there is an association between the opinion that destruction of property is a justified response to show anger and two variables, that of race and institution. These variables were further selected using the forward selection procedure for multinomial logit models; however, they do not show how the opinions vary with the races and institutions because none of the p-values is less than 0.05. The results of the multinomial logit regression yielded were insignificant because the standard errors of the parameters are either zero or widely large, reflecting the inadequacy of the sample size used in this study. Subsequently, descriptive results on the two variables, race and institution, are depicted below instead of the table on forward selection technique.

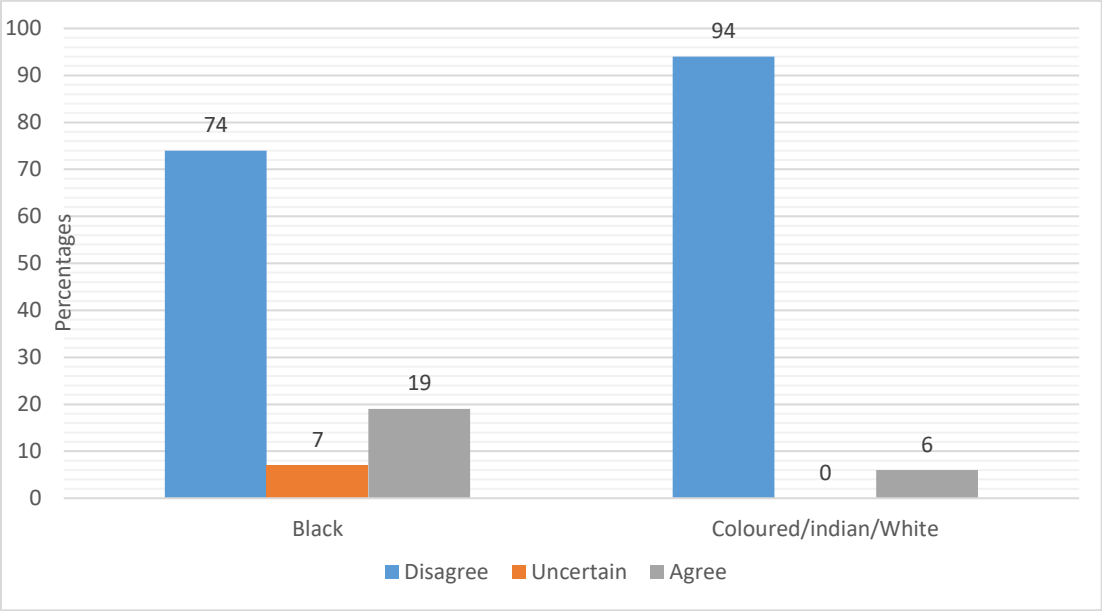


Figure 5.15: Race and destruction of property to show their anger

Figure 5.15 indicates that the common response from students was "disagree" when contrasted with race and the perceptions of students toward the destruction of property in order to show anger. A larger percentage of the Coloured/ Indian/ White (94%) than Blacks (74%) disagree with the statement that anger justified the destruction of property. While a larger percentage of Black students (19%) agree with the statement as compared to Coloured/ Indian/ White (6%). These results suggest that only a small proportion of students are responsible for destruction of property as evidenced in the fact that all institutions experienced property damage

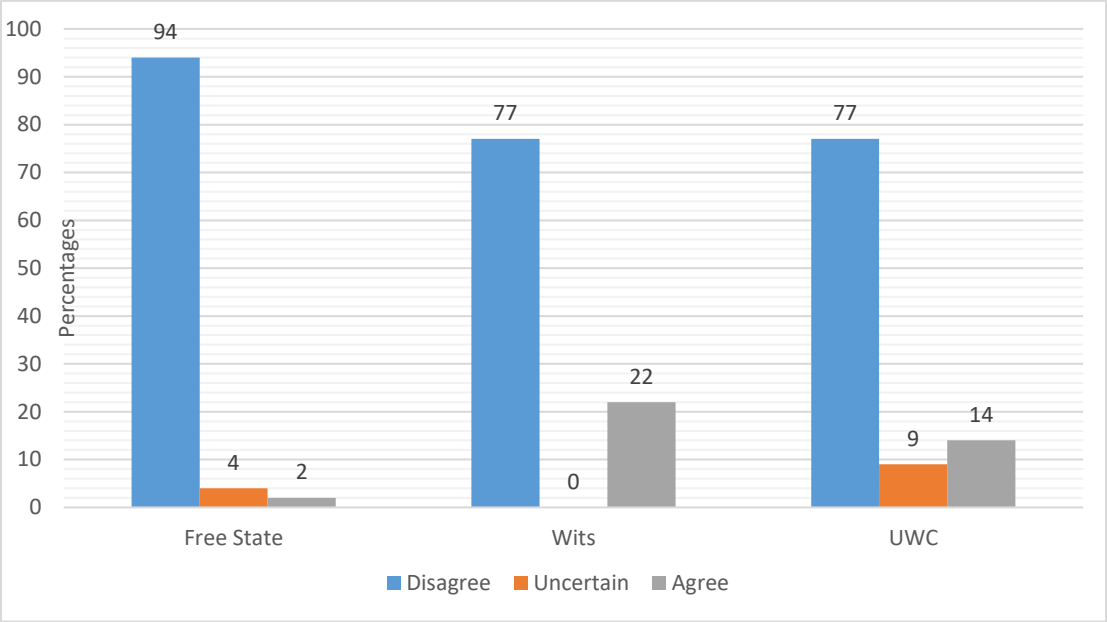


Figure 5.16: Institution and property destruction to show their anger

It is also interesting to note with reference to Figure 5.16 that not only are UFS students less supportive of the destruction of property, but also, in reality, there has been much less destruction of property at that institution during the protests of 2015 and early 2016 than at UWC and Wits. Further, compared with the other institutions, a larger percentage of Wits students (22%) believe that it is justifiable for students to destroy property to show their anger. Wits is located in the Gauteng province, which tends to have a higher proportion of service delivery protests that may involve property damage. Albeit, the higher proportion of students who seem inclined to violence, data on Figure 5.4 showed that majority of students were against destruction of property and they did not see anger as a sufficient reason for property destruction. The results of this section reflect those in Figure 5.15 on the race group and justification for property damage to show anger.

Factor 2, labelled the normality of violence, shows that Black students at Wits seem to be the most likely to use violence as against students from other institutions or from other population groups. Multinomial logit regression was not discussed because the parameters were at unacceptable levels.

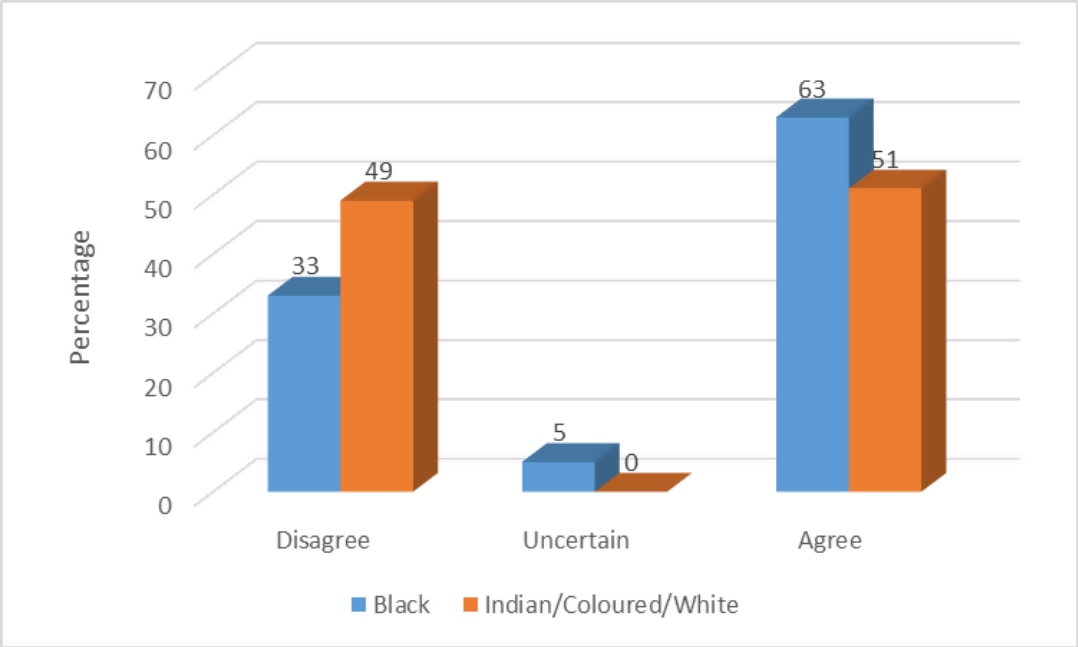


Figure 5.17: Race and using violence to expedite students' issues

A larger percentage of Blacks (63%) as compared to Coloured/ Indian/ White (51%) agree with the statement that using violence expedites students' issues. On the other end we have a smaller percentage (33%) of Blacks disagreeing as compared to Whites (49%). These findings correlate with data depicted in Figures 5.15, where Black students, though they were a small number shared that it was justified for students to destroy property to vent their anger. These results are consistent with literature's depiction that small groups are often responsible for the violence in protests. This group of students are often referred to as non-conformists (Nkomo, 1984; Roufs, 2016). The forward selection procedure of the multinomial logistic regression model did not select race as one of the variables influencing the response. The sponsor was not significant.

The dynamics of violence, Factor 3, had the following extracted elements. Resorting to violence signals the failure of the university system to instil qualities of responsible citizenry. A peaceful protest is a sign of weakness. Closing the university to prevent further damage to property is the most practical solution. All but the question about a peaceful protest being a sign of weakness have their chi-square tests of significance, multinomial logit regression tables and descriptive statistics presented. The analysis of the results follows.

Table 5.8: Chi square on resorting to violence signals the failure of the university system to instil qualities of responsible citizenry in the students

Variable	Chi square statistic	D.F	P value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum Expected frequency
Level	.627	.731	0	0	7.71
Race	4.0	2	.137	0	11.19
Institution	11.2	4	.025	0	6.14
Faculty	8.6	4	.071	0	5.12
Gender	.157	2	.924	0	9.12
Age	2.9	4	.574	44	1.40
Sponsor	10.2	6	0117	0	6.63

Table 5.8.1: Regression on resorting to violence signals the failure of the university system to instil qualities of responsible citizenry in the students

Resorting to violence signifies the failure of the university system to instil qualities of responsible citizenry in the students.	Sig	Exp(B)	Lower Bound	Upper Bound 95% CI for Exp(B)
Intercept	.047			
[UFS]	.552	.634	.142	2.481
[Wits]	.045	3.255	1.025	10.336
[UWC]	0			
Intercept	.000			
[UFS]	.050	.103	.011	1.
[Wits]	.387	.578	.167	2.004
[Black]	.090	2.821	.851	9.354
[Coloured/Indian/White]	0			

The reference category is Agree

The students' response on whether resorting to violence signifies the failure of the university system to instil qualities of responsible citizenry are captured in Table 5.8. The results indicate that more of the Wits students (58%) and fewer of the UWC students (31%), than would be expected under independence, disagree with the statement. Table 5.8.1 also shows that the odds of a Wits student disagreeing (as opposed to agreeing) are between 1.02 and 10.33 times the odds for a UWC student to do the same. The point estimate is 3.26. Though, the chi-squared test shows that race is not significant, the forward selection procedure selected race as one of the variables also influencing the opinion here. From Table 5.8.1 we can conclude with 95% confidence that the odds of a Black student disagreeing are between 1.4 and 9.7 times those of a student from other races. The discrepancy between the chi-square and multinomial regression procedure can be explained by the fact that the SPSS output here also gives a warning that the multinomial procedure did not converge; the results are based on the last iteration which was possible to perform.

Table 5.9. Chi square on closing the university to prevent further damage to property is the most practical solution.

Variable	Chi square statistic	D.F	P value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum e Expected frequency
Level	3.3	2	.189	0	6
Race	8.1	2	.017	0	9.12
Institution	3.0	4	.552	0	5
Faculty	2.2	4	.695	11.1	4.17
Gender	.9	2	.641	0	7.43
Age	3.1	4	.536	44	1.14
Sponsor	1.45	2	.484	0	6.63

Table 5.9.1: Regression on closing the university to prevent further damage to property is the most practical solution.

Closing the University to prevent further damage to property is the most practical solution.	Sig	Exp(B)	Lower Bound	Upper Bound 95% CI for Exp(B)
Intercept	.032			
[Black]	.0005	2.825	1.370	5.823
[Coloured/White/Indian]		.	.	
Intercept	.000			
[Black]	.297	1.685	.633	4.489
[Coloured/White/Indian]				

The reference category is Agree

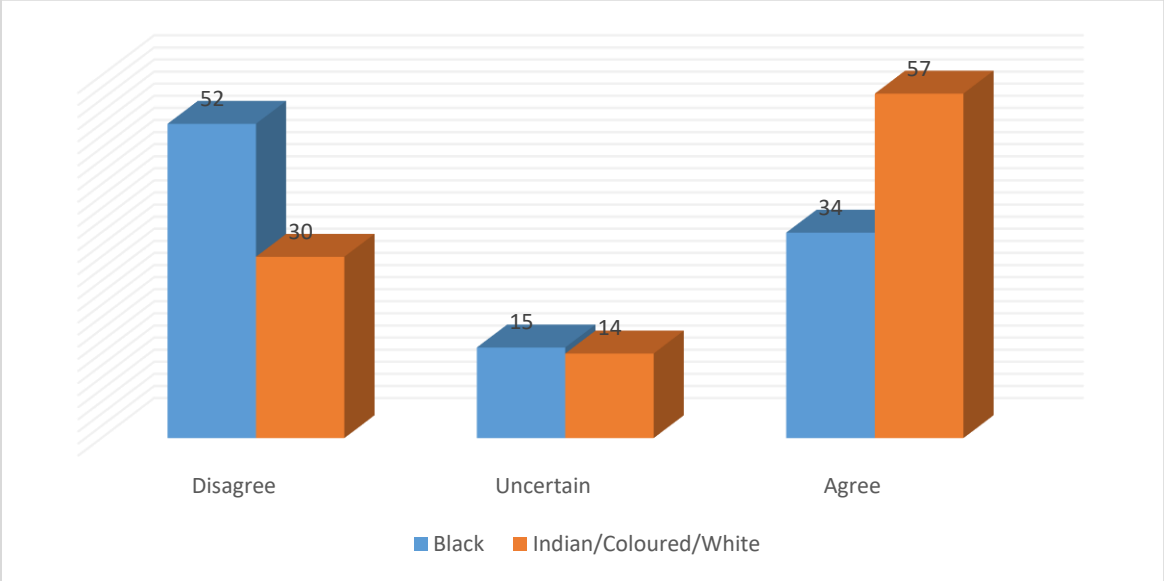


Figure 5.18: Closing the university to prevent further damage to property is the most practical solution

There is a higher percentage of Coloured/ Indian/ White students (57%) than Black students (34%) who believe that closing the University to prevent further damage to property is the most practical solution. On the other hand, a higher percentage of the Black students disagree with this statement. In this case, the result of the test is valid because none of the expected frequencies is less than 5. There is also agreement between the chi-squared test and the multinomial logit model where race was selected as the only influential variable. From Table 5.9.1, we can conclude with 95% confidence that the true odds of a Black student disagreeing (as opposed to agreeing) are between 1.37 and 5.8 times than those for a Coloured/ Indian/ White student. The point estimate of the odds ratio is 2.85. Historically university authorities have always relied on closing campuses as a strategy to arrest protests (Nkomo, 1984; Omari & Mihyo, 1991) a strategy that Black students opposed.

Table 5.10: Chi square on resorting to violence signals the failure of the university system to instil qualities of responsible citizenry in the students

Variable	Chi square statistic	D.F	P value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum Expected frequency
Level	.627	.731	0	0	7.71
Race	4.0	2	.137	0	11.19
Institution	11.2	4	.025	0	6.14
Faculty	8.6	4	.071	0	5.12
Gender	.157	2	.924	0	9.12
Age	2.9	4	.574	44	1.40
Sponsor	10.2	6	0117	0	6.63

Table 5.10.1: Regression on resorting to violence signals the failure of the university system to instil qualities of responsible citizenry in the students

Resorting to violence signifies the failure of the university system to instil qualities of responsible citizenry in the students.	Sig	Exp(B)	Lower Bound	Upper Bound 95% CI for Exp(B)
Intercept	.047			
[UFS]	.552	.634	.142	2.481
[Wits]	.045	3.255	1.025	10.336
[UWC]	0			
Intercept	.000			
[UFS]	.050	.103	.011	1.
[Wits]	.387	.578	.167	2.004
[Black]	.090	2.821	.851	9.354
[Coloured/Indian/White]	0			

The reference category is Agree

More of the Wits students (58%) and fewer of the UWC (31%) students than would be expected under independence disagree with the statement. Table 5.10.1 also shows that the odds of a Wits student disagreeing (as opposed to agreeing) are between 1.02 and 10.33 times the odds for a UWC student to do the same. The point estimate is 3.26. Though, the chi-squared test shows that race is not significant, the forward selection procedure selected race as one of the variables also influencing the opinion here. From Table 5.10.1 we can conclude with 95% confidence that the odds of a Black student disagreeing are between 1.4 and 9.7 times those of a student from other races. The discrepancy between the chi-squared and multinomial procedure can be explained by the fact that the SPSS output here also gives a warning that the multinomial procedure did not converge; the results are based on the last iteration which was possible to perform.

Factor 3 was termed dynamics of violence as it consisted of three questions that looked at the potential contributory factors to violence in protests. Students disagreed with all, but one statements posed, which was about violence be able to quickly solve problems. Regarding the other statement about the closure of the university, students were ambivalent as they neither agreed

nor disagreed with the statement. To analyse differences in opinions, demographic data was the independent variable

Accordingly, results of the chi-square test and the multinomial regression forward selection procedure revealed that three statements had significant p-values. In this case, Black students were likely to disagree with than agree that closing the university was necessary to prevent property destruction and students' use of violence. The first and last statement rang true for Wits students. In this case one can conclude that being a Black student at Wits increases chances for using violence as a tool to pressure the university management to concede to demands put forth. Therefore, closing the institution somewhat reduces opportunities for vandalism. On the above, one may conclude that race and institution (Wits specifically), may play a role in shaping students' positive attitudes to violence.

The last factor, Factor 4, was labelled treatment and self-efficacy. This factor consisted of three questions, (i) the SRC always acts in the best interest of the students; (ii) both the police officers and students are equally responsible for the violence during protests; (iii) and participation in protests is always an individual student's choice. Only the question about the SRC always acts in the best interests of the students presented significant chi-square results, thus, the multinomial logit regression and the descriptive statistics are presented below:

Table 5.11: Chi-square on the SRC always acts in the best interests of the students

The SRC always acts in the best interests of the students.	Chi-square Statistic	D.F	P-value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum expected frequency
Level	4.2	2	0.125	0	11.14
Race	8.2	2	0.016	0	16.16
Institution	8.5	4	0.074	0	8.86
Faculty	16.7	4	0.002	0	7.20
Gender	0.7	2	0.694	0	13.17
Age	5.3	4	0.257	33.3	2.03
Sponsor	0.885	2	0.642	0	12.00

Table 5.11.1: Regression on the SRC always acts in the best interests of the students

The SRC always acts in the best interests of the students.	Sig	Exp(B)	Lower Bound	Upper Bound 95% CI for Exp(B)
Intercept	.002			
[Arts]	.553	1.781	.264	12.014
[Humanities/Social Sciences]	.003	11.28	2.274	55.967
[Law]	0			
Intercept	.040			
[Arts]	.457	.594	.151	2.342
[Humanities/Social Sciences]	.148	2.2.27	.752	6.593
[Law]	0			

The reference category is Agree

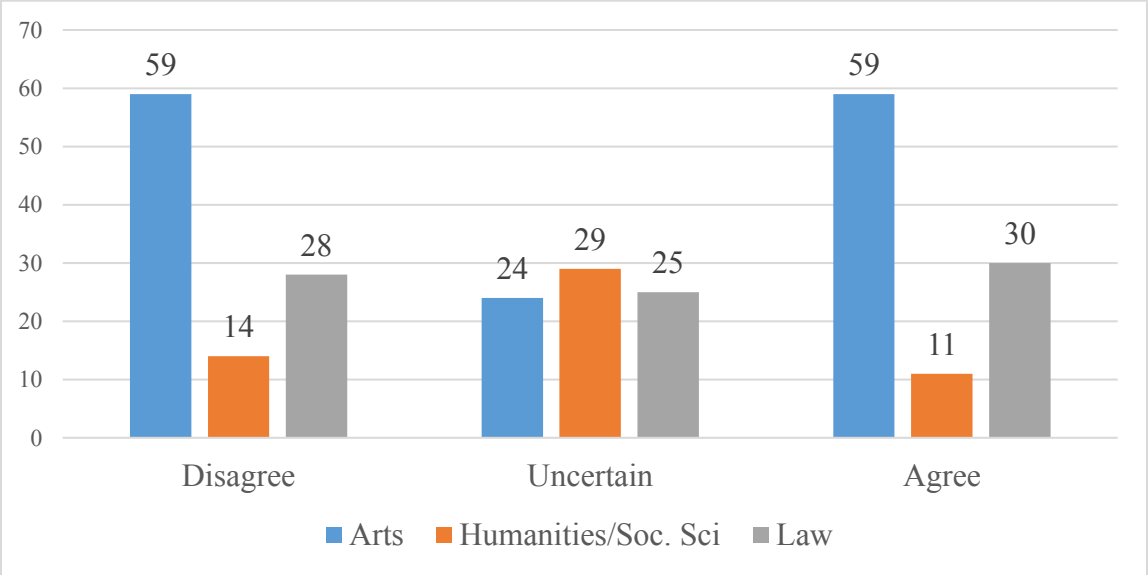


Figure 5.19: Faculty and the SRC always acts in the best interests of the students

Table 5.11.1 above shows that the odds of a student from the Faculties of the Social Sciences being uncertain about the representative role of the SRC (as opposed to disagreeing) are between 2 and 56 times higher than those for a student from the Law Faculty.

Figure 5.19 continues with the trend as students from the Humanities/Social Sciences were more likely to be uncertain about the efficacy of the SRC. Fundamentally, students across the three faculties recorded low levels of confidence in the SRCs. These results mirror findings about the waning popularity of the SRCs across South African institutions (Rapatsa, 2017). These results may help explain the formation of the #FMF as the main driver in the quest for free higher education.

The question that investigated whether participation in a protest is always an individual' student choice also did not produce statistically significant results when subjected to the chi-square of significance. Subsequently, both the chi-square test of significance table and the graph depicting descriptive statistics are presented. The remainder of the questions in this section are subjected to inferential statistics and presented using histograms.

Table 5.12: Chi-square on participation in protest is always an individual student's choice

Participation in protest is always an individual student's choice	Chi-square Statistic	D.F	P-value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum expected frequency
Level	3.0	2	0.220	33.3	1.29
Race	1.2	2	0.538	33.3	2.07
Institution	5.8	4	0.216	33.3	1.14
Faculty	4.8	4	0.308	44.4	0.95
Gender	2.2	2	0.339	33.3	1.69
Age	10.9	4	0.028	55.6	0.26
Sponsor	0.323	2	0.851	33.3	1.85

Table 5.12 depicts results of whether participation in protest is always an individual student's choice. The results of the chi square test show that age was selected as an impactful variable that influences students' beliefs on participation in protests. Despite the p value of 0.028, the results are invalid as the expected frequency is 0.26. Therefore, a descriptive analysis of the results is presented.

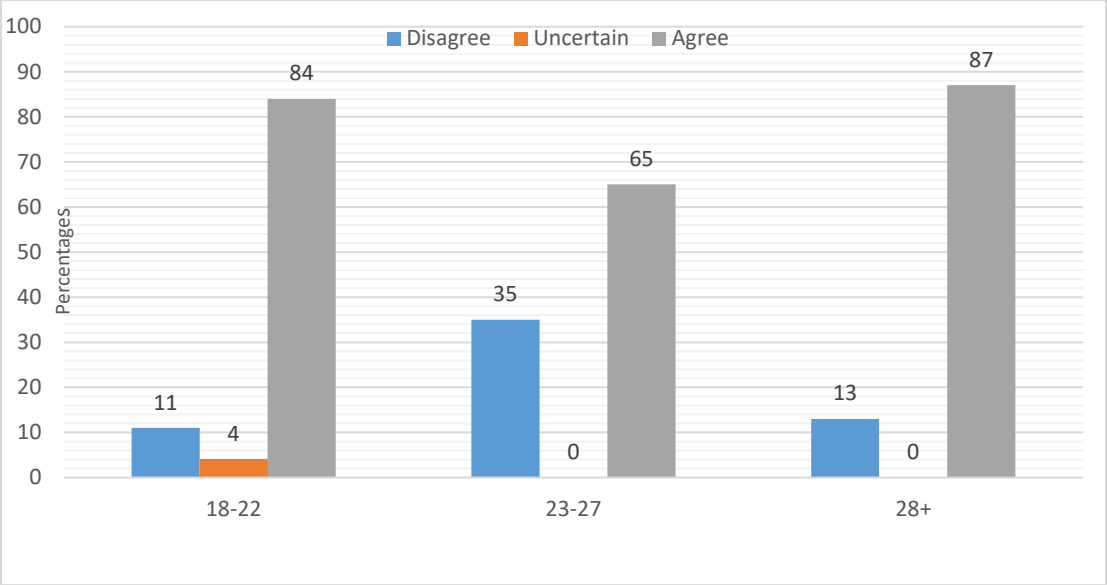


Figure 5.20. Age and participation in protest as an individual student's choice

Figure 5.20 explores the relationship between age and the perception that participation in protest as an individual student's choice. What is conspicuous is a relatively large percentage (35%) of 23 - 27 age group of students who disagree that participation in protests was an individual students' choice. Fear of retaliation, as seen meted to community members that excuse themselves from protests, may be students' reason or that they felt somewhat compelled to participate. The expectation was that this group will be self-determined as they more aware of how to deal with institutional dynamics than the 18- 22 age groups. Explanations for the information above may be that this group of students have been at the forefront of the protests and were familiar with some of the mobilisation techniques employed at their institutions. Environmental influences tend to annul independent thought and action. Therefore, their reaction may be highlighting their awareness about the likelihood of consequences to befall them should they not partake in the protests (Littman & Paluck, 2015). Linked to this, the need to be part of an influential student movement may have been a motivator, hence, 18-22 age groups perceived their involvement as a choice. The multinomial logit procedure does not, however, show age as a significant explanatory variable.

Factor 4, was labelled as treatment level and self-efficacy, looked at students' attitudes towards the SRC where both police officers and students are equally responsible for the violence that occur during students' protests. Data indicated that SRCs are generally not as popular. However, students in the Humanities and/or Social Sciences dominated the uncertain category. An interesting finding in this section is that students who are between the ages of 23-27 disagreed that students partook in protests of their own volition. This result implies that these students may have been coerced to partake in the protests.

Following the exploratory factor analysis section are questions that look at students' reasons for being involved in the protests, the likely reasons for engaging in protests as seen in Table 5.13 and solutions for curbing violent protests. Inferential, multinomial logit regression and descriptive statistics are used to present the attitudes of students on the issues of concern.

Table 5.13. Reason for participating in a protest

Variable	Chi square statistic	D.F	P value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum Expected frequency
Level	7.2	3	0.067	25	2.65
Race	20.6	3	0.000	12.5	3.77
Institution	14.4	6	0.025	25	2.10
Faculty	4.8	6	0.565	25	1.75
Gender	7.5	3	0.058	12.5	3.06
Age	15	6	0.020	41.7	0.48
Sponsor	2.35	4	.671	40	1.27

Table 5.13.1: Regression on the reason for participating in protests

	Reason for participating in a protest	Sig	Exp(B)	Lower Bound	Upper Bound 95% CI for Exp(B)
Nothing	Intercept	0.069			
	[Black]	.000	.080	0.21	0.309
Peer pressure/fear of reprisal	[Intercept]	0.484			
	[Black]	0.064	0.172	0.027	1.108
Moral reasons	Intercept	0.002			
	[Black]	0.00	0.127	0.041	0.397

The reference category is personal reasons

Data on Table 5.13 looks at possible reasons that may make them to partake in the protests. Students' responses range from personal reasons, nothing, peer pressure to fear of reprisal and moral reasons. Black students were more likely to cite personal reasons and less likely to say "nothing"; the Coloured/ Indian/ White students were more likely to say nothing and less likely to cite "personal reasons". From the results of the multinomial regression in Table 5.13.1 we can conclude with 95% confidence that the odds of a Black student citing "nothing" instead of "personal reasons" are between 0.021 and 0.309 times of a student from the other population groups doing the same. Mashibini (2017) shares that White students at Wits university saw protests as a joke confirming the above findings. Also, the odds of a Black student citing moral as opposed to personal reasons are between 0.041 and 0.397 times those of a student from the other races doing the same. This means that, as compared to other races, Black students are less likely to choose "nothing" or "moral reasons" instead of personal reasons.

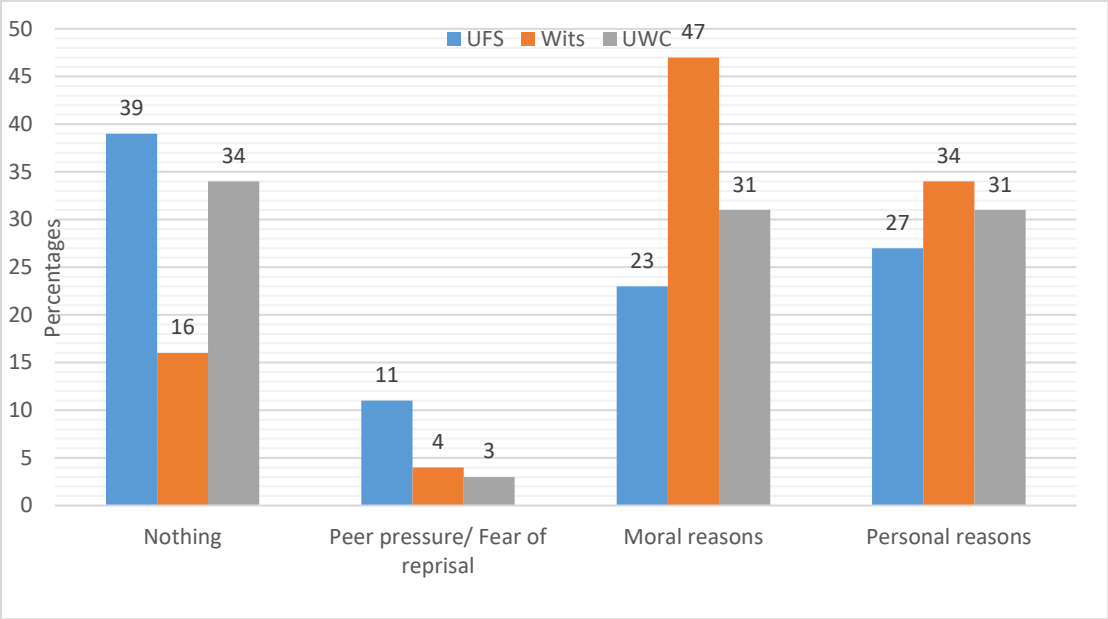


Figure 5.21: University and reason for participating in a protest

Compared to the other institutions what stands out are the relatively high percentages of UFS students who selected "nothing" (39%) and "peer pressure/fear of reprisal" (11%) and also the high percentage (47%) of Wits students citing "moral reasons". Wits students appear to be more able to mobilise their peers than those at other campuses. The formation of the #FMF at Wits may have played a role in this response. Different institutional cultures and the level of protests in the community may be associated with the reason for the UFS students' response (nothing). This group shared external reasons as their motives for partaking in the protests, as opposed to students based in other institutions. The multinomial logit procedure does not choose this variable; thus, it is not discussed here.

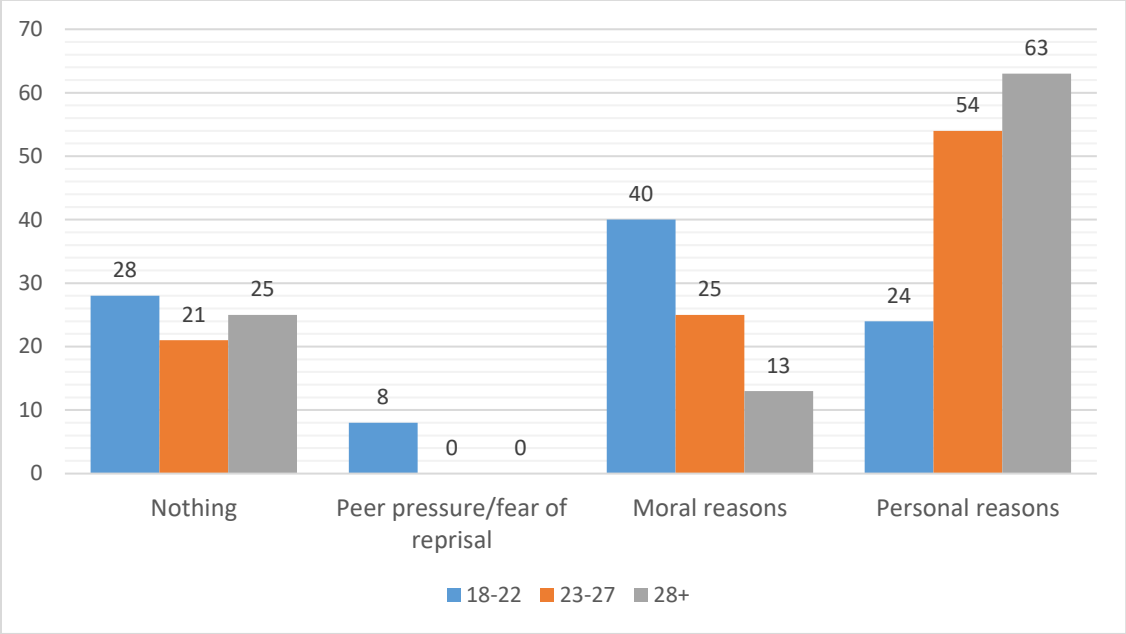
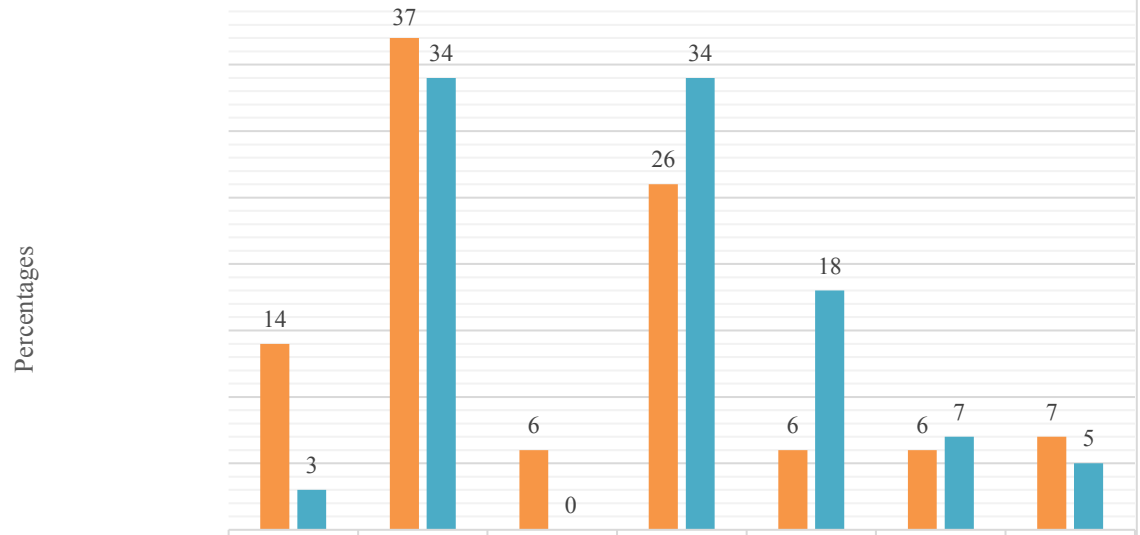


Figure 5.22: Age and reason for participating in a protest

Data on Figure 5.22. indicates how students responded to the question posed. The figure reveals that students who are between the ages of 18-22 years are more likely to protest for moral reason (40%) and less likely to protest because of personal reasons (24%), peer pressure (8%) or not participate in such (28%). The 23-27 and 28+ year old groups present a different picture as these students were more likely to protest for personal reasons than moral reasons, their figures were 54% and 63% respectively. In this case, age seems to play a significant role in determining the motives for one to partake in a protest. Students in the 18-22 age group were more likely to cite "moral reasons" whereas the other two age groups were likely to give "personal reasons". Reasons for these differences may be that those in younger age categories perceived protests as means to illustrate their solidarity with other students and believed that protests are a means to address issues. As a post-apartheid generation, these students have been raised in environments that advocate human rights and the importance of the collectivism. Also, this group, may be reliant on their significant others to pay their fees. Another reason may be that the #FMF movement presented a novel experience for these students, hence, they did not want to be left out.

The multinomial logit procedure did not select this variable. The oldest students seemed individualistic (63%) in their reasoning possibly, because of being responsible for their fees. On the other hand, these students may have had personal experience with the university, therefore, they did not need moral conviction to motivate them to participate in the protests.

Figure 5.23 is a cross-tabulation of race and the factors that contribute to violence. These can be clustered as exclusions, financial mismanagement on campus, communication, service quality at the university and the lack of transformation. Details of the analysis are presented in the histogram below.



	Lack of transformation	Financial exclusion	Mismanagement of funds SRC/ university management	Poor communication between students and authorities	Uncertain	Poor service to students	Academic exclusion
Black	14	37	6	26	6	6	7
Coloured/Indian/White	3	34	0	34	18	7	5

Figure 5.23: Race and contributors of protests

Data in Figure 5.23 demonstrates that according to students', the factors that contributed to protests were financial exclusions, poor communication between themselves and the authorities, lack of transformation and some had uncertainty.

It interesting to note that mismanagement of funds, academic exclusions and services scored lower. This data may indicate to a certain extent that the university met some of the students' expectations.However, when this data is looked at according to race, the following differences are noted. Black students were more likely to cite lack of transformation (14%) and less likely to be uncertain (6%). On the other hand, the Coloured/ Indian/ White students were more likely to be uncertain (18%) and less likely to mention lack of transformation (3%). Results may indicate the different conceptions of inclusivity, as a privileged group -Coloured/ Indian/ White students - may be less aware of the challenges that their peers face. The results correspond with information on Factor 1 on satisfaction about the university management being sympathetic to their needs and their attempts to maintain positive relations with students.

The analysis that follows looks at what students at the three sampled universities shared as the contributory factors to protests. The questions asked in this section are the same as those in Figure 5.23.

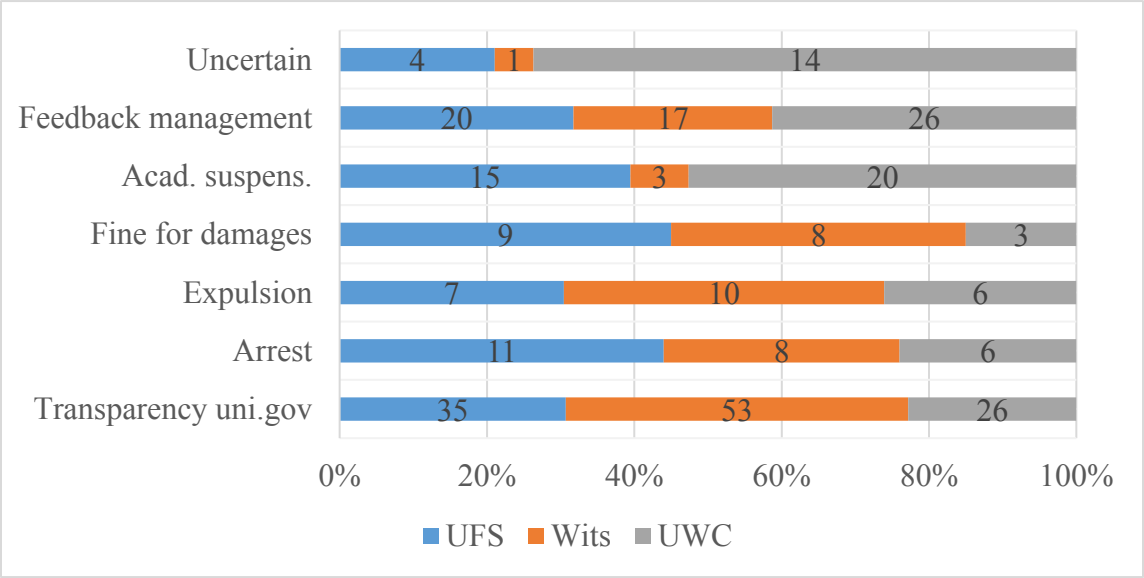


Figure 5.24: Institution and contributors to protests

UFS students were more likely to mention lack of transformation (26%) and less likely to be uncertain (2%). Students' responses may be attributed to the history and the climate of the institution. UWC students were the least likely to mention lack of transformation (3%) but more likely to mention financial exclusion (3%) and poor communication (29%). These results applied to Wits (46% and 25%) respectively. The figure reveals that students' issues are contextual. All the above factors relate to students' dissatisfaction about relations with the management in Figure 5.3; to management's decision in Figure 5.18 to close the campus during protest to prevent further damage; and to fees on Table 5.3. However, the last two variables related more to Black students. Notwithstanding, the environmental factors, students' perceptions may emanate from the lack of resolution of issues. In this regard, poor communication may be the anchor of the students' protests.

The last question in the analysis looks at the solutions that students gave to curb violent protests at their institutions. In this analysis the chi-square test of significance was used to determine whether there was a significant relationship between the demographic variables and the proposed solutions to reducing violent protests. Three demographic variables namely race, institution and sponsor were identified as having a significant relationship with the question about solutions to reduce violent protests. The multinomial logit regression analysis could not be used because the results were invalid. Therefore, inferential and descriptive statistics are used to present the findings.

Table 5.14. Proposed solutions to reduce violent protests

Variable	Chi square statistic	D.F	P value	Percentage of expected frequencies less than 5	Minimum Expected frequency
Level	6	6	0.404	50	2.16
Race	31	6	0.000	28.6	3.28
Institution	24	12	0.021	52.4	1.83
Faculty	15	12	0.237	52.4	1.53
Gender	6	6	0.368	28.6	2.72
Age	5	12	0.951	57.1	0.42
Sponsor	12.94	6	0.044	28.6	2.54

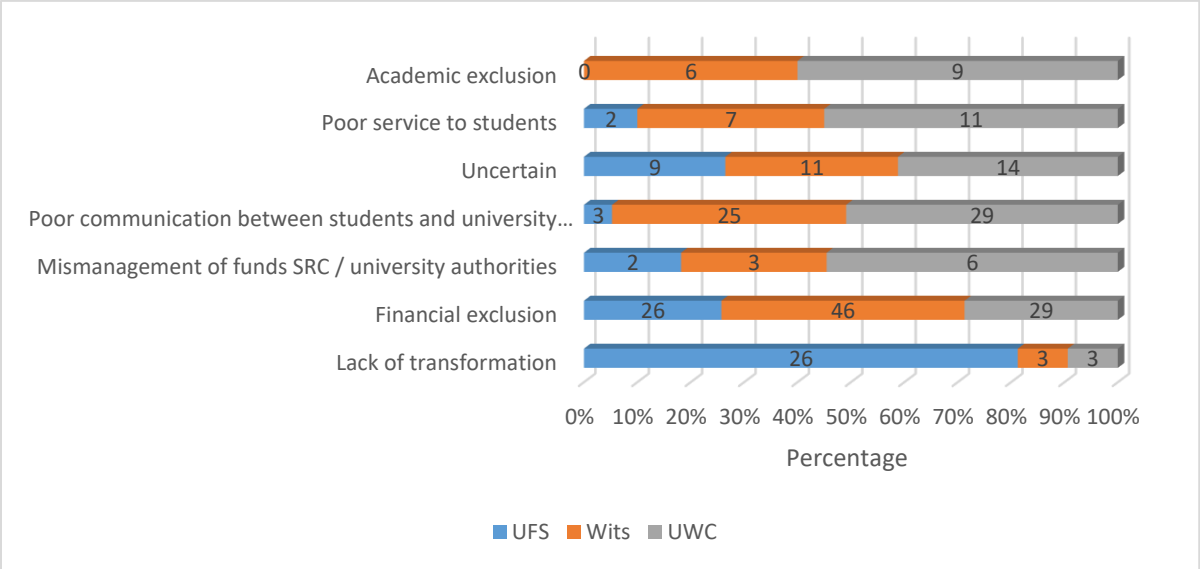


Figure 5.25: Race and solutions to curb protests

Figure 5.25 illustrates that students viewed transparency in the governance of the university, periodic feedback from the authorities and academic suspension as the proposed solutions to reduce violent protests. When these results were contrasted according to race, these were the observations. Compared to the other races Black students are more likely to cite transparency (53%) in the governance of the Universities and less likely to suggest either arrest or suspension. The results, whether justified or not, may be revealing the diminished level of trust that students have towards the university authorities. Moreover, their responses, highlight that they may be seeing themselves as victims. With an increased emphasis on transparency, this may relate to the manner of decision-making. Their pointing of transparency above all values may also indicate their lack of trust in the SRC as pointed out in Table 5.10 and Figure 5.19 about the representative ability of the organisation. With non -responsive structures, students then chose to use violence as a reaction to their circumstances. Their choice of these solutions may also indicate their awareness that as a collective they are likely to face these consequences. Ironically, White students were more in favour of punitive rather than structural-adjustment measures. These responses indicate disjuncture that race and class have in shaping perceptions. From another point of view, these discrepant responses may indicate that students who identify with their institutions are likely to feel that they are accountable to it.

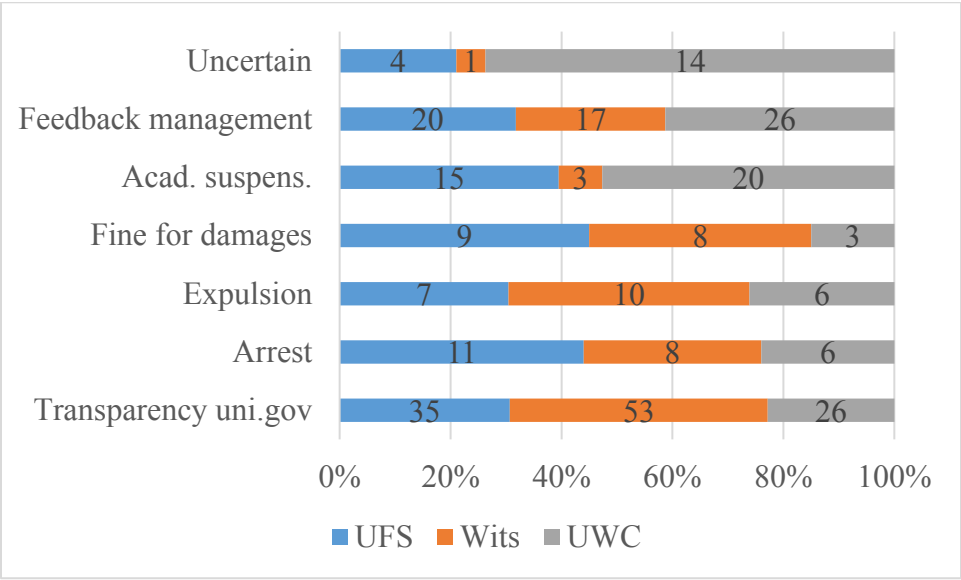


Figure 5.26: *Institution and solutions to curb protests*

Figure 5.26 mirrors data on Figure 5.24 as students proposed transparency in the governance of the university, periodic feedback from the authorities and academic suspension as solutions to lessen violent protests at universities. Compared to the other universities, what stands out is the high percentage of Wits students suggesting that "transparency in the management of the universities" was a proposed solution to curb violent protests. A relatively low proportion of UWC said the same. On the other hand, there is a relatively higher proportion (20%) of UWC students and a lower proportion (3%) of Wits students suggesting "suspension." Ngcaweni and Nkuna (2018: 28) stated that exclusions are "archaic, undemocratic and uncharacteristic of the apex of the human endeavour."

Concrete effects of violent protests may be at play in this instance; Wits, unlike other campuses, did not experience as much disruptions and structural damage as the UWC. The Wits students' response may indicate the low levels of trust that exist between students and the university management. Compared to other institutions, UWC students are also more likely to be uncertain (14%) about what needs to be done to curb violent protest. The UWC level of uncertainty (14%) may be an indication that they believed that neither the university management nor students can address violent protests.

Conclusion

The chapter presented quantitative results. Data in this chapter was analysed through exploratory factor analysis, which clustered the questions according to similarities. Four factors were extracted from question 10, which consists of 14 ratio-scale questions covering the following aspects: to assess positive attitudes towards university, normality of violence, dynamics of violence and treatment levels and self-efficacy. Before the 14 ratio-scale questions in question 10 were subjected to exploratory factor analysis, they were reduced from a five-scale satisfaction scale to a three-scale satisfaction scale. The sample size used for the study, though not recommendable, was agreeable. Therefore, exploratory factor analysis, instead of principal factor analysis was employed. Exploratory factor analysis is data reduction technique that does not seek to explain causality, but related construct of a phenomenon. Several reasons applied to the adoption of exploratory factor analysis and these are the KMO and Bartlett's tests, indicated sample size adequacy and correlation between questions. Despite this finding, the forward selection algorithm was used to select variables, because the sample size was small. Moreover, the Varimax rotation method was done to prevent overlaps of the identified factors. The factor components were then labelled according to their similarities. Each question subjected to multinomial regression analysis, provided that the chi-square test revealed a significant relationship between the question and demographic variables. In cases where the results of the test did not prove a significant relationship, data was analysed descriptively. Despite the challenges, the results indicate that race played an important role in shaping the attitudes of students towards the violence.

Data from this chapter revealed the common protest actions at the three universities: vandalism, boycotting lectures and arson. Therefore, both violent and non- violent repertoires were common although these tended to overlap. Upon investigating issues using the various statistical analysis methods expanded on earlier, the results showed that race is an important demographic variable, followed by faculty and institution in shaping students' attitudes to violence. The study discovered that Black students were more likely to be discontented with various aspects of their institutions, such as dissatisfaction with fees and relations with authorities than Coloured, Indian and White students.

This dissatisfaction seems important in determining the students' attitudes towards violence. Students from other race groups tended to have more amendable attitudes towards the authorities and were more satisfied with the university. A positive aspect of the findings was that despite the misgivings they may have about their institutions, all students shared that they were likely to return to their institutions, illustrating confidence in the system. Faculty and institution were other important variables, with students in the Humanities and Law, sharing higher levels of dissatisfaction. Wits students were also more likely to be disgruntled than students from other universities. Overall, Wits, Black students and those aged between 18-22 years were likely to join protests for moral rather than personal reasons, while older students tended to join protests for more personal reasons. Moreover, to explain their reasons for protests, Black students from Wits were likely to point to financial exclusion, whereas Coloured/Indian/ White students cited poor communication as a reason for protests. Black students were likely to opt for non-harsh strategies, as opposed to other students who preferred sanctions for the transgressors. Therefore, race, faculty and institution played a role in students' resorting to violence. As this is an MMR study it remains to be seen whether these findings will complement or contradict the qualitative findings in the next chapter.

Chapter Six: Qualitative Analysis

The chapter focusses on the revealing the meanings the research participants make in terms of why university students resort to violence when they have problems with the university authorities. Data for this question was collected from 23 individuals, using an unstructured interview guide. Although all of these individuals are key informants, the researcher limits this definition to those in positions of authority and in the employ of the university. For example, the staff members in the departments of Student Affairs. Students are regarded in the role of students or that of activists. Of 14 participants were students, most were student leaders and activists, who took part in the #FMF protests; two were students not affiliated in a position of influence in the student movement. The other nine, were key informants. Therefore, the purposively-selected study sample took a multilevel relationship and was homogenous in nature (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). Where it was impossible for the meeting between the researcher and the participant to be arranged, interviews were done by telephone or via email as per the preference of the participant.

All the participants were made aware of the purpose of the research and the statement of ethical practice that anchored the study. Interviews were geographically and time asynchronous given the interview pack (information about the study, statement of ethics and the set of questions). On average, interviews lasted for an hour, although two of these lasted for about 30 minutes. Data analysis techniques employed in this section are content analysis, an open coding process and constant comparison, used to determine data similarities between the participants. This information was subsequently grouped into themes. Data is presented thematically, with similar quotations grouped together with students (ordinary students, activists and SRC leaders), taking precedence. This was followed by university officials in the Student Affairs and executive management levels. The responses of students are fused because only two were ordinary participants who did not hold any leadership positions. Therefore, it was not empirically sound to present their results independently. The themes in this discussion include the nature of the protests per university, the factors that contribute to violent protest, conceptions of violent protests, mobilisation tactics and personal effects of partaking in protests and solutions to curb violent protests. The table below gives the details of the participants, their experience, qualification and years spent on campus.

Table 6.1. Demographic details of the participants.

University	**Students**		**Key informants**	
	Sex, Race, Position,	**Date of interview**	**Sex, Race, Position,**	**Date of interview**
UFS	Itu: M,B, L Xolani: M,B,S Mpho: M,B,S Lesedi: F,B,L Gugu: F,B,L	24.09.2016 23.7.2016 26.7.2016 27.7.2016 27.7.2016	Pete: M, W, SA Vongani: M, B, A JJ: M, C, VC	27.7.2016 29.10.2016 15.12.2016
Wits	Xoli: F,B,L Kganya: F,B,L Odwa: F,B, L Botshelo: M,B,A Naledi: F,B,L Malaika: F, B,L	17.7.2016 28.7.2016 28.7.2016 28.7.2016 28.7.2016 28.7.2016	Joy: F, C, SA Cole: M, B, A AH: M, I, VC	28.7.2016 31.8.2016 31.8.2016
UWC	Tuli F, B, A Sine: M, B, A George: M, B, A	25.8.2016 28.8.2016 1.5.2017	Heather: F, W, SA, John: M, B, SA-DCV office Kyle: M, B, SA	2.8.2016 25.8.2016 23.8.2016

*Notes: F/M: Female/Male; B/C/I/W: Black/ Coloured/Indian/White, L/A: Leader/ Activist, S: Student, Activist: A, SA: Student Affairs, VC: Vice Chancellor.

Nature of Protests

The section below looks at the students' responses on the nature of protest at their institutions. In all three campuses, protests took three distinctive identities: non-violent, disruptive and violent. Within this continuum, an untypical case of students' protest came to the fore, where students cleaned their campuses during the protests.

University Shut Down as a Common Protest Tactic

The elements determining the escalating the protests include the response of the university and the time-lapse between the students' formal registration of their grievance with the university management and the response. In this case, students shared that shut-downs were a popular protest tactic, indicating that protests often move from non-violent to violent as the survey established. Below are the responses about the popular protests:

> *"We are not known for arson and burning, we are not known for violent protests. We are known for protesting itself. Just to shut down, but not violence." Malaika F, B, L, Wits.*

> *"SASCO national called for a shutdown, right." George, M, B, A, UWC*

> *"SRC president who planned that we must have a peaceful strike, you see" Mpho, M, B, S, UFS*

At face value participants' responses differ; however, they resonate the same sentiment of non-violent protests and that the directive was from the SASCO national office as all three institutions were led by SASCO or PYA. From Malaika's statement, one senses disappointment and frustration about the violence and, possibly, her knowledge of the likely consequences for such violence. Sanctions for engaging in violence may include waning public support and disciplinary action against movement leaders that either the university and/ or their political parties can institute. George's response points to the popularity of the shutdown as a political party sanctioned protest tactic along with the level of influence these may have on how the SRC may execute some of its plans of action. Although, SASCO has often led protests at universities, 2015 was the first time they coordinated a national student protest. This national call mirrors that students were frustrated with the ANC unfulfilled promises about the implementation of free education. On the whole, it

seems that the protestors were encouraged to be non-violent in their protests, as Mpho pointed out. Mpho's statement, reverberates with Malaika's disappointment about the violence that occurred during the protests.

The Morphing of Protest Tactics from Peaceful to Violent

The previous quotes indicate that the tone of the politics in the country did to an extent shape students' protest tactics as they reflect anti ANC sentiments, which were deepened by the Marikana massacre in 2012 and the formation of the EFF, a youthful party in 2013. As a result, these political tensions also played out in the university spaces, representing the critical mass where youth are found. What follows are the responses of the key informants in the executive on the nature of protests at their campuses.

> *"…if it were not for the Shimla Park invasion and assault, UFS might not have had any significant protests at all. There was relatively little disruption. I believe this has to do with the open forum on campus between management and students, an unusually heavy level of investment in students from a leadership point of view, and the relative isolation of the UFS from major urban political forces and multiple universities around the Bloemfontein campus. The politics of the central region of the country is generally less intense than in the major city centres of South Africa, a function of history and a relatively small population" JJ, M, C, VC, UFS.*

> "*The movement has been very peaceful; it was until November of that year, then it began to spill into violence but then, we managed it. It really became violent in places like UWC and then in the New Year, it became violent in other places across the system" AH, M, I, VC, Wits.*

> *"UWC is one of those universities that was literally burning with many incidents of arson, intimidation, physical violence against staff and students, there was extensive damage to residencies and offices etc., personal property, intimidation .These are tactics that at the university, given the culture and the environment, we try to address, but the culture of violence was what really took us by surprise. It goes against what we try to instil into our*

students and, so far, as constructive protest. It was really for us on an extreme level" Kyle, M, I, SA, UWC.

The university managers shared that the protests at UFS and Wits were peaceful as opposed to those at the UWC that were violent from the onset. For JJ, the university management's effort to train student leaders and to be responsive to students' needs regulated protests at this institution. This assertion disregards the fact that systems do not translate to attitudinal changes and that the Shimla Park violence was not due to chance factors, but long-term standing challenges stemming from racism. While, the UFS is isolated compared to the other universities, the regulation of political party activism may have had a role in creating a skittish atmosphere (Jansen, 2017). The situation at Wits followed the normal trajectory of protest tactics, from peaceful to violent. Kyle's statement indicates that violence was extensive at the UWC because people were harmed and property damaged. He again voiced his disappointment about the inability of the university to shape the behaviour of students through its teachings, though he designated environmental factors to the violent behaviour of the students. As both students and key informants shared, the initial phase of protests was peaceful and even brought out a new character of student protests, where students cleaned their campuses. The discussion below looks at this character.

Protests as an Expression of Accountability and Unity among Students

Media often broadcasts protests that are violent, where the students destroy property and run amok. Little attention is given to actions that do not meet this typecast. Despite the violence experienced during the #FMF, students at various campuses expressed non-normative actions, as illustrated in the quotations that follow. The UWC is not included in this case as none of the student leaders or activists shared that they partook in these activities, though there were social media reports pleading for food and bail money for their arrested peers.

"Students were cleaning up the mess at the campus," Xoli, F, B, L, Wits.

"They spray painted some of our own Black heroes on the trees," Gugu, F, B, L, UFS.

> *"The students didn't destroy any property of the university, we engaged in symbolic violence where the statue of CR Swartz was vandalised. Our action was meant to show the university that it cannot continue uphold the values of CR Swartz or of President Steyn in a democratic and diverse community of the Free State," Itu, M, B, L, UFS.*

The above statements depict that students found own ways for self-expression, contradictory to those that popular culture terms as accepted protest actions. Cleaning the campus and spraying graffiti on the trees may be indicators that students cared about their universities. This information is consistent with survey data in Figure 5.3, where 73% of the students shared that, given a chance, they would enrol at the university again. Assumingly, student non- violence meant to humanise the "Black bodies" as student leaders strove to maintain peaceful protests to avoid potential sanctions.

Protesting and cleaning-up are antagonistic activities, particularly when it is the same group of persons that used vandalism as a protest tactic. At one level, tidying up depicts commitment to 'responsible protesting' as persuasive and non-alienating. Canham (2017) shares that cleaning up may be a middle class instinct to display the superiority and orderliness protests of students at HWU. At another level, joint efforts have had a cathartic effect, whether performed in silence or accompanied by music. Lastly, though menial cleaning builds cohesion it produces feelings of accomplishment and pride. Students' actions may be a depiction of their identification with their institution, hence, their belief to care of it. The graffiti on the trees might relate to the above reasons, chance factors or that the life span of the trees is intergenerational and rooted like the philosophies of the heroes whose names were spray-painted. Keeping with the non-violent protests' theme, Itu attributed students' actions to symbolic violence, as there were fewer incidences of violence at his campus. According to Itu, the vandalism of President Steyn's statue was symbolic rather than actual violence as it was a call for a non-racial identity. To him the presence of this statue contradicted the motive behind student's painting names of the Black struggle heroes on the trees. Conclusively, students' actions aimed to maintain the integrity of the protests and that of their heroes.

The discussion above indicates the difference of opinions of students and the university leaders. For students their protests were peaceful, whereas for the key informants these escalated to violence with time. Supporting students' point of view was that they took active roles in safeguarding their environment and the protest, itself, as they cleaned after themselves. For the UWC, violence experienced was extensive and did not match the events at the other institutions. It seems as if the UWC protests did not really take the normal trajectory, as protests did not end when concessions were reached: the #FMF violence was the launch pad for other concerns. The continued and escalated protest might have been a way for other political parties like the BLF, EFF and PASMA to gain traction in student politics (Habib, 2019). Whether the protest was peaceful or violent, students' focus was on realising free higher education as discussed shortly.

Contributory Factors to the #FMF Student Movement Call to Free HE

Over the years, students be they as individuals or as a collective, have made university authorities aware that tuition fees at universities were costly. The essence of the 2015/2016 protests was the increase in fees, which students opposed. Despite the university management acknowledging that fee increases were untenable, they however pursued student leaders to accept their proposal. The following discussion considers:(i) the perceived disregard of universities of Black students challenges; (ii) the extent and consequences of academic indebtedness, students call for free tuition fees; (iii) the unanticipated effects of NSFAS means-testing, exclusion of middle class students; (iv) universities as businesses and students' assumptions of the indifference of university leaders. These issues are indicative of the lack of transformation at the institutions.

Student perception of the lack transformation at their universities

The transformation of the universities has been a long-standing issue contended by South African universities. In a few years post-democracy these institutions are still grappling with this issue, despite the fact Black students, especially, can access these spaces. Majority students indicate that transformation has yet to be realised at their campuses. The statements below indicate how advanced students think the transformation process is at their respective campuses.

"Well the university's management felt challenged because students had to say 'we have been calling for institutional transformation, for transformation of institutional culture, transformation of institutional symbolism and you've been ignoring it for quite some time. Now we do not intend to wait, we want transformation now,'" Itu, M, B, L, UFS.

"When you speak transformation, you are intimidated or you threatened. The system is not only unjust, it kicks you down as a Black child and having to deal with student victimization on top of it makes you feel hopeless because you cannot even voice out. What we trying to say, 'we want society to understand what every Black student goes through' at the universities," Naledi, F, B, SCR L, Wits.

"There were immediate issues which we needed to address. You know issues of access control, making the environment conducive, issues of transformation," George, M, B, A, UWC

Itu shares the view that students were not making progress on their discussion with the university management on transformation issues. In his opinion the university management ignored their efforts and even victimised those who spoke out. Hence students gave the management an ultimatum. This students' stance indicated their unwillingness to negotiate further on the matter with the management. The need to threaten not only indicated students' awareness to managements' lack of responsiveness, but it also indicated the level of disregard that the management may have had on some of the students' issues. While Itu did not intimate that there was subtle violence against those who spoke out for transformation at his university, Naledi seems to provide this as a reason for the UFS students to give the management an ultimatum. Her account indicates that the university management is not always receptive to students concerns and would instead victimise students. It seems that students believed that transformation was a short-term goal, as reflected quantitatively. Thus, the insistence that it needed to be implemented "now". This call for immediacy may be reflective of students' impatience with the lack of change at these institutions. In such conditions the levels of trust are likely to plummet and affect the legitimacy of the university management (Jackson & Gau, 2016). With students' voices restricted, the students'

intention to put the struggles of Black university students out in the public were unrealised. The need for transformation and access control were expressed at the UWC. Below are quotations from the VCs and senior member of staff on their efforts to transform the universities.

Transformation Efforts from the Perspective of the Managers

> "*There has been some progress but not enough. But currently 75 (to) 76% of our students are Black. The vast majority of our postgraduate students are Black," AH, M, I, VC, Wits.*

> *"Each and every student should feel part of the institution. Universities need to draw from students a calibre of future academics, and when the institutional culture and climate do not support the institutional transformational imperatives, they feel alienated and the sense of appreciation of diversity is compromised," John, M, SA DVC–office, UWC.*

> *"There is no other university in South Africa that has a more consistently open-door policy to students and student leaders at all levels of the institution from the Rector's Office to the Institute (specifically set up for this purpose) and Student Affairs," JJ, M, C, VC, UFS.*

The process of transformation of the university is perceived and interpreted differently as per each university. At Wits, the process means increasing access for previously marginalised groups, as seen in the increase in the numbers of Black students at that institution. This successful undertaking is commendable as the university was previously meant for English speaking students. In this case transformation is quantitative. At the UWC, creating an enabling environment was key to ensuring the attainment of the transformation imperatives. Reference to the climate implied that the institution has yet to have a climate that fosters belonging to all students across racial groups. JJ and John's response are incompatible as they reflect that university cultures may either be receptive on non-receptive to students.

For JJ, his institution mastered the transformation process, an assertion that Black students may refute. Additionally, having an open-door policy does not mean students will use opportunities to engage, or that the authorities will always be available to address student issues.

The above inputs indicate that university leaders interpret transformation differently from students. What would have helped was to combine the qualitative and quantitative aspects of this process. It is, however, understandable that these leaders held different point of views as each was likely to take a contextualised approach to the realisation of transformation. In this case, the VCs were likely to see their efforts building towards the transformation of the universities. The lack of anticipated changes at the universities somewhat influenced and shaped students' perceptions of management's willingness to address their issues as stated below.

Universities as Perpetuating Feelings of Inadequacy and Exclusion on the part of Black Students

The responses in this section reveals the attitudes that some of the university students held in relation to race and disadvantage. In their opinion, the universities continue to exclude them. This continued exclusion seemingly affects their belonging. Tuli, Gugu and Naledi, gave perspective about the level of disregard that occurs at their campuses.

> *"When we come to an institution that is supposed to be the 'university of the left' supposed to prioritize the Black child and the Black conditions. The institutions is not doing that, but instead it keeps on oppressing the Black child, it keeps on violating the Black bodies day in and day out," Tuli, F, B, L, UWC.*

> "*A female student went to ask the faculty secretary about the appeal process as she had failed a module twice. Her asking just that, she was told that 'no, like you Black women feel entitled' you know," Gugu, F, B, SL, UFS.*

> "*You get people [students] having mental breakdowns, like emotional breakdowns even in university and they don't really understand what is going on,*" *Kganya, F, B, SA, WITS.*

Tuli's quotation indicates an incongruence between the actual situation and expectations that stem from how institutions brand themselves. Her expectations were for the university to continue to be sympathetic to the plight of the marginalised groups, disregarding the era during which this commitment was made. However, her experience was that the university was not receptive, thus her use of "Black bodies" instead of Black people. This assertion encapsulates her perceived value that society puts on Black people, hence, the objectification. The #FMF was an example of how the system and its processes excludes and isolates students. Ironically, her adoption and use of the "Black body" seems contradictory to Black pride, a Black consciousness value advocated for in her political party. At another level, this objectification may be the necessary impetus for raising awareness and mobilisation of peers. In this case, one may assume that majority of Blacks UWC students expect that their university offer remedial action to their challenges. For Gugu, Black students at her institution seem to face the blatant racisms and sexism, from those in authority. This is because the secretary created an antagonistic atmosphere by labelling the student and a possible altercation. One may relate the attitude of the secretary to micro-aggression that are embedded in institutional culture. Micro-aggressions are intentional or unintentional prejudiced hostile statements, snubs, insults and slights directed at marginalised groups (Lilienfeld, 2017). Kganya shares that universities are oblivious to the challenges that students go through and how these affect their general wellbeing and ability to cope with their academic tasks.

The three cases indicate the lack of relationship between students and the university authorities as a result of unmet expectations and a lack of responsiveness. This is, in particular, when considering how institutional culture continues to perpetuate discrimination. Keet (2015) shares that it is the task of the management and the academics to create institutional environments that embrace Black students' as a diverse, but essential part of their institutions. However, Mothoagae (2016) indicates that racial exclusion illustrates the state's inability to humanise Black people, confirming Tuli's use of the Black bodies concept instead of labelling them as people.

University Vice-Chancellors as Targets of the #FMF

https://www.eNCA.com/south-africa/uwc-disgusted-with-racist-graffiti

Figure 5.26: Graffiti at campuses

Graffiti is a common mode of protest art by students an expression of students' grievances. In this case one notices three statements lifted from the campuses. The one on the left shares that fees will fall, *fokoff* (f*ck off) Habib. Habib in this case refers to Prof. Adam Habib, Wits University VC. The middle one refers to Jansen, Prof. Jonathan Jansen, who was then the VC of the UFS until 2016. The last was painted at the UWC's residences: although not explicit, it is an assertion of the students' stance on fees. These messages point to university VCs as targets of protests and as obstacles to the transformation of their institutions and of the system. In his study of VCs experiences of the #FMF movement, Jansen (2016) shares that during the height of the movement VCs across his sampled universities had to have 24-hour security at their homes as their home addresses were publicised and students encouraged to protests at their homes. This dynamic moved the #FMF from the public to the personal domain and created insecurity for the VCs and significant others. Therefore, one can assume that some students were exploiting the vulnerabilities of the movement to gain concessions. Overall, the results indicate that the status and role of the VC lends itself to the antagonism.

Student Affairs Practitioners' Perception of the University Attention to Students' Issues

The Student Affairs department is dedicated to the wellbeing of students; hence they are more or less well placed to share perceptions about the transformation of the university from both their observations and those of students. Three staff members from the sampled institutions provided these views:

"I wonder what kinds of behaviour from the university would convince that kind of student that it does care. I have worked at universities and they are deeply concerned with how to make it better for everyone, it is not true that the universities don't care, but what you expect is that a student says "I don't see caring behaviours. I'm not convinced that people care" so I think those are the differences, and when I think behaviour of students in our environment, in our universities you simply don't know what it looks like when the institution cares," Heather, F, W, SA, UWC.

"In the middle was management because we had to contain the situation, and the staff. I am not recusing ourselves. But on the other hand, here is the bigger, the more powerful one and he is saying… government and they are saying 'please go back to class, stop this, we will negotiate.' You know they were like lip service, like typically how government normally does things," Joy, F, C, SA, Wits.

"I think first of all the students feel and they have got a sense that they do not really belong. In other words, this is not their place, they cannot connect with this place, they are disconnected from that place. They are alienated from this place; this is not their space. When they feel that they cannot identify with what is happening here as well, they become disconnected," Pete, M, W, SA, UFS.

Staff in the Student Affairs' departments of the three universities held different views about the transformation programme. For Heather, it was important to understand students' point of view so that amends could be made. Heathers' stance is based on the time that the university management puts in understanding the issues of the students and their willingness to resolve these. Joy addresses the trilateral relationship between students, the management and the government, and the power with which each party within this relationship is bestowed. Pete, addresses the level of disconnection that students face and how this may defeat their beliefs about the transformation process.

One may argue that although the university management is accessible and goes to lengths in their attempts to address students' issues, there are two drawbacks to this stance. Firstly, students no longer believe what the university management and even the government promises as over the years these have not been realised. As a result, universities are put in an undesirable position where they have to meet needs of students, with little support from the state.

Therefore, the issue here may be that despite the effort of the management students felt alienated. Contributory factors to alienation may be the non-implementation of the agreements that are made between the SRC and the management. Omenyi, Agu, & Odimegwu, (2010) conducted a comparative study on students' belonging at some Nigerian universities, which revealed that students who are disconnected are likely to engage in violence. On this basis, there are no trade-offs. However, one cannot disregard the role of history in the manner that university management address issues of the students.

. This section looked at the perceptions of key stakeholders at the three universities, namely, students, staff members based at the Student Affairs departments and those forming part of senior management at the universities about the transformation and perceived efforts of the executive managers to address students' issues. Students and staff members at the Student Affairs departments agreed that transformation was not done in earnest at these institutions owing to unrealised expectations and alienation from the university. Despite this acknowledgement, the university management had illustrated their efforts to resolve issues of students through engagement. Senior managers at the universities had a more optimistic view regarding transformation as their emphasis was on quantitative rather the abstract aspects of the transformation programme. However, the #FMF movement might have changed their perception of their transformation efforts. The belief of the management as uncaring about the needs of students seemingly resulted in the VCs becoming targets of students' displeasure, where their personal safety and that of their significant others were threatened (Habib, 2019; Jansen, 2016).

Extent and Consequences of Academic Indebtedness

Over the years students at HBUs have consistently called for the introduction of free education to circumvent the lack of access, high dropout rates and, in particular, indebtedness of Black students. The discussion below supports the students' call for free education.

Measures that the Universities Employ to Encourage Payment of Outstanding Fees

This section explores academic indebtedness and the means that universities employ to recoup the debt from students. Penalties for non-payment include barring defaulters from writing the examinations, charging interest on arrears and withholding results and/ or degree certificates.

Criminology Notice Board at the UFS showing number of students owing 2015 tuition fees (UFS, March 2016).

Figure 5.27: Students owing University

"Interest charged on tuition fee arrears exacerbates the rate of financial exclusions," Lesedi, F, B, A, UFS.

"Four years or 3 years of not sleeping, of not eating and come your third year when you pass and you are to graduate, these people [university authorities] don't want you to attend the ceremony, and we are supposed to celebrate education that people are still denying; you the privilege of having to go and celebrate the hard work that you have put in throughout these years? Also, what they are doing is they don't give you your certificate because they say you are owing. How the hell are we supposed to work then? Sine, M, B, A, UWC.

The above picture, although not representing the extent of academic indebtedness across the UFS and other institutions reveals somewhat that it is rife. To coax students to pay their debt, universities exposes defaulters, as seen in their names highlighted in red ink possibly as a way to sensitise students of their debt. Students who fail to pay their academic debt cannot progress without clearing such debts. Using notices to communicate with students is common at the universities; however, one wonders whether this action does not humiliate these students as they are supposedly aware that they owe the university. Lesedi notes that universities charge interest on the tuition fee arrears, increasing the debt for which a student is liable.

This action seems to have an opposite effect on the ability of the students to pay as Lesedi shares that it increases financial exclusion. In some instances, students are allowed to continue with their studies, irrespective of their debt, but are eventually denied their degree certificate; without the degree certificate, there is no proof of successful completion of their degree. In all of these instances, the university had to resort to unpopular methods to unsuccessfully recover their monies. Apart from the punitive sanctions against students who fail to pay fees, universities, to an extent, attempt to relieve students' financial burdens, Kyle shares what his institutions does for some of its students. Kyle reports on the efforts that his university makes to ensure that academically deserving students are not excluded.

> *"We [UWC] do not exclude students who are performing academically, but cannot pay, we've always done tha.t I think first year students with anything above a C aggregate get huge concessions to the point ratio. Those with an A aggregate and are from a previously disadvantaged background do not pay fees. So UWC has always been the university that has gone to the extremes to accommodate our previously disadvantage students. And it was sad to see it take brunt of this type of protest [violent] when your UCTs and Stellenbosch were left a little bit intact," Kyle, M, I, SA, UWC.*

Kyle's statement indicates that universities take extraordinary measures to ensure that students are supported. However, this support depends on the grades that they received at secondary school, especially when one is a first-year student. With the UWC being an HBU, its

management has always been attuned to the needs of its constituency. Such knowledge proved insufficient when students engaged in the #FMF protests and destroyed public and private property. More disturbing for Kyle was that privileged universities were not damaged as much as the UWC. Irrespective of the above considerations from the university to prioritise the needs of students from the low-income groups, it seems that students expected the university to do more.

Extent of Poverty among University Students

Students shared that their universities were not as helpful in reducing their financial burdens. In this section, students, give insight on the extent of poverty that university students face:

"*As a student in the university, I also can't have finances; and also, I can't eat, I'm not eating. Basically, I can't live in this space. I'd rather be at home," Odwa, F, B, A, Wits.*

"*A Black child is under privileged and comes from a poor background; a Black child cannot afford other specific things; a Black child we are more restricted," Xolani, M, B, S, UFS.*

"*We [Black students] can't of course afford to fully pay for registration, we can't fully afford to pay for accommodation. When we come to an institution that is supposed to be the university of left, it supposed to prioritize the Black child and the Black conditions" Tuli, F, B, A, UWC.*

The above quotations illustrate that students see the university as an extension of the developmental state, and expecting that it will provide education to all needy students. The source of these perceptions is the ANC government, which has over the years assured needy students that their education will be covered by the state (Ray, 2016). Odwa shares the daily

struggles, which range the inability to afford tuition fees and food. These shortages can be said to be the reason for students dropping out as they feel helpless and hopeless. While staying at home may seem like an unreasonable option, being at home shifts the responsibility to meet wellbeing needs on the parents. Xolani repeatedly associates impoverishment and poverty to being a Black person. Over the years, poverty has moved from being a race to a class condition. His sentiments are however valid as Black students represent a large percentage of those who cannot afford tuition fees and other related expenses.

Tuli shares that Black students cannot afford to fully pay fees that the university charges them. She notes that their choice of an institution aligned to the left has to mean that the institution must make allowances for these students as their conditions are well known. Her statement contradicts what Kyle said earlier that the university ensures that deserving and underprivileged students are never financially excluded. Further, UWC adopted its leftist identity at the height of apartheid when access was determined according to race. In the democratic era, the university has somewhat relinquished this non-conformist identity. Fundamentally, her statement indicates the belief that some students see universities not only as spaces of learning but also as spaces for meeting welfare needs. It seems that these students opine on the exclusion of middle-class students, as Tuli notes students cannot pay registration and accommodation fees in full. AH indicated that it was a concern, as discussed in the next stanza. At the macro level, one assumes that these students are forcing institutions of the state to account for their unmet expectations, the high levels of youth unemployment and financial insecurities.

University Management Perception of the Missing Middle as a NSFAS Shortcoming

The executive management opines differently as it views the NSFAS as effective in promoting access to students from a low socio-economic background, but it recognises that the fee structure and NSFAS means tests may disadvantage students from the middle class. For instance, AH shared the following:

> *"As state subsidy began to decline universities increased fees. Over the years top-end institutions initiated double digits increases, hence, disadvantaging middle class students.*

NSFAS assisted poor people whereas and middle classes were too rich for the NSFAS and too poor to afford the cost of education," AH, M, I, VC, Wits.

AH shares that the decline in government subsidy forced universities to increase tuition fees, drastically this was a decision that they undertook despite its anticipated shortcomings for students from middle class income families. Thus, the parents' social status barred middle class students from accessing the NSFAS. The basis of the sympathy to the plight of middle- class students that they are likely to cope with academic tasks as opposed to their peers, who are from working class families and may require minimum academic support. Whatever the VC's sentiments, students have engaged in fundraising activities to stem the financial exclusion. These efforts are shared in the next section

Efforts of the SRC to Reduce the Burden of Unaffordable Student Fees

The role of the SRC is to represent and safeguard the interests of students and over the years, they have fundraised on behalf of students who cannot afford tuition fees. These efforts indicate that SRC members are saddled with extra tasks that may be beyond their capabilities as they are not professional fundraisers. Xolani and Mpho, who were based at the UFS shared the following to highlight the role of the SRC in circumventing exclusions.

"*The SRC raised funds to pay for other people's [students] fees so and it was a success. However, the fundraising drive still continues," Xolani, M, B, S, UFS.*

"I came here [UFS] without having registration fees. Even now they [SRC] is helping me to find ways to register for next year. They said that I need to perform well, [which I have done], for me to continue getting their assistance. There are bursaries and monies that they put together, to enable me to continue with my studies. They helped me, they helped me with a lot of things," Mpho, M, B, S, UFS.

Xolani points out that the immense pressure that the SRC members shoulders, which includes ensuring that their peers are not financially excluded. Despite their efforts, Xolani shares that SRC members' efforts to fund raise are not always successful. One can imagine

that the SRC members may feel despondent, since they are unable to help their peers. Hence, SRC leaders may engage in protests to have students' issues addressed.

Mpho shares that he does not often have registration fees and his ability to continue with his studies is attributed to the SRC securing performance-based funding for him. Meeting the condition for the funding elicits a sense of pride and implies that he does not have worry about his finances for the subsequent year. It is undeniable that the SRC is concerned with their constituencies as they take proactive and various measures from negotiating fee increases, fundraising and protests to minimising financial exclusions. However, these actions do not often yield anticipated results, hence, students called for free education. The call for free tuition relates to students' need for an equitable system as the current labels isolates them. From the students' point of view, free education is likely to eradicate the humiliation they face when applying for sponsorship and their inability to afford fees.

Free Education as Means to Eradicate Students' Indebtedness

The previous discussion looked at the challenges that students come across as a result of being indebted and their previous efforts to address such challenges. Their lack of success in having high tuition fees addressed was instrumental in advocating for free education. Data from the interviews revealed the following sub-themes: (i) free education to circumvent high tuition fees; (ii) unanticipated effects of the NSFAS means test; (iii) disappointment of authorities over addressing high tuition fees; (iv) the universities adoption of the business model of governance; (v) the lack of care from the university authorities.

Call for Free Education to Circumvent Unaffordable Tuition Fees

The three sampled institutions charge variable tuition fees, which not all students can afford, with Wits charging the highest fees compared to UFS and UWC. The persistent historical student debt is evidence that tuition fees have become a barrier to students' access and retention in the HE system. Hence, students call for free quality HE. The input that participants gave in relation to the call for free HE is discussed below:

"My fees do not come from my parents as I don't come from a good background, so the SRC is helping me. So, if they [government] can say that "Fees Must Fall", it will be helpful as students will continue with their studies," Mpho, M, B, S, UFS.

"*It is because the war has not been won. The struggle was for fees to fall but this meant 2 things. One, a zero percent (0%) fee increase which the students won. So, there was no fee increase in 2016. But some students were now calling for zero fees, which is free education at university level," Cole, M, B, A, Wits.*

"The President announced the issue of no fee increase. Some in the opposition said 'we don't want this thing of zero-increase. Free education must be declared now, which was impossible when you face the struggle; there must be immediate issues; there must also be strategic, long term issues that you need to address but in a particular framework. There was this movement which we would like call the "ngokhu" [now] who would say "everything now," *George, M, B, A, UWC.*

Mpho gives perspective of his family background, wherein both his parents cannot afford to pay his tuition fees. He relies on the SRC to link him with university structures that would provide him with the necessary support. One wonders how he would have fared without such support and whether the support was rendered immediately or whether he had to wait before knowing his fate. Kongolo (2012) shares that students' choice of institution is based on fees and the ability of the SRC to persuade the university management to concede to their demands about historical debt. Mpho seems to recognise the SRC's role to address issues of students rather than the apolitical student movement. One may associate his stance taking to his previous successful interactions with the SRC. Despite him getting the necessary support from the SRC, the introduction of free education would lessen his dependence on this structure and restore his dignity.

Cole shares that the no fee increase provided students with some short-term respite and indicated that they had won one of their initial calls, that fees need not be increased. He further shares that the second call for free education was by a few students. This was seemingly made after President Zuma had conceded to the initial call for no increase on fees. George further elaborates on the impossibility of the second proposal as its cost implications were never considered. George and Naledi are in unison, with Naledi sharing that:

"We just want a form of commitment; make a move; don't sit at one place; we are not asking you to wake up tomorrow and say there are no fees at all for everyone. Come up with something that leads us to the very struggle that we want to end" Naledi, F, B, L, Wits.

This statement indicates that students are reasonable and appreciate that the call for free education is complex and requires extensive investigation prior to its implementation. It is acceptable that Naledi and George hold the same views of the expectations from the governing party because they belong to the same organisation. Changing the initial petition from fee freeze to free education illustrated that there were fractures in the movement as the ANC-aligned student organisations called for resumption of academics, while the non-aligned groups were for the continuation of the protest.

Data above indicates that increases of tuition fees and historical debts are twin pressures affecting university students. Accordingly, students abandoned the tuition fee freeze for free education as this request would allow them to continue with their education, without concern about financial exclusion. Mpho's statement that his parents were unable to contribute financially to his education confirms the students' call for free education. At the management level, concern was on students from middle class families because they did not receive any state support. The next part of the discussion explores the management's input on student fees, with special reference to their cost.

Unanticipated Effects of NSFAS Means-Testing

Access to most government services require that potential recipients prove that they can ill-afford such services. This redistributive element of government policies permeates all initiatives, including the NSFAS. For students, this undertaking is humiliating. Quotations that follow reveal students' displeasure with the means testing of the NSFAS:

> *"We want to abolish all forms of charities that make students contest and compete amongst themselves. Bursaries and the NSFAS are charities because they are means given to the poor to access education. We must get free education," Vongani, M, B, A, UFS.*

> *"A Black child has to prove yearly to the NSFAS offices that 'I am poor', I am an orphan,'" Tuli, F, B, A, UWC.*

Vongani offers that the purpose of the #FMF is to eliminate piecemeal solutions associated with the access and retention of Black and poor students to HE. To him, government support allocation is limited and does not afford all deserving students' access to HE. Moreover, he labels bursaries and the NSFAS as charities, meant for the poor, thus, warranting free education. A point worth considering is that although finances limit access to HE, the capacity of these institution is also limited. Thus, even with the implementation of free education, students will still compete for access. This means that institutions will devise other criteria for entry. Tuli points out to the indignity of being poor, which not only requires students to compete for funding, but to prove that they are 'deserving poor'. Understandably, Tuli limits the NSFAS criteria of the 'deserving poor' to being a Black child and orphaned, because Black students are often a large number of NSFAS recipients. As a national funding scheme, the NSFAS would not apply qualification criteria selectively, but would apply to all applicants irrespective of race. Secondly, being an orphan means not having parents; it does not always translate to poverty.

Fundamentally, the message from students is that free education will bring about equality among students from all social classes and not isolate them. From the reasoning below, students may have decided for free education because of their weariness of addressing the same issue without a solution. Therefore, students viewed free education as a viable solution to address the fee issues.

Disappointment over Non-Response from the Authorities over Fees

Malaika and Vongani share that the government has not been receptive to the free education call. This is because as student leaders they are often part of the ANC youth structures, which have discussed free education over a long period. Despite their privileged position, students have been unable to have their needs addressed. Hence, their impatience ought to be understood in the context that the national government does not often uphold its commitments. For paternalists, impatience rather than need for accountability to their constituencies drove the #FMF violence. The leaders shared the following:

> *"We are tired of talking fees, it doesn't help. This is what happens with proposals 'we have received your proposal comrades, and we look into it, actually we have a new commission'. We can make ourselves urgent, very urgent. But we will see in October (2016). Especially if there is a 2012 report stating that free education was affordable," Malaika F, B, L, Wits.*

> *"Impatience is a tool to push the university management to come to concession," Vongani, M, B, A, UFS.*

Malaika shared that they are tired of talking about fees because it does not help since all that they are getting from the ANC structures is an acknowledgement, but no action, except for the appointment a commission of enquiry. Hence, she asserted that they can make themselves urgent, although this action was based on the response of the Heher Commission. Malaika's assertion illustrates that students have not only spoken to the universities, but also to the government, which employed delay tactics instead of resolving the issue.

Therefore, students resolved to take action and make themselves a priority, meaning that they were planning to force the authorities to meet their demands. This last statement indicates that the #FMF was planned to an extent. Vongani indicates that impatience is necessary to get the desired ends. Meaning that they were going to use force. The two statements illustrate that although authorities may emphasise dialogue as a conflict resolution measure, they hardly follow through with this advice.

The University's Adoption of the Business Model of Governance

The university of the 21st century has reinvented itself according to the principles of the market (Altbach & Salmi, 2015). This reinvention meant that fees are standard as the value of education is seen to accrue to an individual with little value to the public. The statements below capture students' disappointment about the inequities that system creates, but also the sense of entitlement paid for goods and services. In an environment where social class and race determine one's dignity, some students may have found such status being affected by being called customers. Kganya and Tuli's quotes present these contradictions:

> *"Universities are run like business, there is no longer that element of we actually care because you are a person. They kick you out for the next person that has money," Kganya, F, B, A, Wits.*

> *"Rectors and management of our institution are protecting the White monopoly capital institutions. If you go to the admin to load credits on student card, you are called, 'next customer please', they don't say next student, please. If I am seen as a customer, I have rights that I must protect," Tuli, F, B, L, UWC.*

Kganya indicates that universities are run like businesses and as a result, they care only about money and not the actual student as a person. In this environment money is what is important and the lack, thereof, disqualifies one as a student. In this regard, the university is a revolving door, with students who are able to pay fees allowed to be part of the institutions. Acknowledging that the university was interested in money and not the person implies the erosion of the sense of community and care within this sector.

Tuli voices that the rectors and management at her institution are protecting 'White monopoly capital'. Her assertion is not only based on the changes in the university processes, but also on the Bell Pottinger campaign that targeted wealthy White families and individuals. The campaign accused them of economic apartheid, creating a wedge between Black and White people. The purpose of the campaign was to remove attention from the corruption of the Gupta family that President Zuma aided. Therefore, Tuli's frustration with the university management is a factor of her environment. Tuli believes that her status as a customer comes with entitlements due to her. But her use of White monopoly capital illustrates the link between student and national politics and that some students may have found cause in the racially divisive message that the public relations company spread. Both Kganya and Tuli see the university management as uncaring about their issues as students, a point that Heather and AH refute in the next stanza.

Affirmations of Caring about High Tuition Fees from the Management

University management bore the brunt of dissatisfied students and an unresponsive government. Both parties blamed VCs for increasing fees although subsidies to the universities had remained stagnant over time. The statements, below, show efforts that the university management made to solve the impasse at the various campuses. Perhaps what needed to have happened was transparency on their part on the efforts and outcomes of interactions with the government.

Statements of the management are diametrically opposed to those students made as the management was accused of being arrogant:

> *"Universities are deeply concerned with how to make it better for everyone. It is not true that they don't care. I have seen executives sit day and night with students more than what they are expected to. We need to ask ourselves what kind of behaviours we need to demonstrate to show care" Heather, F, W, SA, UWC.*

> *"We knew it's coming. For instance, as Vice-Chancellors we met with the President before Fees Must Fall and said to him 'we're heading for a storm' except we didn't anticipate that it will be happen in October, we thinking it will happen in January," AH, M, I, VC, Wits.*

Administrators saw students as oblivious to their efforts and their genuineness in seeking to address and deescalate the tensions about tuition fees. Within the institution, administrators met with SRC members and the #FMF activists, to resolve the increase in tuition fees. Meetings were also held with the state on the impending protest action. Heather shares that VCs have gone extraordinary lengths to address students' issues and engage with them, irrespective of the time of the day. While these actions signify care and interest, there needs to be understanding from students of the symbolism of care. During the #FMF movement, Prof Habib and some of his executive engaged with students overnight, an action that bore different meanings depending on one's point of view. AH shares that he and his VC colleagues did warn the President [Zuma] of the likely protest; although mistimed, the government did not take the necessary steps. The warning indicated that these VCs were concerned about students' wellbeing; however, in a tenuous environment, the VCs efforts were unrecognised or ignored. Exorbitant fees were the core of the #FMF movement, although there were other related issues. The fees message applied across the sampled institutions.

Qualitative confirm survey data as students and key informants cited financial exclusion, but the high levels of corruption in the country may have heightened student perceptions that the university's reluctance to accept all qualifying students is because the institution has not been financially prudent.

The discussion above looked the matters that seem to have contributed to students calling for free education instead of a fee freeze. Data from UWC university indicated student academic debt is rife and that debt collection methods that universities use to recover their monies further disadvantage students. Although the SRC engages in fund raising activities to help out poor students, their efforts proved insufficient to cover all needy students. While the state offers students financial assistance, needy students felt humiliated as they have to periodically prove that they were the deserving poor. This was while middle class students were excluded from this benefit. With both the SRC and the VCs consistently pleading with the government about unaffordable fees, students decided to "prioritise themselves' as per Malaika's words.

Fuelling students' resolve was the belief that VCs were indifferent to their challenges. Ultimately, students believed that protesting was the best solution because negotiations were not beneficial. The next section explores student attitudes towards violence during protests.

Conceptions of Violence during Protest

This section explores how university stakeholders define and justify the use of violence in protests. The following aspects are (i) violent protests as a means to communicate with the authorities; (ii) violence as 'normal' in the South African political protest culture and the socio historical reasons for the use of violence; (iii) developmental and social class factors that promote the use of violence; (iv) students' perceptions of sanctions for engaging in violence. Data presented in this section is from the students and the Student Affairs Practitioners.

Violent Protests as a means to communicate with the Authorities

Qualitative data revealed that students were conflicted about the use of violence during their protests. This ambivalence is seen in their attempts to justify the need for violence when dealing with the authorities. The quotations reveal the thoughts and emotions that relate to its use:

> "*They [students] knew that in order for us [students] to be heard, they [students] were supposed to burn that thing [student centre] down," Tuli, F, B, L, UWC***.**
>
> *"Because we are humans and we have anger and we know that in South Africa, that as Blacks when we need something and we do not get it then, we quickly decide that it is better for us to run and burn in the streets so that we are heard," Mpho, M. B, S***,** *UFS.*

> *"How am I not supposed to not resort to violence as it is only where there is violence, that there's action, and then things happen?" Odwa, B, F, A, Wits.*

The three participants, Tuli, Mpho and Odwa, expressed that violence can be both a reaction and a response. Tuli and Odwa take the former stance, with Mpho taking the latter. The participants indicate that violence is a vehicle for communicating with the authorities, who seemingly encourage such behaviour as where there is violence the authorities tend to take action. Whatever its nature, whether as a feeling or a thought, their statements highlight its instrumentality. Tuli's reference to a university structure as 'that thing' may be an attempt to diminish the worthiness of the university infrastructure, or to share her indifference or her non- identification with the institution. Her statement contradicts those made by Xoli and Gugu about students' affiliation to their institutions, which mediate the violence that occurs at their campuses. Interestingly, Mpho associates violence with race and impatience, denoting that Black people are inclined to sporadic violence. His response may be in line with airings of violent protests in the media with little regard to nonviolent protests. Regarding impatience, the need to use violence may be stemming from students' unmet expectations.

As one of the most unequal societies, South Africans have unmet expectations, which become pronounced when groups are compared. Tyler, Barak, Maguire & Wells (2018) posit that where individuals are not active participants in the course of dialogue that affects their lives, they are likely to resort to violence. Participants' statements depict that South African youth lack other modalities to express their issues and effective platforms to resolve issues with authorities.

The previous section seems to depict students as reacting to rather than shaping discourse within their campuses. Students projected their behaviour as caused by the non-response of the authorities. This tendency to blame is enabled by an environment that does not promote accountability and that implicitly accepts the use of violence. This reactionary role may relate to age, sex and social status; subsequently, information below showcases students' awareness of their context and internalisation of their roles.

Violence as 'Normal' in the South African Political Protest Culture

Data below looks at the attitude and the proclivity of students to use violence in their protests. Focus is on its instrumentality and normality. All three did find justification for the use of violence in protest and herewith follows their statements on the subject.

"Violence is a pragmatic but short-term solution. Not that I agree with its use, but it is an effective measure for the underclass. Violence is a major shaper of how to resolve issues in South Africa. We are being socialised to using violence," Xoli, F, B, L, Wits.

"Our [Black people] daily life is violence…burning fire. Liberation is the only effect that fire will have on us. We are disrupting the property of oppression and will do whatever necessary it to take it out. We associate fire with creativity and liberation," Sine M., B, A, UWC.

"When people do not take you seriously, violence is the only language that they understand. This whole thing is generational, our parents, grand- parents did it. So, we know that when we use violence, we get attention and results, our issues are prioritised," Lesedi, F, B, L, UFS.

Xoli's response recognises that violence is instrumental, although, its benefits are rather short term. Its desirability stems from it bestowing power to marginalised groups. In essence, violence flips the power structures, affording it to those who under normal circumstances would not be powerful. Xoli further shares that the tendency for South Africans to use violence is because of socialisation; hence, each generation imitates what they observe in their environment. Sine's input extends on Xoli's statement that South Africans have been socialised to using violence. He further acknowledges that violence is prevalent in the lives of Black people. Sine's response reflects the interplay between history, political ineptness and acceptability of violence.

The political violence that occurred pre-democracy and still continues and the oft-violent community protests are some of the examples that strengthen his claim (Bohler-Muller et al., 2017). Moreover, he perceives violence the positive effects of violence for the Black community, therefore his willingness to escalate violence to attain the desired liberation.

Other reasons accounting for his response may be that he is desensitised to violence, as it was prevalent in the environment within which he resides. Lesedi's response is consistent with Xoli's as she relates the use of violence to the amplification of the community voice. Additionally, Lesedi evokes historical reasons for the use of violence and illustrating its instrumentality over generations. These inputs indicate that there are social and historical reasons for using violence. The next section explores these reasons from the point of view of the Student Affairs personnel, students and the university managers.

Normalisation of Violence in Protests as per Student Affairs Practitioners

Following from the recognition that violence was normal in the South African protest culture, the following section explores the same sub-theme from the perspective of Student Affairs officials.

> *"The new language was, 'let's put a match to all our difficulties and put a fire to it and then we get a response,'" Heather, F, W, SA, UWC.*

> *"Isn't the trend that unless I burn 22 schools down [burnt in Vuwani village in 2016], government won't act? A little bit comes from during apartheid years this is how we dealt with those impimpi's [spies] or those issues. And isn't that where the seed was planted. I think it is about us also looking at how we dealt with our history and how it [violence] was the only means to get the so-called supremist to listen to us," Joy, F, C, SA, Wits.*

> *"There are the push factors and pull factors. There are external groups and external groupings and stakeholders outside the university that capitalise on this situation and that pull students towards [violence]. Maybe sometimes with incentives," Pete, M, W, SA, UFS.*

Heather's statement indicates that arson has become a pervasive means to gain attention of the authorities. Hence, students were also not reluctant to use violence. Fuelling this behaviour was that politicians were amendable to violent rather than non-violent protests. Joy further emphasises Heather's opinion and shares that this violent behaviour spans decades as seen during the apartheid days. She attributes violence as the language to which those in authority respond, but she further shares that this is an intergenerational issue, that students may have adopted. The burning of 26 village schools attests how important arson has become in bringing issues of the community to the fore. Therefore, as Pete's statement shows, there are push and pull factors within the universities that encourage the use of violence. An unresponsive university management may push students to be violent. Perceptions of the officials in the Student Affairs department indicate that historical and environmental factors play an essential role in determining whether students would use violence or not; however, it may be possible that the presence of incentives may have made the use of violence a possibility.

All the above responses point to the fact that violence and arson were the ultimate tactics, have political efficacy and provoke a response from unresponsive authorities. Hence, students have also adopted these tactics because of their efficacy. Of the two protest tactics, fire seem to have more appeal because it causes extensive and observable damage making it a communication tool to alert concerned parties of the dissatisfaction of the community (Jasper, 2014b; Langa; 2012). Often the psychological consequences of arson on its victims, witnesses and bystanders are often unacknowledged. Also, violent protests and arson are endemic in South African politics and partly justified by its struggle history, points that both John and AH confirm in the quotations below:

> *"The reasons are historical; part of the struggle against apartheid involved violence and the economic pressure presents conditions for violent approaches. Take community protests, like the March to Union Buildings [student' march] last year and Vuwani (Limpopo) in the first part of this year. Students see how leadership responds to violent actions. It has incentives," John, M, I, SA (DVC office), UWC.*

> "*This burning that has happened in some of the universities isn't unique, it happens in many other parts of society. As seen in service delivery protest, the burning of schools in Vuwani because of political issue around demarcation, in Tshwane in the local government election. There is such a high level of polarization in society and we shouldn't be surprised that some of the politics of the society crosses into the university. Yesterday [31.08.2016] for instance, a cafeteria burnt at UKZN this morning there was a hall burnt in UKZN,"AH, M, I, VC, Wits.*

John confirms Xoli and Lesedi's statements about the historical reasons and associated benefits of violent protests. He shares that the struggle against apartheid, is foundation for the recurrent violent protests at universities. Importantly, the response of the authorities to violence in the communities reinforced this behaviour. Therefore, students were imitating "effective" protest tactics.Similarly, AH points to the overlap of society's issues to the university environment due to political polarisation. Seemingly, the burning of schools has given students some permission to destroy public property. However, developmental and social class factors have a role to play in the students' resorting violence during their protests as explored below.

Data from the participants indicates that not only is violence ubiquitous in protest, but it is also instrumental. Students associated its use with speedy resolution of issues in their communities, hence, peaceful protests are less likely to yield desired ends. Therefore, students adopted tactics they saw efficient in their communities. The proliferation of violent protest at universities is symptomatic to how violence is entrenched in the South African repertoire of dealing with problems. Therefore, the burning of infrastructure is a common tactic, whether to distract police officers or as a result of anger from unresponsive authorities as revealed in Tuli's statement that "s*tudents knew that in order for us [students] to be heard, they [students] were supposed to burn that thing [student centre] down."* Her attitude seemingly indicates that violent protests are a normal act to which Black people resort to address issues with authorities, despite its destructive nature.

The Student Affairs practitioners supported the students' point of view, suggesting that arson was a common tactic, not necessarily new, but regaining its instrumentality among communities as means to prompt those in power to action. The members of the executive also agreed that students were observing and imitating what they observed in their communities. Unlike adults, students were more likely to absolve themselves from the violence; depending on their social status they seemed to support violence as a means to have issues addressed. The next section illustrates how the age and social class dynamics have shaped the use of violence in protests.

Developmental and Social Class Factors that promote the use of Violence

In this section, the discussion looks at the personal-related factors that may encourage students to use violence during protests. These are following sub-topics: (i) violence as fun; a (ii) the call for lenient punishment for the students who engaged in violent acts; (iii)the use of violence as a depiction of social class differences.

Violence as fun

A large number of the participants in the interviews were young adults under 28 years. Their need for identity formation and self-discovery may expose some to engage in risky behaviour out of curiosity and/ or peer pressure (Sather & Shelat, 2017). Assumingly, these students may have witnessed violent service delivery protests in their communities. Therefore, they stated that violence was fun. The responses below capture these challenges, which from an adult point of view may mean that students are not responsible:

> *"FOMO (Fear Of Missing Out) you want to look like Solomon Mahlangu and imitate the events of 1976. Sometimes you see people provoking the police saying you can't shoot," George, M, B, A, UWC.*

"Some think that when people are running, it is fun. Some might think that it is fun not because of belonging to a party… that is fun that is associated with breaking car windows, burning tyres, litter and bins," Mpho, M, B, S, UFS.

"We were provoked and that is how we are to fight it, to find our way out of the corner and we fought with them, and we fought them off, police were called in and that is then, when police are coming, then you know it is serious business," Sine, M, B, A,UWC.

The role of social network media cannot be overlooked in creating an atmosphere "of missing out", as participants capture real-time events, somewhat heightening the desire of non-participants to be part of the protests. George shares that some students may have joined the protests for reasons different from those of the movement, which were to emulate apartheid era young activists. In this case, one can assume that students sought to regain the political spaces. Curiosity, peer pressure and the need for youth to dispel the perception that they are politically detached and apathetic may have been the reasons for the FOMO. Moreover, majority of these students in the sample did not have experience with political violence, hence they provoked armed police officers. However, the presence of armed police officers at the UWC may have escalated students' resoluteness as they believed that they police officers interfered with a just cause.

Mpho shared that violence was a source of fun for some students who were breaking the monotony of singing and dancing. On this basis, it seems like acts of violence can also build the identity of the protestors and create a sense of community, similar to activities like singing and dancing (Jasper, 2014). Mpho revealed that running away from the police, breaking car windows, burning bins and littering are categorised as fun activities for some students. It seems that students who engaged in this kind of violence sought exhilaration. It seems that some students engaged in violence to alleviate boredom. A study on youth violence showed that Irish youth found their altercations with the police officers enjoyable (Leonard, 2010).

A recent study by Saramifar (2018) of Iraqi Shi'I combatants showed that some found pleasure and fun in violence, as it allowed them to practice their artillery skills and knowledge. While this study looks at war, it implies that different motives account for the engagement in protests and the ensuing violence, which may be fun for a section of protestors. Sine's statement places provocation in the hands of the security officers, thus exempting students' actions. He justifies their use of violence to being trapped in a situation where the security officers may discharge some form of force against them. Resulting from their determination to fight off the security officers the police were summoned at the campus to restore peace, an action that meant that conflict between students and the university management has escalated. His assertion indicates the bravado linked with violence. The ability of students to fight off the security officers somewhat indicates the level of power that students' hold and their ability to devise effective tactics. For instance, evading arrest, ducking rubber bullets and redirecting teargas canisters may be a talking point for students to disparage and poke fun at the armed and trained security personnel during their post-mortem sessions. Bartlett & Miller (2016) share that using violence is a status-enhancing endeavour for marginalised groups and that when the authorities negotiate with the leaders of the movement, they enhance their status of the movement leaders.

The responses above indicate that some students may be desensitised to violence and its consequences. Additionally, students have realised that violence is a means to gain status - whether it is fighting off the security or having running battles with the police officers - and to chart the course of history just like their predecessors. However, for some students, history was not important when compared with the value of their presence. For some students, violence as a means was a knee jerk reaction that was not carefully thought out. The above quotations indicate that students used violence for different reasons and social class is one of those reasons. The discussion to follow looks at how social class determines violent tactics.

Social Class Differences and Violent Protests

The #FMF accentuated intersectional diversities present among students and how these shaped their relations and tactics used by the movement. Students advanced personal or communal reasons for joining the movement and these motives were projected in the how students carried

themselves during the protests. The quotations below illustrate students' motives and the diversities:

> *"The truth is these students are snobs that grew up in the suburbs and for them engaging in protests and using violence is some form of entertainment, they get to have fun! They have never experienced these things. You will hear them asking [mimicking their snobbish accent] 'when are we going to have another shutdown again?' or 'why are the police not spraying us with the water?' They do not know that water makes you itch; for them it is fun. They come wearing mini-skirts, sunglasses, hats, looking fancy as if they are going to a picnic; how do you run wearing those clothes? We wear takkies, jeans because we know that we must be ready for action". Lesedi, F, B, L, UFS.*

> *"The majority of people were just there, for them I think it was just a fun fare, just there to increase the numbers," Botshelo, M B, A, Wits.*

The quotations reflect that the #FMF demonstrations and marches diverted from the known South African protest culture, which often include marginalised and disadvantaged individuals who get together to express their disdain, instead of tranquillity. International events and the nascence of the movement at Wits seem to have shaped the course of the protest tactics.

Lesedi and Botshelo's statements capture the element of FOMO and the possibility that students from middle class groups may be feeling alienated from mainstream student politics and are attempting to reconnect with their peers by seeking to take a lead in the protests and the violence that occurred. Interestingly, Lesedi's statement locates violence with this group and confirms Mpho's statement that violence was fun. Importantly, the quotations imply students from the lower social statuses are the ones who take protest seriously, unlike their middle-class peers. Types of clothing that students from each social class wear depict a continuum between gullibility and preparedness for protest eventualities.

From Lesedi and Botshelo's statements, one may deduce that the involvement of students from the middle-class backgrounds may reduce the efficacy of the protests as to them they are fun. Apparently, youth from middle class families may be tempted to use violence in anticipation of the reaction of the police officers. Similarly, Chikane (2018) indicates that middle class students held radical views as opposed to those from lower classes. Family background and exposure to social movement tactics may account for their radicalism. Importantly, this group of students is less likely to attract negative attention from the authorities as opposed to their counterparts from the lower classes because they are aware of how to navigate the system (Andretta, & della Porta, 2014). Students' spontaneity and poor consideration for consequences are seemingly reasons for pleading for leniency from the authorities. At face value, this may mean non-accountability; however, when one is engrossed in a state of group excitement and influence, they may not carefully consider their behaviour and its impact. In the discussion to follow, students share their thoughts about the consequences they face for engaging in violent protests.

Students' Perceptions to the Application of Sanctions for Engaging in Violent Protests

Protests within the university environment are an acceptable and anticipated course of action by university students to have their issues addressed. However, where there is violence, the university can elect to institute criminal court proceedings against students. Assumingly, the statements below are evidence of shame and guilt at their use of violence as shared by two participants:

> *"The management must not be too harsh on us, they must understand that we are children we still need guidance, they must seek to understand us," Lesedi, F, B, A, UFS.*

> *"All of us here at varsity are not yet mature enough to be able to distinguish between what is wrong and what is right. Just like myself, I have just arrived, and I am still childish," Mpho, M, B, S, UFS.*

Lesedi's states that the management should not be too harsh on them, indicating that she is aware that the violent behaviour of students calls for sanctions. However, she goes on to state that they are children who need to be understood and still need guidance. Mpho further reiterates Lesedi's stance, indicating that they are still immature and cannot distinguish between right and wrong. Students' acknowledgement and acceptance of being "children" presents two diametrically opposite implications. The negative one being their failure to take responsibility for their actions. Ngcwaweni and Nkuna (2018) share that as student leaders they made grave mistakes because they were young and reckless. This is an assertion that implies they could only comprehend the cost of their behaviour as adults. In this case, students seek to exempt themselves from their violent actions and are calling for the university management to understand and empathise with their immaturity. The call for empathy may be seen as their way to excuse themselves from taking responsibility for their violent behaviour. The positive implication suggests students' reflective ability and remorse for their actions. In summary, students feel that their immaturity provides grounds for engaging in violent protests without consequences, a view that Student Affairs practitioners also hold as revealed below.

Student Affairs office on Students' Reluctance to account for their Violent Actions

Data presented by the Student Affairs practitioners indicates that it is understandable for students not to take responsibility for their actions. Various reasons such as their being young to comprehend their actions, and the tendency to dismiss rather than correct their behaviour are often determined by the manner in which those in power relate to the students. Heather, Joy and Pete advanced the following explanations for the students' aversion to take responsibility for their violent actions:

> *"Well developmentally, though that it is somewhat appropriate, so we are all so mindful that these students are 18, some of the students are really young to be held accountable because they are barely an adult. But remember, we haven't really taught them to be responsible," Heather, F, W, SA, UWC.*

"I found that we justify our irresponsible behaviour by 'it was the spur of the moment thing and it was the only means for people to listen to us'. And the truth of the matter is it is not. It is one of many options!" Joy, F, C, SA, Wits.

"If we say that we are treating students as adults, then part of adulthood is taking responsibility and you are held accountable for your own behaviour. That is part of maturity. When you presuppose students as children it will always be a blaming and controlling game. Always blaming, controlling. And you can see some of the dynamics that played out during the past months [during the #FMF protest at UFS]. But if you put people in the adult position to say listen 'we talk to one another as adults,'" Pete, M, W, SA, UFS.

Heather shares that students are still too young to account for their actions. Therefore, they are, at times, incapable of understanding the consequences. She further emphasises that as adults "we" have not taken a lead to teach these students to be responsible. Joy further emphasises Heather's last point when she shares that "we justify out irresponsible behaviour".

Both key informants illustrate that violent behaviour is pervasive because adults create the conditions for its acceptance. Often external factors and the belief that authorities react to violence validate its use, which students then emulate. Pete shares that students are frequently treated as children instead of adults leading to the tendency to blame and to control. All three participants agree that the authorities shy from relating to students as adults and instead opt to control them. From these three Student Affairs practitioners, one may deduce that students are seen as children who cannot account for their behaviour because values have not been instilled in them. Notably, these professionals situate students' behaviour to imitating what they observed in their immediate environments (O'Halloran, 2016).

Subsequently, inciting and actual perpetration of violence observed across campuses and communities potentially account for their thoughts. The above section revealed an interplay between students' use of violence and their developmental stage and social factors. Three main

conclusions for students to regard violence are made for this section. Firstly, middle class students seem to have unrealistic beliefs about protests, where they associate the use of violence with fun. This is unlike students from the working -class families, who hardly see protests as a fun outing or a 'picnic'. It seems that class is a protective factor from state violence as O' Halloran (2016) shared that the protest of Eastcape Midlands College students was met with police violence, while the same treatment was not meted to Rhodes university students who had blocked the roads with burning tyres. Moreover, the media perpetuates the stereotype that violence is the ambit of low-income earners (Ndlovu, 2017). The lack of sanctions, therefore, may make engaging in violence fun. Secondly, students were aware of and not proud of their violent behaviour, thus, Lesedi's call for lenient sanctions that are suitable for 'children'. Lastly, practitioners in Student Affairs echoed students' perceptions as they acknowledged that the inability of adults to instil responsibility in students explains the lack of accountability. Such characteristics are evidenced in treating students as children, thus, affecting students- authority relations at universities, as reviewed in the next section.

Factors Affecting Relations at Universities

Effective universities are those where stakeholders have harmonious relations and this is, to an extent, a competency of the university management and the SRC. The ensuing #FMF violence confirmed strained inter-stakeholder relations, which create suspicion and the eventual breakdown of trust. This section looks at the views of the students, the managements and the Student Affairs department on efforts of the university authorities to address students' concerns. This considers state of student-management relationship, students' feelings of management's disrespect and sanctions imposed against students.

University management as disrespectful towards students

The discussion to follow looks at students' thoughts about how the university managers address their issues. From the viewpoints of students, the management appeared disrespectful and unconcerned about students' issues; hence, their relationships were strained. Observations below summarise students' perceptions of the management efforts to address students' issues:

"The management is not taking us seriously, heee, (laughs in disbelief). They do not respect us nor our efforts. We took time to write a formal memorandum, we really made an effort. When they respond, they send us a piece of paper without a letter- head, signature, just a piece of paper. They are not taking us seriously and are not committed to our cause as no one wanted to take responsibility for the memorandum," Lesedi, F, B, A, UFS.

"*When we were working hard, day and night not everyone contributed to the proposals, the writing, and the logistics, making sure that students are safe when they are protesting. It is us who gets tired. 'You are making us get tired before we get to the position that you are at. For me it was like 'can you just be thoughtful because we need to study as well,'" Malaika, F, B, L, Wits.*

"Not listening to them[students]is arrogance at its best, arrogance, even hiring securities to come protect buildings while people[students] have genuine grievances is arrogance at its best," Sine, M, B, A, UWC.

The responses of the university management to students' issues determine the reactions of students. Lesedi shared that the university management had sent them an 'unofficial memorandum', expecting that they were would agree to its terms. She further shared that the management was disrespectful and took them for granted. The unwillingness of the management to apply and adhere to procedures indicates that they may have seemingly undermined students' level of sophistication. Moreover, the handing of an 'unofficial memorandum' indicated that the university leaders did not want to be held accountable. Leaders who are unaccountable are likely to create an environment of mistrust. Maimela (2018) shared that institutions that are not accountable and inclusive can be regarded as illegitimate.

Malaika further shared her frustrations about being a student leader. These included administrative, operational tasks and keeping up with academic responsibilities, to which the management was seemingly apathetic. Subsequently, she called for the university management to be considerate of their main role as students. The call to authorities to be mindful illustrates that students may be experiencing role incongruence, thus the call for support. Malaika's take on the university's stance is consistent to Lesedi's account that the university management was indifferent. Sine opts to label the university management as arrogant because they tend to squash protests instead of attending and listening to students' needs.

In all of the above cases, the university is perceived as indifferent because the procedural presentation of issues is occasionally successful. Hence, relations between the university management and the student body were weakened. Labelling authorities arrogant, uncaring and manipulative seem befitting as their tactics intended to degrade students instead of treating them respectfully as partners. This observation echoes Pete's statement that students are treated as children, instead of adults. These sentiments did also apply to the university authorities who consider their roles as that of being gatekeepers instead of facilitators. Gatekeeping is a successful measure to control students based on their age, their state of impermanence and being the least powerful stakeholder (until they protest). Another, reason may be that the authorities misread how their actions affect students, and possibly did not fathom the formation of a national collective against fee increases. The overall feeling of students was that the university management was disrespectful and used a top-down approach instead of engaging, a claim that the university does not support. The above conditions helped create the necessary circumstances for violence to occur.

University Management Openness and Willingness to Address Issues of Students

The authorities perceived their roles, differently, with some sharing that students tended to be unreasonable; hence, it was necessary to be stern. Motivating the actions of the authorities was the need to maintain normalcy, safety of students, staff and property. Considering the dwindling state subsidies made the university management cautious about meeting the students' call for free education.

However, students believed that the university management was not listening and was unconcerned about addressing their issues. The quotations below reflect the ambivalence of senior managers in containing and preventing violence:

> "*This is nonsense [management is not listening to us]. Sometimes it means 'management does not do what we demand.' Of course, if we did that, the university will collapse. At other times, it means 'we know the claim is not true, but we need to mobilise students behind such a perception to keep the pressure on management.' There is no other university in South Africa that has a more consistently open-door policy to students and student leaders at all levels of the institution from the Rector's Office to the Institute for Reconciliation and Justice [IRSJ](specifically set up for this purpose) and Student Affairs," JJ, M, C, VC, UFS.*

> *"There are different approaches depending on issues. There is that instinct of taking an antagonistic approach towards management, which they broadly define. This is more acute in opposition politics, the contest for power, where the SRC is projected as unresponsive and the management is caricatured as '"soft'" on the SRC, John, M, B, SA-DVC office, UWC.*

> *"I do engage students; I'm very active on Twitter because many of the students live their [lives] there. It gives me a window into the students in ways that I would not have. I also have Town Hall meetings, which political activists dominate," AH, M, I, VC, Wits.*

JJ asserts that, at times, students want the university management to accede to their demands, some of which may be detrimental to the sustainability of the university. On such occasions, students share that the university management is not receptive to their needs. Therefore, some student leaders use the claim that the management is indifferent as a mobilisation tool and to further pressure the university management to concede to their demands. JJ further shares that his institution has made efforts to ensure that students are given a voice and that their challenges are addressed. Accordingly, his institution was a pioneer in creating spaces for student-authority dialogues. The inverse to his statement is that attitudes of people rather than policies help create conducive environments for dialogue. Subsequently from his statement, one gathers that students and their SRC leaders are not taking advantage of the resources that the authorities allocated to them.

John's stance differs from JJ's as he expressed that contextual factors determine the relationship dynamics between students and the university management. Though the norm is antagonising the authorities these sentiments also filtered down to the SRC, resulting in strained relations between these parties. Foundations of these tensions were the contestation of power between student political parties, unresponsive SRCs and the managers who do not act against it. John's input indicates that strained relations are common at the institution, unlike the situation at the UFS.

AH shares that he uses Twitter to establish and maintain relations with students. His choice of this platform may be because messages are succinct and give the reader a view of events, an advantage for someone in his position. It is commendable that executive managers make efforts to engage with students and have also created other platforms to interact with them, to circumvent the weaknesses of Twitter. For instance, Twitter requires brevity, with little contextualisation of issues leading to potential misunderstandings. Town Hall meetings are also fraught with challenges as AH shared that they seem skewed to student activists. Assumingly, activists seem to unintentionally silence students, whom they claim to represent. One would have expected that coming from a leaderless social movement, #FMF activists' behaviour contradicted this value.

The university authorities shared that they are both open and responsive and have created sufficient mechanisms to engage with students, who feel that they have been ignored and disrespected. Several reasons account for these discrepancies. Firstly, Lesedi and Tuli had shared earlier that the university management did not take them seriously. Thus, their use of violence. Pete shared that the management held paternalistic attitudes towards students. Secondly, some of the issues that students expressed like unaffordable tuition and accommodation fees remained unresolved generational issues. The fee increases cemented students' views of an uncaring and distant university senior executive.

Thirdly, bureaucracy and peculiar VCs practices like JJs need to see students' academic transcripts on their request for meetings may nullify some students' perceptions of the open-door policy (Jansen, 2016). Underpinning these beliefs is the historical image that VCs do not care about students' needs. For VCs, the creation of structures like Student Affairs departments are adequate because, procedurally, these departments should interact directly with student representative structures, and not with the actual individual students. Based on the feedback from the executives it is essential to explore the stance of Student Affairs practitioners.

University Management Unresponsiveness to Issues of Students

Student Affairs officers, except for Heather, held different opinions about the level of engagement at their institutions. Their interactions with students as broader a populace make their opinions credible unlike those of the executive managers who interact with representatives. Below are the perceptions of these practitioners:

> *"I think students haven't felt that they have been heard. It has been a sugar-coated verbal acknowledgement without strategic action," Joy F, C, SA, Wits.*

> *"Students feel that they need to struggle to get a voice, not enough forums where they feel that they are heard," Pete, M, W, SA, UFS.*

> *"I have worked with a number of institutions where the executives sit day and night more than what they are expected. However, in psychology, an institution is a representative of all things patriarchal," UWC, F, W, SA, UWC.*

Joy shares that university authorities may to an extent be complicit to the violence that occurs at the universities; this is because while they tend to agree to students' issues, they rarely operationalise them. It seems that the agreements are made to quell potential protests, instead of serving as actual solutions. Considering the budgetary challenges that universities face, it is understandable that the executives could only acknowledge system shortcomings without addressing them. Pete also agrees with Joy and indicates that students feel that they are not heard, despite the forums that exist at universities. Heather gives a rather different perspective, as she illustrates the commitment that university managers make to give students a platform to have their issues addressed. Despite the university management making time investments to resolve students' issues, universities and their managements are thought of as oppressive, especially, when they do not meet students' anticipated goals.

Input of the Student Affairs department is consistent with that of students. Heather's statement of the patriarchal nature of universities creates expectations that issues will be addressed, and where they are no changes, students become frustrated. Furthermore, it seems that university structures within which students serve are not as adequate. This may be because students are often a minority group and are likely to lose out when decisions are subjected to the process of voting. Apart from students feeling disregarded in decision-making structures, they felt that the university management mistreated them and was disrespectful towards them. The section to follow illustrates actions of the university management that resulted in discordant relations.

Odwa's statement below reveals several aspects of students- authority relations. Firstly, students follow procedure to register their issues and allow for reasonable time prior to seek a response. Secondly, the management reacted after the protest instead of addressing issues timeously. Lastly, management's delayed responses create a perception that issues of poor students can be ignored as they do not have agency. Odwa's volunteerism signals that students see activism as a social justice issue, dispelling myths about their individualism.

> "*I've been to 11th Floor, where Habib is on numerous occasions and spoke about the lack of food for poor students at the food bank, where we volunteer. Months went past before something actually happened," Odwa, F, B, L, Wits.*

Accordingly, student issues are ignored and where there are commitments, these are unlikely to be realised. The above contradicts the previous assertions made by the Executive Management regarding their engagement efforts. Failure to uphold commitments is likely to create frustration, strained relations and low cooperation. The non-responsiveness of university structures and process seem to provide necessary conditions for violence. Students' input attest to this non-inclusive and non-responsiveness of university authorities.

Management's Disregard for Students' roles as Partners

Odwa's statement reveals that students seek to be part of the solution to the challenges faced by their institutions. It, however, seems that these efforts were accepted by the authorities as per Naledi's and Gugu's statements below:

> *"Unless these expensive institutions of theirs are incapable of producing leaders because you believe that the reason that it is expensive is because of the knowledge imparted. If you trust it so much to be that expensive, you can at least trust the solutions we are giving you," Naledi, F, B,L, Wits.*

> *"We were like 'Please respect us' you know. Students sang a song that they sing every time they are very angry. 'Le entse ka bomo, ha se lebaka le re tlwaela masepa, le entse ka bomo' (What you did was deliberate, you are taking us for granted). And then rejected the memorandum," Gugu, F, B, L, UFS.*

Naledi's statement indicates that there is an association between tuition fees and quality education and that the management ought to heed their inputs. The disregard for their inputs seemed to her that the university authorities do not trust the knowledge imparted to students. Naledi,

feels that there is a disregard given to the quality of their contributions which leads to her questioning the value of education offered at her institution. This lack of trust is likely to strain relationships between students and the authorities. Gugu's response shows that students were aggrieved when the university management sent them an unsigned memorandum. To illustrate their displeasure, students sang a song that they normally do when they are aggrieved.

The profanity in the song's lyrics imply a strained relationship between students and the university authorities. While the university management was responsible for the fall out with students, the expletives directed at the authorities may put a damper on the emotional intelligence of students. Disregarding student input contradicts the principles of HE that call for openness, inclusion and participatory decision-making as per the White Paper for Higher Education (1997). Coupled with the decision of university management to engage private security and sanction protests, the conclusion reached is that the management appeals to the status quo. Institutions relied on overt and covert measures to silence students' voices, especially, leaders of the movement. The quotations beneath capture some of the tactics relied on by university authorities to discourage the movement.

Sanctions meted out against Student Activists

In their effort to curb the violent protests, the university authorities applied disparate measurers. Some of which were subtle and indirect. Tuli, Botshelo and Cole shared the different strategies that the universities employed to curb the protests.

> *"Fees must fall students, myself included did not get residence; I am currently squatting. When I went back to find out what is going on with my residency, I was told that there was no space for female students, but other females were placed," Tuli, F, B, A, UWC.*

> *"I think, as we speak right now some of them are suspended and are yet to face disciplinary action," Botshelo, M, B, A, Wits.*

> "*Big think tanks wrote more than 20 papers against free university education, meaning a clamp down on protests. The voice of students calling for free education is being muzzled. Elites are using major communication, the commission, the newspapers, the printers, to argue against it," Cole, M, B, A, Wits.*

Tuli's statement reveals that her university denied her accommodation as a way to frustrate her efforts as an activist. Equally frustrating is that she was not informed of the actual reason for her not getting a room at the residences. While the student felt victimised it is possible that the university authorities thought that to contain the protests and the violence, it was best to have her live outside the campus residences. Authorities often isolate movement leaders, aiming to weaken it. The student might have been shy to admit to her mistake, thus she chose transference instead of owning up. Wits suspended students who were engaged in violent protests. From Botshelo's statement this action was likely to continue until most transgressors were found. His comments show to an extent the complications of being a student leader and an activist. Cole brings another subtle dimension to the challenges of activism. He shares that big think tanks dominated the media and academic spaces to express that the call for free HE education as claimed by the #FMF was unrealistic. Cole's statement further indicates that elites dominate different types of communication modalities, hence, their input is worthier than that of students.

Data above illustrates the different power dynamics between students and the authorities. To delegitimise the movement, the authorities relied on their intellectual ability and power and used the media and other academic platforms to communicate. The message transferred to the university at large and the public was that the authorities were in control, but students' pursuit for free education was ruinous (Mandyoli, 2018). Students may have expected that the university management would offer them the necessary support. Actions of the authorities potentially created a chasm and hardened students' attitudes as students interpreted the university's sanctions as means of maintaining the status quo. Hence, Cole's reference to these institutions as elites, as they were out of touch with students' reality.

University's use of Security Officers to Suppress Student Protests

Naledi's statement below captures students' feelings associated with the presence of a private security company on campus. Metaphorically, Naledi means that there was a large contingency of private securities and that it was impossible to ignore them. As outsiders they modified student interactions. They took over students' spaces, instilling a sense insecurity and suspicion. Management viewed the bringing in of the security officers as a safety measure; however, for students the effect was the opposite - this may have indirectly mobilised previously disinterested students (Habib, 2019).

> *It is intimidation, painting the campus with security, it is so hostile. Students' response becomes 'Aaaagh that doesn't scare me, I am capable to go this far, and this is how bad I want it as well, and you cannot supress me, you can't supress how I feel'. If you put a security guard there that is going to kick me or arrest me. I can also fight for myself," Naledi, F, B, L, Wits.*

It looks like the presence of the private security officers triggered feelings of combat rather than serenity as witnessed at several universities across the country. Students see these parties as seeking to intimidate and harm them from expressing their issues. (Jeffery & Tufail, 2015; Newburn, 2015) share that bringing security officers heightens rather than decrease tensions. The South African history of institutionalised violence from the police or security officers has largely shaped students' perceptions of these state personnel (Nathane & Harris, 2016).

The section above shows that student leaders and activists are at times subjected to different types of sanctions, some of which were seemingly undeserved. However, one needs to bear in mind that some students may have engaged in violent behaviours that may have warranted such sanctions. Data further shows that the universities instituted personal and collective sanctions to discourage the student movement. The presence of security officers seems to have also heightened tensions, angering some students.

In conclusion, university authorities thought that involving the security officers was a means to secure the campus and bring normalcy rather than cause tensions which escalated when police officers were called in. What the university construed as protective made the students fearful, unsettled and depicted them as criminals as per the discussion that follows.

Consequences of the Presence of Police Officers at Universities

The extracts below reflect that all universities relied on the police force to suppress students' protests at their institutions, though this was through violent means. Initially universities were amendable to protests, as some VCs participated. Affording students' spaces to protest may be seen as a sign that those authority agreed to, an extent, with the issues that students are presenting. Albeit the spaces, the extracts reflect the association between race and danger, especially, at the UFS. The rampant use of dangerous crowd control measures points to lack of monitoring and knowledge or disregard of the associated dangers to the protestors. Ferreira (2016) presents results of a worldwide study undertaken by Physicians for Human Rights about the consequences of non-lethal crowd control measures where these can be minor when properly deployed or cause severe injury, disability and death when procedures are disregarded. The attitude of the police officers towards students' may also escalate tensions during protests.

> *"After the break we came back to a military barracks, there were police everywhere and the private securities. I think these guys had gone back and re-strategized," Botshelo, M, B, A, Wits. "Police had their backs to the White students, almost to protect them," Gugu, F, B, L, UFS.*

> *"We know how tear gases smells like, we know how it feels to be shot with rubber bullets because when the police came there was a combat ,which was meant for criminals," Tuli, F, B, A, UWC.*

The quotations from the interviews with the students show that police officers had become a common feature at the universities. Botshelo shares that they started the year in a completely different environment as police officers were stationed at their campus.

The change of environment meant that the university authorities seemed to have adopted a different attitude to protests where security and police officers became part of the university environment. One may assume that the university had adopted a no protest attitude. His use of the words, military barracks may symbolise a lot of safety and security personnel and how they affected him instead of the actual barracks. However, at the UFS, on the day of the Shimla Park, police officers who were on campus had their backs towards the White students. In a racially-volatile setting, this action escalated the tensions that exist at the campus. What it meant to the Black students was that the police favoured White students over them. This action meant that the police officers had taken sides in favour of the White students. Tuli's experience with the police officers at her campus was particularly dangerous, as it exposed her to teargas and rubber bullets. For Tuli, the involvement of the police officers meant war and they were treated as if they were criminals. Reference to the war and criminality indicate that students and police officers were not on good terms.

A look at the three inputs indicates that universities relied on external intervention to control the protests. For students, the involvement of police officers meant that the authorities were no longer willing to negotiate with them. At the UFS and UWC, it can be assumed that the presence of the police officers took racial undertones as protestors at these campuses were Black. Hence, the use of teargas and rubber bullets, which for Tuli signified a war against criminals.

Media use to restore image of the University

As protest at universities continued, media houses converged on all the campuses, with urban-based campus receiving more coverage. At the three campuses under study, authorities used the media to update the public on the events at their campuses and to give a 'snapshot' view of the situation. The UFS invitation of a media house to witness a "peace march" following the Shimla park assault shows how universities strive to portray a positive image. The quotation below looks at how one such event backfired, somewhat compromising the authorities:

"*She frustrated students to a point where they had to ask her on national T.V. 'Why are you lying Mama' and that was on Morning Live," Gugu, F, B, L, UFS.*

Gugu's statement reflects that when confronted with difficult situations, authorities may seek to portray themselves in a positive light. Alternatively, one assumes that the university wanted to regain public confidence after the Shimla Park event, where Black students were at the receiving end of police brutality, as discussed previously. Universities carry themselves as democratic spaces; however, the need for reputational management may indicate that they have lost public trust. Earlier on, Cole shared that authorities were silencing the students. In this case, the media inadvertently gave students a voice that they otherwise will not have had, had the university not extended an invitation to the media house. During an interview, the DVC Transformation denied any knowledge of the police officers raiding the Black students' residences. Subsequently, a student had this to say during a live news coverage:

"Stop lying, Mama." Unidentified student (Mohlahlana, 2016)

The student's tone of voice in the clip is non–threatening and indicates that he had no ill intentions. Moreover, his reference to the university official, as Mama, signals respect and the need to maintain of positive relations that they have with the DVC. His interjection required accountability on the part of the authorities. Gugu's statement echoes what Cole said about the elites' need to discredit students and their cause.

"For three mornings we were awoken by the sound of a police helicopter circling over the university. We put it on Twitter, 'we are under siege here.'" Gugu, F, B, L, UFS.

The sense of fear in Gugu's expression is undeniable; hence, they took to Twitter to make the public aware of the events at their campus. From the students' point of view, police reinforcement was not needed as there was a likelihood that fewer students were on campus. These students were in the main, likely to be Black. Intriguingly was the timing of the patrol as unrests often occur at dawn or late at night, but not in the morning (Jain, 2010). Had the intent of the police officers been preventative, the campus would have been monitored even when White students were still on campus.

The public views unresolved protest action at the universities as a governance flaw. Hence, the UFS thought it judicious to open itself up to media scrutiny to restore its reputation. Attempts to salvage the reputation of the institution were unsuccessful because the UFS Vice Rector, External Relations, claimed ignorance about the police raid. The revelations that occurred along the peace march reinforced students' claims that the university was party to their intimidation and victimization and seemingly strained relations between students and the university management.

The essence of this section is that university students at the three campuses hold negative views of the university management, which stem from the dynamics of their relationships. Students saw the university management as disrespectful, with this disrespect depicted in the manner they address and endeavour to address their issues. Additionally, students saw no other recourse to have their issues attended to because, not only were they treated as children but also dealt with harshly when they protested as universities took a hard-line approach against them. The involvement of police officers and the private security were perceived as undermining the right to protest. Also, universities sanctioned students who engaged in protests. This suppression of protests was visible at all campuses, although at the UFS it intensified racial tensions.

For most of the discussion the Student Affairs practitioners acknowledged that students struggled to dialogue with the university management: although students expressed their issues, these went unresolved. The inaction to change students' situations overrode the managements' efforts to engage. Therefore, one assumes that students believe that successful engagement should yield changes in their social statuses. VCs on the other hand saw their role as maintaining the integrity of the institutions that they run, with their role being to make decisions that serve their institutions. Despite their focus on the strategic aspects of the institutions, VCs took time to nurture relationships with students, whether face to face, via social networks or through the expansion of student support services at their campuses. All universities used mainstream media to update the public on events at their campuses, for UFS, but the public relations endeavour unravelled when a student contradicted the management's view on issues of intimidation on campus on national television. This section reveals that the university management is rather oblivious of students' issues, hence their beliefs are contrary to those of the Student Affairs practitioners.

Mobilisation, Participation and Personal Effects

This section describes the mobilisation, participation and personal effects associated with how protests unfolded at the three study sites. Protest tactics that students use reflect, to an extent, the level of trust that exist between them and the university authority. In this section, the following aspects are discussed: (i) reasons of personal or moral convictions associated with joining protests; (ii) intimidation and psychological effects of witnessing or joining protests unwillingly. Protest leaders need to create an impression that the movements are representative of the student body. Also, successful movements are those able to attract new members, who may bring about continuity and innovation.

Moral Reasons for Joining Protests

This section covers the reasons for students to partake in the protests in their respective campuses. Both Botshelo and Xolani cite moral reasons which fundamentally led them to identify with the cause of the protests, be it of the students or the workers. At Wits, students embarked on the university shutdown that prompted students like Botshelo to action.

At the UFS, Xolani shares that empathising with the outsourced workers was the motivating factor for students to join the protest. Below are their responses:

> *"Aah, that [the cause championed by the movement] was very close to my heart as well. I didn't need a second invitation. I just found myself blockading [university roads], going to the gate." Botshelo, M, B, A, Wits.*

> *"I think if you were to understand the issues that the workers were facing, you would have supported them too. You quite felt what the workers felt, so I think if I was there, I too would have supported the insourcing of workers," Xolani, M, B, S, UFS.*

Botshelo shares that he did not need to be invited, nor to be persuaded to join the movement as he voluntarily joined the protest contingency. This was with little consideration for other factors other than to ensure that the movement was a success. He, therefore, not only heeded the call of the movement, but also engaged in activities meant to make the movement a success. His blockading of the university roads illustrates his commitment to the movement's success. Xolani shared that gaining insight into the plight of the outsourced workers enhanced understanding of their situation and willingness to support and partake in their protests. In both instances, students shared the need and their willingness to support the causes as presented at their respective campuses.

The legitimacy and longevity of movements depend on their cross-sectional appeal. This appeal seems to be encouraged by the voluntary participation in the movement, a quality that was not experienced as regularly as one would have anticipated in a student movement. The next section explores how some #FMF leaders employed force and threats to mobilise students to partake in their demonstration.

#FWF Activists' use of Force and Threats as Mobilisation Tactics

The use of force and threats during the lifespan of the #FMF was common across different campuses. However, at the UWC, this seemed rife and was reported on during the interviews. Participants shared the information below on the mobilisation at the UWC:

> *"We did that peacefully. We would go into residences, knock on doors, stand on courts and shout with loud hailers to wake students up. We took the initiative to wake students up it was not like we were interrupting them. The security wouldn't allow us to go in and of course, we would go in by force, and that is when violence erupted. You have to find a way to defend yourself because if you are in a situation of life and death, you have to fight your way out of the corner," Sine, M, B, A, UWC.*

> *"They knock and when the person doesn't open, they release fire extinguishing powder beneath your door so that the smoke forces you out. Or even flood your room. First year students who didn't want to join the protests [were subjected to this]" George, M, B, A, UWC.*

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Sine shares that they used peaceful means to mobilise their peers to partake in the protests. The strategies they used included awakening students with a loudhailer and knocking on their doors. These activities were done after altercation with the security officers who denied them access to the first-year students' residences. Retrospectively, Sine may have realised that their actions against the students were violent, but he never wanted to account for such actions.

This reflective thinking is common among students as evidenced in the section where Mpho and Lesedi acknowledged that the university should not sanction them for violence, although they admitted that discipline ought to be lenient. Sine further justifies the violence by noting that the security officers prevented them from mobilising students. Sine noted that instead of accepting their authority, the #FWF leaders used violence to gain entry in the residences. Since the situation was volatile as a life and death situation, Sine warranted violence to overcome it. His utterances are illustrative of low internal locus of control.

George's statement clarifies the reason for the security officers to deny Sine and others access to the residences. What is apparent is that the security officers would have neglected their duties if they allowed access to first year students, who are more vulnerable to be victimised for practicing their right not to participate in the protests. Seemingly, the #FMF leaders may have been frustrated with the officers' attempts to protect and safeguard the rights of first year students.

Supposedly, the waning support for the #FWF movement after the announcement granting the no fee increase and the need to command the students motivated the increased violence. A valid claim considering that PASMA, Sine's party, contested the rightfulness SASCO's 2015 election victory. Mugume & Luescher- Mamashela (2015) stated that SASCO members tended to suppress inputs of PASMA members at mass meetings; therefore, the #FWF was a platform to gain command of the student body. The PASMA-SASCO rivalry is also evidenced in SASCO calling for disciplinary action against PASMA, although this party had undoubtedly used threats to mobilise. Needless, the violence witnessed, including its effects, may have been reason (SASCO UWC, 2015a) as explored in the next section.

Effects of Violent Tactics used by the Student Movement to Mobilise Students on Student Affairs Practitioners

This section reveals an under-explored area on the harm that Student Affairs officers face as the parties that ought to prevent the protests from escalating. Fear and insecurity are some of the harms that these professionals suffered, mostly because they are in close contact with students. The Student Affairs experiences on the mobilisation tactics of the student movement confirm George's statement that their tactics were extreme. Despite their intensity, a small group was responsible for these actions as Kyle, Heather and John show.

"The untold story is the thousands of students subjected to intimidation, violence and everything else at the hand of this small minority. What I saw in their eyes during that period scared me to my core; these were not the students I know," Kyle, M, I, SA, UWC.

"At UWC, we were so desperate; there was fire around us, students in residence were locked up and scared. We had no other means. There were people walking around with balaclavas and sticks. I mean hordes of 10, 12, 15 people. We locked ourselves in our offices and sat under desks; so in the end, we called the police because we wanted to get out of the campus," Heather, F, W, SA, UWC.

"Some people's lives were threatened, people's property like cars were smashed. Violence brings fear and because I am scared, I did not come to work for some days. I did not want to risk my life, I have young kids at home," Joy, C, F, SA, Wits.

Kyle shares that a number of students faced intimidation, and violence from a few students. The scary part of this experience was that he was scared of the students although they familiar to him. Two arguments can be drawn from Kyle's claim. The first one being that a few students terrorised their colleagues and that these perpetrators of violence. Although, they were students that he knew their behaviour was peculiar and, thus, scared him. Therefore, Kyle implies that these students were dangerous and capable of harming others. One can imagine fear that students might have felt as they were ordered to partake in the protests. Heather goes on to illustrate how a few people made the campus unsafe as they ran around the campus almost ready to attack. Additionally, arson incidents and being unable to leave campus, exacerbated their fears. Fear and insecurity made the university an unsafe environment to inhabit, hence, their hiding under the tables. Jansen (2017) attests to the fear of physical harm, as a rock narrowly missed a staff member's face while in the office. In such a volatile environment, the university management did not see any option other than to call in the police officers.

Joy concurs with the information above. She talks of the threats to personal safety and the destruction of property at the campus, which created fear and insecurity. To restore her sense of calm and to ensure that she minimises the harm to her person, thus she stayed away from work. Information above illustrates that during the #FMF universities were no longer conducive environments for staff in the Student Affairs department. This was an environment where uncertainty result in unpredictability and fear, somewhat impairing an individual from functioning optimally. Therefore, these members had to find ways to cope with the fear. The universities then resorted to bring in the police officers to curb the violence.

The above responses contradict Sine's assertion on the impact of violence as these describe the enormity of the yet-to-be addressed emotional effects of the participants and the entire university community. Forcing people to partake in protests is common in community protest and those who refuse may be threatened or assaulted (Dawson, 2014). The quotations presented above reveal that the university community was engulfed in fear, helplessness and insecurity. While individuals have different responses, it is plausible that residential students are likely to be distressed where their environment has potential triggers. Of concern is that students appear to be caught in a cycle of emotional distress from which, because of academic pressures, are unable to separate over periods of time. Likely to exacerbate their distress is that these students as leaders are expected to provide support to their colleagues at their expense. Malaika's words on page 265: "*you are making us tired,*" confirm this cocktail of feelings. Hence, they are unable to effectively deal with their disenchantment, Kganya and Gugu share the emotional burden of being part of the protests.

Emotional Effects of the #FMF on Students

Students were at the coal face of the movement and therefore would have suffered emotionally from their role in the movement. These effects emanated from being witnesses to violence, whether emanating from the fellow students or police officers. Below Odwa, Kganya, Gugu and Mpho share these effects:

"A lot of people said that the #FMF has taken a lot out of them emotionally, some of them said, should there be a fee increase and a decision to strike like last year, they are simply just going to leave for home and chill. You also regret being in that space" Odwa, F, B, L, Wits.

"You go home, you are happy [when you are there;] when you come back you aren't. There is no help. But even then the argument would be the Counselling Careers and Development Unit [CCDU] is open and you can go there get some help, I mean you just can't start a relationship with someone who has not shown interest in you; at least if they had said that we have started a programme and if you feel that the politics have harmed you, please come, but nothing like that happened" Kganya, F, B, A, Wits.

"Often I get this… I feel like I can't breathe. My lungs are closing, or my heart is filling up all the space and I am not breathing in enough air. E kare nka hoeletsa, ka hoeletsa, haholo (I wish I can scream, scream out loud), Gugu, F, B, A, UFS.

"I'm used to, I do not come from a suburb and these are things that I have witnessed. So I don't have issues and I'm not hurt in any way by protest related behaviour. " Mpho, M, B, AS, UFS.

The above statements somewhat point to some students' depressed state, helplessness and acute sadness emanating from their #FMF experience. Others who grew up in areas where they were exposed to protests were not affected to this strong level. Odwa indicates the need to stay away from the university should there be another call to protest. The removal of self from the university provides students with a much-needed respite, which Kganya confirmed. According to her, being home was beneficial; however, returning to the campus resuscitated the helplessness and the unpredictability of the situation. Of concern was students' reluctance to use campus-based counselling services and claims that they were not aware of these services despite a banner inscribed that "CCDU welcomes you," floating at one of their campus main gates.

The banner might have been put at an improper time according to the students or they had hoped that the unit would make a special announcement to benefit students who believe that they were harmed. Lack of trust may be driving this attitude because counselling sessions do potentially reveal sensitive material that is potentially-incriminating and students may have felt that this information might be passed on to the university authorities. The formal nature of counselling environments and their location in environments that were unstable due to the protest may be informing these reactions. Gugu shares that there are times when she struggles to breathe, as her lungs and heart seem to malfunction. Therefore, screaming seems like the only way to deal with this pain. Gugu's statement signifies helplessness and effort to cope with the troubling #FMF experience along with her attempt to ward it off and focus on academics.

Mpho's response echoes Sine's earlier statement that violence was pervasive in the lives of Black people, resulting in it having no effect on their wellbeing. In this regard, his witnessing of violence becomes a protective factor as his earlier experiences prepared him for future eventualities. Apart from exposure to violence, it seems that the status of being a young male contributed to how students were ready to state that they were not affected by the violence of the #FMF. A response that contradicted Kyle's, an older male, who shared that the violence of the students' shook him to the core. Sine's contradicts his earlier statement that "violence has no effect on Black people", revealing his ambivalence about the effect of violence. This was possibly a defence mechanism to avoid responsibility. His response is below.

> *"You get tired, you have to find a week, even a month just to find some rest, hide away so you can also build psychologically again. I understand that there are cadres who are depressed, they are not just depressed by the fight, they are depressed by the general condition that the Black people find themselves. We are eternal slaves of White people and violence is the only way to take ourselves out," Sine, M, B, A, UWC.*

Sine shares that emotional effects of engaging in the student movement prompts the need to take a break to recuperate and get away. He further recognises that some of his cadres are depressed, but then shares that their depression is not necessarily because of the #FMF movement, but the conditions that Black people face. Sine shares that one of these depressing conditions was that Black people were perpetual slaves of White people, thus violence was necessary to change this enslavement. These contradictions indicate his ambivalence about his role in the movement. Additionally, it seems that being male was a protective factor during the protests because female students further suffered sexual harassment as Kyle and Joy outline below.

Sexual Harassment within the Movement

Social movements are ideally associated with honour and moral uprightness as their focus is on addressing social injustices. During the #FMF movement female students were harassed by their fellow movement participants. This may help explain why female student leaders felt despondent. Importantly, Joy and Kyle shared the source of these feelings:

> *"Some men took it as an opportunity to 'grope and touch' and female students shared that 'I signed up to toyi-toyi and support the cause, I did not sign up to be violated,'" Joy, F, C, SA, Wits.*

> *"Our female students were told by male students who were part of the protesting group 'we will not be held responsible for happens to you in this room tonight'. As a female sitting in the room and a male should come and tell you that, can you even start to imagine the effect it has on your psychology? These are colleagues, staying in the room next to you or you know from class," Kyle, M, I, SA, UWC.*

Joy shares that during the protests some men groped and touched female students. For these students, sexual harassment was never an expected part of the protest experience. Hence, these students were violated. At the UWC female students were threatened with rape, although it was not explicitly stated; however, this is the only criminal act that is most likely to occur behind closed doors as opposed to physical assaults and robberies. The statements above reveal the multiplied

risks that female students experienced, whether or not they partook in the protests. Allegedly, male activists were responsible for these acts of sexual harassment and intimidation. Habib (2019) shares that at his university high-profile male student activists were accused of rape, sexual harassment or both. Whether these acts were done by activists or not, it implies that female students are continuously vulnerable and that being at university was not enough to change male students' chauvinistic attitudes. Therefore, in an environment where sexual harassment is pervasive and without any sanction, there is a likelihood of such attitudes being normalised. Hence, some men were not ashamed to publicly grope, touch women inappropriately or even indirectly threaten them with sexual violence. The above state of affairs is indicative of the status of women at universities and the efforts of these structures to address their issues as shared by Gugu below:

> *"I had a real issue with how our university deals with rape crimes. We are a university, but we don't have statistics on rape. And how is it possible, because that's what we do at university. If there is one thing we have is statistics but for some reason we don't have those," Gugu, F, B, L, UFS.*

Regarding the university, Gugu's words reveal that universities appear to be complicit in the continued marginalisation and brutalisation of female students. The lack of a database does to an extent annul chances of the university taking action against male students responsible for sexually harassing and raping their peers. Such instances might allow the perpetuation of gender-based violence as perpetrators of these actions know that the university is not going to press any charges against them.

One would have thought that men who partook in the #FMF would behave morally and show respect towards their female equals. However, the #FMF movement revealed that despite their focus on addressing issues of student movements, these movements are not immune to deviance. This is because some men in the movement went on to sexually harass and threaten female students with supposedly-sexual violence. Gugu suggests that universities may be perpetuating sexual violence as they do not often have a database of rape perpetrators. Overall, student movements are not safe spaces especially for female and first year students, as they are

conceived to be; this also applies to SRC leaders. Next follows a discussion on student-and SRC relations.

The above section reveals that when protests started at the universities these were peaceful with a diverse following; hence some students joined the protests for moral reasons. When violence erupted, participation dwindled. However, some activists become desperate to legitimise the movement and forced students to participate. The futility of violence was recognised, but its use was related to structural violence. Students also shared that the violence that they witnessed affected them immensely as they found themselves supposedly depressed, without any source of support especially at the university. This was an assertion that student leaders made even though their institutions had dedicated counselling centres. The student continued suffering shows a lack of trust in the structures of the university.

From the perspective of those on the Student Affairs departments, the effects befall both them and the students. For the practitioners, the violence they experienced shocked and made them fearful, despite it being caused by a small group of students. For female students, the protests subjected them to sexual harassment, which was not limited to whether they participated in the protests or not. As a body for students, one seeks to understand the role of the SRC in the unfolding of the protests.

Role of the SRC in the #FMF Movement

Complex institutions rely on representation to meet stakeholder needs and the SRC serves that role (Luescher-Mamashela, 2015). Therefore, the relationships between the university management and the SRC is of outmost importance to the success of any institution. The section below explores the perceptions about the SRC from the perspectives of management, activists and SRC leaders. It considers the reasons for continued recognition of the SRC and the emotional burden of being a student leader.

The SRC's Supple role in Protests from the University Management's View

The SRC has a symbiotic relationship between the university management and the student body. Competing needs of the students and the university management may result in conflict between these parties. With the #FMF in full swing, tensions had already escalated. JJ, AH and John shared their views of the SRC at their universities:

"The SRC can be both a force for escalation of or de-escalation of the violence. That posture is difficult to determine and varies from one SRC to the next and depends on the balance of political forces within and around the SRC as one of the student political organisations on campus," JJ, M, B, VC, UFS.

"*SRCs are no longer representing the voices of the majority of students and that's true of multiple places and institutions,*" AH, *M, I,* VC*, Wits.*

"The posture of the SRC, is influenced by epoch; the SRC members may take a confrontational or a complimentary approach. My experience of the SRC 2015/16 is that they rose above sheer populism and took a bigger picture approach because they understood the strategic importance of a university, but remained conscious to their daily responsibilities to carry the aspirations of students they represent," John, M, B, SA-DVC office, UWC.

JJ shared that the stance that the way the SRC is likely to or takes on terms of protests is a result of several factors. These include the demeanour of the SRC and political forces within and outside the university. His statement implies that SRCs do follow the political events in their environment and act, accordingly. Therefore, the 2015/2016 #FMF shaped the SRC's demeanour. For AH, the SRC disregarded the needs of the students. Therefore, ignoring the students' voices seem to be behind the escalation of protests at the various campuses. This further implies that the university management may be unaware of students' issues. Or even if they were aware, they could not act because the SRC did not table them. John concurs with JJ as he shares that the position of the SRC varies from time to time. However, the 2015/2016 SRC chose to disregard what was at that time, appealing, for the sake of their university, and their responsibilities towards the students. It seems that it is this position (rising above sheer populism) that resulted in the tensions at the UWC. This considers, however, that SRCs at these institutions struggled for legitimacy despite their constitutional occupation of the student office. It is worth noting that they were seen to be aligned to the university management.

Perceptions about the SRC from the Activists' Position

The rise of the #FMF was as a result of the perceived failure of the SRC members to present the challenges of the students to the management and to pressure the university to address these. One can anticipate that activists would hold an antagonistic view relating to the role of the SRC. Three activists namely, Vongani, Botshelo and Cole, had these views to share about the SRC at their institutions:

> *"Realising that students are not complying to what they discussed with [Minister Blade] Nzimande, they began trying to throw postures as if they are radical as if they have always demanded the schools[universities] to be shut down. You have seen that with aboNompendulo [Wits SRC president 2016] in the imbizo [meeting] Nzimande exposed them that they have agreed with him in the first instance, but now they are abandoning the initial agreement. So, SAUS [South African Union of Students] is, to a particular extent, a toothless body full of careerist opportunists," Vongani, M, B, A, UFS.*

> *"Management started recognising [during the rise of the #FMF] the SRC more and the #FMF were labelled radicals, bunch of hooligans. They were not prepared to listen or engage with the #FMF," Botshelo, M, B, A, Wits.*

> *"They [SRC leaders] actually speak the language of management," Cole, M, B, A, Wits.*

Vongani shared that the SRC leaders who were part of SAUS had endorsed the call of the Minister to accept the zero-percentage fee increase, but that they soon changed position when they realised students did not support this call. Had the Minister not indicated that these student leaders had reneged on the agreement, then fault lines would have been drawn between the Minister and activists.

Thus, Vongani concludes by stating that SAUS is a body of opportunistic careerists. This meant that this body is self-advocating and cannot be trusted to advance the grievances of students. Botshelo's point of view somewhat contradicts AH's point of view as though he shared that the SRCs were no longer representing the voices of students, his institution was not amendable to recognising the #FMF leadership filling in to represent the needs of students. He shared that the university management was neither prepared to listen nor engage with this formation. Two reasons can account for managements' reluctance to negotiate with the #FMF leadership. Firstly, the body did not have a constitutional mandate as it was not elected by students. Secondly, USAf had agreed that future protests were to be dealt with by both engagement and security protocols (Habib, 2019; USAf, 2015). Cole's statement reiterated what Vongani shared that SRC members were not concerned about student issues, but those of the university management.

Students' discontent with the SRC resulted in the formation of parallel structures meant to address student needs and, challenged the legitimacy of their SRCs. Engagement processes that the movement applied were novel and created uncertainty for the university leadership. Their posture as revolutionaries illustrates a value shift in student leadership, confirming the management's suspicions about the movement's genuineness. Likely challenging is that the movement did not have a constitution guiding its relations with the management, escalating beliefs about the legitimacy of the structure. It appears that power of the management does somewhat make them less receptive to change initiated by their subordinates.

The above discussion indicates that there is a lack of trust between the general student population and the SRC as expressed by the activists. It is this lack of trust that somewhat contributed to the rise of the #FMF, as Minister Nzimande had lamented on their dishonesty. However, despite their tainted image, it seemed that the university management was not more amenable to the SRCs than to the #FMF. The following section does to an extent reveal some of the reasons behind the universities continuing negotiations with the SRC instead of with the #FMF.

Perceptions about the University Management Proclivity to Negotiations with the SRC and not the #FMF Leadership

This section identifies reasons for the university management's preference to the SRC instead of the #FMF leadership. The quotations below are derived from George, Kyle and Cole; the viewpoint of the UFS is not presented as the SRC there has somewhat managed to infuse itself in the #FMF movement.

> *"At UWC we had this group calling themselves the #UWCFMF with a leadership of between 30 to 50 students. They changed leaders on a daily basis and demanded that a legitimately elected SRC be removed and they be instated. The SRC at UWC won the election by landslide 30 students physically and violently wanting to remove the SRC from power," Kyle, M, I, SA, UWC.*

> *"So, when they [university management] say it is leaderless, it is [#FMF] because they cannot find leaders they can deal with and persuade to agree to their proposals," Cole, M, B, A, Wits.*

Kyle points to the challenges of charting a course of action with the #FMF movement at his institution. Accordingly, this group comprised of a small number of students who wanted to depose an elected SRC, and though the university management engaged with them, their leadership structure was fluid. The fluid leadership structure of the #FMF hampered accountability and continuity, thus the management leanings to negotiations with the SRCs. For Cole, the fluid structure was beneficial for students and helped authenticate the movement because they were seen as unlikely to take the side of the management. Cole's compelling argument is that the university management seeks to adhere to rules and dismiss non-adherents. Governance principles are essential for sustainable relations; however, at times adherence to rules can potentially lead to familiarity, manipulation and co-optation of student leaders. Therefore, this leader's rotational methods were uncomfortable for the university management.

Emotional Burden of being a Student Leader

The previous discussion illustrated that the SRC was unfavourably evaluated by both the activists and, to an extent, the university management. Whether one is an SRC leader or a #FMF activist, these students suffered emotional effects that stemmed from leading the #FMF. Some of these effects stemmed from their unmet expectations about the demands of the #FMF. During the interviews, Gugu, Kganya and Tuli shared their burdens as student leaders:

> *"You [student leader] deal with people [students] telling you that they have been suspended, expelled and[sighs] of course they have lost homes, clothes, phones and lost hope and everything and been to jail," Kganya, F, B, L, Wits.*

> "*The amount of post-traumatic stress disorders that all of us [SRC leaders] suffer from….And you know what is interesting? A kere [since] we are activists, we are very strong. Ha re khutla hae, hona tjena e ne e le hona re jwetsanang [we only disclosed our ordeal to one another the first time on our return this semester [July 2016]. It was at the end of last semester[February 2016]; we all just locked ourselves in our rooms, and went through a darkness we had never known before because I think we have come face to face with what we didn't know," Gugu, F, B, L, UFS.*

> *"Student activists who are left behind are shattered and are depressed, on the very verge of breaking down to the point of no return to be precise. Some are doing drugs, committing suicide at universities, some are in their rooms almost collapsing almost to death, but are helped hospital and some are close to quitting university or going home and some miss class" Tuli, F, A, B, UWC.*

The three student leaders share their experiences on being engaged in the #FMF. Kganya indicates the challenges that they had to deal with during and after the #FMF, some of which were beyond their capabilities. Assumingly, Gugu's and Tuli's statements elaborate on how leading the movement affected them.

Gugu speaks about the burden that she and her fellow movement leaders endured during the #FMF. UFS student leaders never disclosed their emotional struggles to one another because they are expected to portray a tough persona, providing support and encouraging students to continue supporting the movement. But as Tuli shared, depression was manifest in the student leaders, some of whom chose 'maladaptive' ways to deal with their challenges while others were helped. Looking at these inputs one may conclude that being a student leader did not prepare these students with ways to handle violent protests. Moreover, their occupying leadership positions preclude them from being vulnerable out of fear that the movement might collapse.

This section described the views of different university stakeholders about the SRC. The university management related that the SRCs at the universities often adopt the stance of the prevailing political climate within and outside the university environment. With the advent of the #FMF movement, university SRCs were rejected. Therefore, the university SRCs had to maintain a balance between issues of students and those of the political parties to which they are affiliated. Although the #FMF activists saw the SRC as representing the views of the university management, the movement leaderless strained their relationship with the university management.

Ultimately, the university management preferred to negotiate with the SRC instead of the #FMF because of the lack of follow-on actions from the #FMF activists. Irrespective of the tensions that existed between the student leaders and the activists, both parties experienced post-traumatic stress disorders because of the stresses of their leadership roles, most of which were not professionally addressed. Considering the above issues, interview participants were asked to provide plausible solutions to curb violent protests at universities.

Solutions to Curb Violence

In this section; students' personnel in the Student Affairs department and the executives of the university share their opinion on how to curb violent protests at universities. Solutions ranged from meeting students demands to engagement and education, which were holistic in nature.

Awareness and Responsiveness to Students' Needs

The results of the study indicate that students feel that they are forced to engage in violent outbursts because the authorities are not responsive to their needs. However, data below illustrates that they aspire for different relations with the university authorities, a situation that can change with open communication as per the quotations below.

> *"The DoHET should act as an ombudsman and initiate direct contact with students, it might not be 100% effective because the university task teams are subjective and as part of the structure task teams are concerned with security of tenure," Xoli, F, B, A, Wits.*

> *"Respond to the needs of students, the demands of students, that's it. What do you need violence for if these people have responded? Why you need violence these people have not been arrogant, why do you need violence if these people are cooperative?" Vongani, M, B, A, UFS.*

> "*To avoid violence or protests management should meet the demands of Fees Must Fall because these demands are demands that could be met within the budget of management," Sine, M, B, A, UWC.*

Xoli shares that an ombudsman is necessary to facilitate direct communication and monitoring of the dynamics between students and university authorities. Such a body was necessary because she deemed internal university structures as self- serving. The need for direct communication and a watchdog illustrates that students may not be trusting that the university management will address their demands. Vongani's response echoes the sentiments that Xoli

shared about the non-response of the universities to their demands. He shares that the need to use violence would be obsolete had their needs and demands were addressed. There seem to be poor relations and disdain towards the management, as he continuously refers to them as “these people," These references may be indicative of the lack of trust between students and the university management. Sine asserts that meeting the needs of #FMF, which he believes the university can meet, is vital to curb violence. This statement reveals that students see universities not only as centres of learning, but also as institutions that should meet universal needs which affect access and retention. Importantly, there is an expressed need for students to be heard, both literally and figuratively. Hence, the Student Affairs department shared their perceived solutions:

Education and Engagement as a means to curb Violent Protests

While students shared that meeting their demands and appointing an ombudsman were solutions to ensure that there are no violent protests at universities, practitioners in the Student Affairs department were of the view that there was need for these parties to dialogue. Below are possible solutions from Heather, Pete and Joy:

> *“We [students and the university management] need to ‘talk to one another as adults’. Part of adulthood is taking responsibility and you are held accountable for your own behaviour,” Pete, M, W, SA, UFS.*

> *“We have to talk to students about how do you direct your anger and leave behind a legacy that is worthy, what footprint do you want to leave behind anywhere you leave, whether it is here or in your community or with your family,” Joy, F, C, SA, Wits.*

> *“Only recently that we found a model of engagement. We are doing a lot of conversations with all kinds of structures about funding models, financials of the institution, what they look like, where do you get money from, where it goes to. So, what we doing is personal engagement and feeding people’s [students] minds and having them in the conversation that then we can get solution,” Heather, F, W, SA, UWC.*

Pete indicates the need for university stakeholders to revisit how they engage with one another. He shares the need to recognise that students are adults and ought to be held accountable for their actions. His statement indicates that effective engagement can only occur when parties involved accept responsibility and are willing to be accountable for their actions. Joy's input is along similar lines, although her emphasis is on helping students to be aware of the future consequences of their actions and effects on their reputation. For her, the students' violent outbursts represent an inability to be perceptive about the long-term consequences of protests.

Heather's suggestion points to making students part of financial decisions, which contributed to the #FMF as per Tuli's statement that universities were financially capable of meeting the demands of the #FMF. For her, transparency about the sources of income and expenditure were necessary to help students generate informed solutions. Budgeting is a management task and involving students in it implies that the university allowed itself to be scrutinised, laying a foundation for trust. Student Affairs practitioners would recommend actions to curb violent protests to the university management; however, the desired course of action rested with the universities. Therefore, the section to follow looks at the opinions of the university leaders at the surveyed institutions.

Multi-Sectoral Approach, which include Engagement, Sanctions and Social Justice from view of the University Executives

The task to negotiate and resolve conflicts at universities rest with the university management. The public evaluates the competency of the university leaders based on how they deal with student protests. Below are the comments from the authorities:

> *"I think the government has understood that we need the right mix between engagement and security but neither security on its own may resolve this, but neither will engagement resolve this. I remember people calling to even suspend [errant students] because it seems to me there has to be consequences to one's choices. We need government and society on this issue and that's what we have to wait and see whether that happens in the coming months and next year [2017]," AH, M, I, VC, Wits.*

"It is impossible for universities to instil social values that promote non-violent problem solving because we live within a very violent, and unequal society where violence has become institutionalised," JJ, M, I, VC, UFS.

"Engagement, sense of ownership and meaningful consultation maybe some of the contributing factors. As I stated earlier, understanding the issue of violence is very complex and cannot be explained in a linear fashion. It requires societal conversations and focus on solution and be able to assess the progress" John, M, B, SA, DVC office, UWC.

AH shares that the government has realised that there need to be a balance between agency and security, as neither was effective on its own. Also, failure to institute consequences seemed as a reason behind the normalisation of violent protests. Importantly, he states that universities are not in a position to solve the issue of fees, as it is the responsibility of the state and, thus, he awaits the outcome of the elected commissions. JJ takes rather a pessimistic view in terms of finding solutions for the violence that occurs at universities. For him the level of inequality needs to be addressed to promote non-violence. His response implies that introduction of educational programmes will never reduce violent protests as social inequality is at the root of these. For John, dialoguing was the solution, as it will not only help students and authorities to have engage, but also to commit to realisation of solutions. All of the participants, but JJ shared the need for dialogue as it helped to empathise with the challenges experienced and chart a joint course of action that binds them.

The section above illustrates that students saw the addressing of their immediate needs as a solution to curbing violent protests, a competency, which ought to be in ambit of the state. The suggestion of an ombudsman points to the lack of trust between students and university stakeholders. For the Student Affairs practitioners, it was necessary to treat youth as adults, giving them access to university financials helped them to make informed decision. Therefore, this process was educational at both the level of the person and the movement. University executives had varied responses, while they recognised the need for protest and for the introduction of behaviour shaping programmes, students needed to account for their actions.

Conclusion

This chapter shared the perceptions and attitudes of the participants on violence as a mechanism that student use to solve problems with university authorities at South African universities. Unlike in the previous chapter, participants included student and university officials; both parties at different levels of authority and influence. Wits had the largest number of participants and the UWC had the least number. Sample representativity on the part of the students was gender and racially-skewed to Black, female students; other groups namely the Student Affairs professionals and the executive management were more representative. However, those in the higher echelons of power were males. Despite the sample being biased, it reflects the racial dynamics at the campuses and justifies the skewedness. Most of interviews were, firstly, face-to-face, then telephonic, with email interviews recording the least number of participants. This discussion summarises data generated under following themes: the nature of protests; the contributory factors of protests and violence; extent and consequences of indebtedness: call for free education; conceptions of violence; factors affecting relationship; mobilisation, participation and effects of violence; and the role of the SRC and solutions to curb violent protest.

Nature of Protests

Data on the nature of protests revealed that shut-downs were the common mode of protests for students. The national university shutdown that SASCO organised seem to have influenced their input. One student acknowledged with disappointment that some of the protests that occurred at the university were violent. The need to maintain the protests peaceful was seen in students taking responsibility for cleaning their campuses, with some choosing symbolic violence and graffiti on trees as protest methods. The university authorities held different perceptions from that of most students. They expressed that protests at their campuses combined all three modes, with violent protests occurring with the prolonged protests. The university authorities shared that arson was the common protest tactic. It would seem that the history and location of the university played a significant role in shaping the nature of protests at the three campuses. As of the three institutions the violence only occurred at the UFS in 2016 February, months after the start of the #FMF. Interview participants shared that various issues contributed to the #FMF, as revealed in the next theme.

Contributory Factors to the #FMF Student Movement call to free HE

The #FMF revealed issues that the universities were oblivious to or had believed that they had resolved to the satisfaction of students. Students resolved that the university was anti-transformation, as the authorities were not receptive to this long-standing discussion. Moreover, universities were seen as not meeting their ideals: creating an accepting atmosphere that prioritises the needs and challenges of students.

Student Affairs professionals concurred with students that universities had over the years disregarded issues of Black students' especially. Of the three categories of participants, university authorities shared that they had made strides to transforming the universities. It is this belief that made university managers targets of protests for not changing the university culture and systems that exclude Black students, especially, when considering their level of indebtedness.

Extent and Consequences of Indebtedness

Data showed that university students are indebted and, therefore, universities employ humiliating measures to recoup monies owed. These measures include barring students from writing examination, charging interest on debt and withholding degree certificates, irrespective of level of poverty students. SRCs across campuses raised funds to circumvent financial exclusions, but these were not always sufficient. With students' pleas not addressed, students took it upon themselves to organise a national fee protest as universities and the government were indifferent to financial exclusions. Fuelling students' resolve was the belief that VCs were indifferent to their challenges and were concerned with the missing middle because they were excluded from government financial aid. Therefore, these conditions laid foundation for students to escalate their protests to free education.

Call for Free Education

Over the years university students at various campuses had protested unaffordable tuition fees. Data in this section revealed the lack of consensus among students pertaining to the 2016 fee freeze and the desire to have free education. For students who relied on the NSFAS and other financial aid schemes, free education meant that they will no longer carry the burden of proving that they are the 'deserving poor', as their parents were not in a position to pay for their fees. Therefore, students felt that their universities did not care about their financial plight, but about monies to be extracted from them. VCs, instead of the state, were construed of as seeking undue

financial gains from students, whilst benefiting big businesses. VCs were subverting poor Black students for "White" business. Subsequently, these authorities were declared as uncaring. Evidence from the key informants, a Student Affairs practitioner and one VC reflect a contrary picture. Accordingly, the time and effort that managers invested in engaging students and lobbying the President on an imminent protest action can be classified as caring behaviours.

Conceptions of Violence during Protests

Under this theme students shared that violent protests were a means to communicate with the authorities, who often respond to arson incidents instead of addressing challenges of students. It appears that the South African struggle history has shaped students' attitudes to violence. In this case, students realised that violence, especially arson, was instrumental. Its outcomes were projected positively, irrespective of its negative consequences. Student Affairs practitioners shared that contextual issues and the normalisation of violence made an acceptable means for their issues addressed.

Developmental and Social Class Factors that Promote the use of Violence

An interesting finding of this study was that students shared that violence was an expected and fun aspect of the protest culture. Some reasons for using violence included the need to be part of history or self defence against security officers. Whereas violent protests are often associated with low-income groups, the study revealed that middle class students associated protests with fun-fare and seemed pro-violence. For students in lower socioeconomic classes, protests were serious business, as portrayed in their preparedness and experience with how protests are likely to unfold. Overall, students viewed protests as the only means to which the authorities reacted. Stemming from their taking rash decisions as per their developmental stage, students pleaded for lenient sanctions as they were unaware of the implications of their actions. The asking for mercy indicates that they comprehended the impact of their violent behaviour.

Accountability is an attribute of maturity and often associated with adulthood. Student Affairs practitioners shared that student' lack of accountability was a factor of their being too young to realise the impact of their actions. However, the university environment seems to promote violent behaviour and in how it treats students.

Factors Affecting Relations at University

This theme revealed the extent of fractured relationships between students and the authorities. Students shared that the university management was disrespectful towards them as the authorities undermined their understanding of the implications of formal and informal official communication. Moreover, students felt that their contributions were disregarded. Subsequently, students perceived the authorities as arrogant. Such action result in the lack of trust as students interpreted the authorities' actions as uncaring and disrespectful. Other actions that weakened the strength of the relationship between students and the university management included the sanctioning of activists, be it through direct and indirect means. These modalities ranged from the hire of private securities, use of crowd control measures to discourage protests, simultaneously using media to project an image of a caring institution.

The university executives saw themselves acting differently from students' descriptions of their behaviour. The authorities justified their amenability to student issues by pointing to the presence of effective structural systems. The demeanour of the SRC was seen as imperative in shaping the direction of the relationship between the students and the university management. In their attempt to interact with students, VCs relied on Twitter and mass meetings whose success was limited by dominant student personalities.

The views of the Student Affairs department were consistent to those of students as they agreed that the university management was not responsive to their needs. The lack follow through seem to curtail engagement efforts of university management and the SRC. Subsequently, students adopted antagonistic attitude towards the university management.

Mobilisation, Participation and Personal Effects

Students shared that they joined the protests for moral reasons and indicated that the message of the #FMF resonated with the majority of students. With the universities not agreeing to students' demands and some students withdrawing from the movement because it had turned violent, some activists resorted to threats to mobilise students. Coupled with police use of crowd control measures, students were under emotional strain, although they were reluctant to go for counselling services offered on campus. It seems coming from areas where violent protests were common was a protective factor as students from these areas were the least affected.

Observations of the Student Affairs practitioners revealed that violence at the universities, although caused by few students, made these staff members afraid for their lives. One can only imagine its effect on students who did not want to protest. A peculiar observation that the practitioners brought to the fore was that male students sexually harassed female students. Hence, one can imagine that female students suffered different levels of intimidation that affected their wellbeing.

Role of the SRC in the #FMF Movement

For the university executives, the SRC's demeanour was part of its political milieu and could choose either to escalate or de-escalate protests. However, the #FMF signalled that SRCs were detached from the voices of students. The polarised position of the SRC did not preclude the university management from engaging in negotiations with the #FMF activists. The university were uncomfortable with the flexible structure of the #FMF, which they regarded as an obstacle for accountability and progress. However, this strategy worked for the #FMF because it prevented co-optation. Formalising the #FMF would have also meant the universities were non-procedural and somewhat endorsed violence. Activists confirmed that SRCs no longer represented the voices of students, and, instead, represented the voices of the management. Tensions between the SRC leaders and the activists, and those between the university management and the student population had an impact on the students' leaders, whether they were activists or not. These students shared that they were depressed and some of their colleagues committed suicide, or used non-adaptive coping mechanisms.

Solutions to Curb with Violent Protests

Students noted that violent protests at universities can be curbed by the university management responsiveness to their needs and with the DHET directly communicating with them. Unlike students' solution, the Student Affairs practitioners' solutions were more comprehensive and included opportunities to engage with students. They also used these engagement opportunities as teaching moments. For instance, discussion of finances at the UWC allowed students to decipher line items on a budget-and-needs prioritisation. The university authorities identified an inter-sectoral approach to reducing protests, ranging from respect for the right to protest to punishment for students violating set protest conventions. Therefore, engaging students and society at large was necessary to determine appropriate protests cultures. Underpinning this discussion was recognition that violence and social inequality are interwoven.

Chapter Seven: Discussion of Main Findings

The chapter presents the quantitative and qualitative research findings. As indicated in Chapter 4 the study employed the mixed methods convergence design and data integration occured in this stage. The purpose for adopting this design was to identify data convergences and divergences between the two data strands. Quantitative data was subjected to exploratory factor analysis, which yielded four factors: satisfaction with the university environment; violence as a normal tactic used in protests; violence as expediting issues; and self-efficacy and treatment from the university authorities. Data from this analysis extracted race, university and age as the major biographical variables that determined attitudes of students towards violence. Sex, faculty, level of study, and sponsorship played a minimal role to shape the attitude of students towards violence. Content, constant comparison and thematic analysis were techniques employed for qualitative data. Both these data types are discussed in themes.

Since students provided both quantitative and qualitative data, their data types are presented first and followed by the discussions with the key informants' inputs, namely, the Student Affairs practitioners and the executive managers. Key issues from both data sets are discussed with the aim of establishing how each of these parties answered the four research questions as outlined:

- What is the nature of the violent behaviour that the students direct to the university management?
- What can be attributed to be the cause of the violent behaviour of the students?
- What are the benefits of using violence for the students' perspective?
- What can be done to reduce the students' use of violence when they have problems with authority?

This chapter integrates both quantitative and qualitative data in response to the above questions; hence the study follows the parallel mixed analysis as data is only integrated at this stage (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2004). It is worth noting that the terminology of the analysis is analogous to the research design; this is because earlier MMR literature differentiated parallel and convergent forms of designs and their analysis. Therefore, Moseholm & Fetters (2017) emphasise the need to use common terminology in the MMR field.

Below, a discussion follows of the biographical details and main findings of the study, which includes areas of agreement and conflict as per the views of the research participants. These findings are discussed under these broad topics: nature of protests at universities, social and institutional factors that promote violent protests, the benefits of violence in protest, effects of violent protests and proposed solutions to curb violent protests.

Biographic Details and the effect of the Economic Milieu

A greater portion of information was obtained from the youth who were part of the Generation X and the "Born Frees." The Generation X and Y were less than 35 years, the age limit for youth as per the NYDA Policy Framework 2013-2018 and the African Youth Charter [AYC], 2006. The "Born Free" generation has increasingly been negatively appraised as individualistic, materialistic and as disinterested in social justice issues. However true, these assertions overlook the role of the environment in students' detachment, subsequently, shaping their level of engagement in society. While this youth cohort has not been subject to direct political repression, Black and Coloured students have continuously experienced increasing levels of poverty and social exclusion, which deny them the opportunity to contribute meaningfully to personal and to the country's development. As a transitional stage to adulthood, youth is a period of cynicism towards the authorities and lack of trust towards the institutions which relate to being a university student and an activist (Ansala et al., 2015). Youth cynicism emanates from unfulfilled promises and expectations made by authorities to youth.

The World Forum for Democracy [WFD] (2014) emphasises that youth value structures that are flexible, open and decentralised. Hence, the rise of the #FMF emerged as result of youth feeling excluded from the mainstream society, with the violence that occurred linked to a clash of generation. Terming it a clash of generations is true to an extent; however, the issues that students brought up were not peculiar as they relate to the aims the government set out to deliver. The fight for free quality education is long- standing therefore the students' emphasis on strict implementation dates was an attempt to foster accountability, engagement and transparency in the processes of governance. And these are principles that those in government and the university

purport. Malila & Garman (2016) share that young people's values were similar to those of their parents. The results of the study reiterate Mattes & Richardson (2015) earlier findings about political values of South African youth. Essentially, the #FMF was a continuation of the protest legacy as laid out by the previous generations. Therefore, the 1976, and the 1985 youth-led movements including the current #FMF reflect Cumming's (2015) assertion that each generation strives to change social conditions, but since each is oblivious of the level of state repression, it might use provocative and violent tactics that bear negative consequences.

Related to the above is that South Africa is still a politically-active space as witnessed in the labour and service delivery protests that continuously challenge authority. Therefore, the rise of violent protests, particularly at the HWUs can be seen as a sign of reduced participation political space. All of the key informants grew up during the apartheid era and were to, an extent, aware of the challenges at the universities then and how some of these challenges continue to define social spaces in the current milieu. With this historical background, it is unlikely that university authorities were oblivious to and were not perceptive to students' challenges.

At the macro level, the persistent and precariousness of capitalism and globalisation have made HE a commodity that promises rewards which are often unrealised. The rise in worldwide student protests, because of unaffordable tuition fees, debt and high youth unemployment levels are often similar issues of concern. The lessening opportunities is attributed to the youth bulge. Youth bulges are perceived dangerous as they relegate a large section of youth out of conventional time use (Urdal, 2011). Environments that ill afford youth opportunities for self-actualisation could, potentially, expose them to radicalism as means to secure their future. This was witnessed in various uprisings like the UK Tory Hall or Arab Springs. Like all the other protests, these assertions preclude society and its institutions from taking responsibility and devising measures to address challenges that university students encounter. Students chose to express their frustrations through protests because they conceived the university system to be stifling and unsympathetic to their issues. Instead of the authorities reaching an amicable solution to their fee concerns, students were disregarded and labelled, including by politicians. Labelling disregards that students are at a conventional stage of thinking and are capable of processing and understanding complex information. Kerr & Luescher (2018) point out that students' perceptiveness to social justice issues and academic teachings harness their radicalism. This point illustrates that students' radicalism, be

it in speech and or action, represents what society deems acceptable behaviour. (wa Azania, 2014; Ndimande, 2009) share that the life experiences of these youth about poverty, social exclusion and discrimination they experienced at non-racial schools, which continued at university created a polarised identity, hence, their radicalism. Whether expressed as disruptions or radicalism, protests are a means for students to have a voice and hold authorities to account.

Nature and Extent of Protests that Occur at Universities

Quantitative and qualitative results consistently revealed that vandalism, boycotting lectures and arson/burning of property were typical protest actions that occurred at the three institutions. Tilly's (2004) WUNC explains reasons for the popularity of demonstrations as modalities for engaging with the authorities. White & della Porta (1997) share that the number of protestors can determine whether violence used is of low or high intensity, and/ or targeted at objects and human beings. For the #FMF violence that occurred was either unspecified or unorganised; the former was of low intensity with the latter involving a small and disorganised group causing damage to property or reacting to the police. The results confirm that protestors employed a combination of repertoires - seemingly the initial engagement with the authorities occurred in private and involved the SRC and the university management. It is only when students' expectations are unmet that the tactics escalated to disruption and violence. For instance, the UFS unofficial memorandum asserts the above point. Initially, students presented their issues and then decided to engage in disruption on realising that the university was unresponsive to their needs. Cele (2014) confirms this trajectory, and illustrates that protests start with negotiations and escalate when stalemates are encountered. Alence (1992) opines that the response of the authorities, be it to negotiate with or threaten students, determines the reactions of the students.

An interesting observation during these protests was that students cleaned their universities during the protests. Their actions may signify the extent to which they identified with their institutions. Survey results revealed that students were fundamentally satisfied with their institution, its services and were likely to return granted the opportunity. Since students identified with and adopted the #OutsourcingMustFall, their cleaning may have been upholding their commitment to the service workers.

Pendelbury & van der Walt (2006) shared that outsourcing of service workers at universities triggered relations between students and service workers, who would periodically plead with students to support their protests; it appears that this calculated move came to fruition during the #OutsourcingMustFall protests. Booysens (2016) highlights the extent of this relationship, with students referring and identifying with the service workers whom they referred as their parents. Consequently, students' actions embody the tenets of the GEM. Tyler (2003, 2006b) shares that group identification encourages self-sacrifice as the needs of the collective supersede those of the individuals.

Vandalism is a common protest repertoire at both universities and society, although it is never regarded as violent. Proponents of the tactic argue that vandalism disrupts classism and neoliberalism and may help level out structural and systematic inequalities (Ží ek, 2008). This assertion justifies the morality of violence with little consideration for the consequences. McWhirter, McWhirter, McWhirter & McWhirter (2017) posit that anger, rage and frustration make vandalism a pathway to assaultive behaviour, but also signals a disconnection from significant others and lack of accountability. Common vandalism tactics included breaking windows, littering, burning tyres and graffiti - the last was previously uncommon. Graffiti attracts polarised sentiments; to exponents it as a form of political expression for the marginalised who cannot afford advertising billboards. Therefore, vandalism is perceived as reclaiming and repurposing public spaces. Antagonists emphasises that graffiti violates private and public property laws including the costs incurred in the restoration of the damages. At some campuses, these graffiti messages were offensive towards the targeted VCs, perceived to be stifling the transformation process. Both Habib (2019) and Jansen (2017) detail the extent to which threats of and/ or violence that occurred during the #FMF affected them. This is an issue that is yet to be empirically explored.

Students also boycotted lectures which is non-violent technique. Boycotts are often associated with the labour and consumer sector, but universities as service points have seen students choosing not to attend lectures. Lecture boycotts put pressure on the university management to negotiate and reach concessions with students. Moreover, boycotts can afford students not interested and /or those who are afraid to participate in demonstrations and opportunity to assess their views about the protests. Irrespective of their non-violence nature,

boycotts are disruptive to the university academic programme (Biggs, 2013). During the university shutdown, parties who forcefully entered the university were prevented to do so; for instance, a car was overturned as its driver allegedly ran over a student's foot (Nicolaides, Sesant, & Kubekha, 2015). The example illustrates an overlap between non-violence, disruptions and/or violence during protests. Boycotts create frustration for both non-protesting students and radicals as either of these parties feels disregarded as they are denied of opportunities to self- assert. In this case, violence might be an option.

During the 2015/2016 academic year, institutions experienced extensive damage to their properties. HBUs suffered extensively compared to the HWUs. Arson is a historical war tactic, meant to disempower and displace the opposition from engaging in combat. Survey results indicated that although the majority of students were ambivalent about explicitly supporting the use of violence, they acknowledged its instrumentality. Wits students shared that it was justifiable to destroy property when angry. This information is consistent with the reflections that Ndlovu's (2017) evidence of Wits students stoning the university Great Hall. Ironically, this institution had the least incidences of arson as opposed to the UWC. Interview data illustrated that students resorted to arson when they were faced with police officers who used teargas, rubber bullets and stun grenades to disperse the protests. Hence, survey takers refuted that they were as responsible for the violence as the police officers. At a tactical level, the purpose of arson is two-fold: One, fire redirects the course of the protests as police officers are likely to focus their attention on the fire and not on students. For instance, a North- West, Mahikeng campus student confirmed on radio that they burnt the university science complex to protect themselves from the security guards (Mhlungu & Dhlomo, 2016).

Secondly, fires communicate danger and trouble within a certain locale and spur those in authority, who might include the media, police officers and politicians into action. For the protestors, the rising smoke is a call to have the audience and attention of the authorities. At another level, arson indicates boldness and contempt towards marginalisation. Radical students shared that arson was a necessary tool to communicate with the authorities; hence, they were unapologetic about their actions. Tuli's earlier statement that students knew that they had to *"burn that thing for them to be heard"* illustrates the efficacy of violence as a means to communicate with the

authorities. Kreis (2000), Jasper (2014) and Langa (2011) attest to the efficacy of arson as a political communication tool.

Violent student protests occur periodically at different universities, however, the 2015/2016 protests applied tactics peculiar to student protests. For instance, these were security officers' stashes of tyres, bricks and petrol filled jerricans; the last provides a motive for the posting of a petrol bomb making recipe on Facebook (de Lange & Citizen Reporter, 2017; Haden, 2016). Availability of these resources indicates the intention of some students to commit arson. Ng & Chan (2017) confirm that in protests there is often a pro-violence group, albeit small: it perceives non- combative protest tactic as weak. These sentiments were also observed during the #FMF where few students were pro-violence. Uhnoo (2016) states arson planning for the scenario involves these roles: motivators, resource keepers and strategists. The organisation and execution of arson often involves different parties. For Cooper (2014), successful arson is a result of the motive, personality, arsonists daring attitude, the number of those involved in the incident and whether such was act accidental or habitual. Using the above typologies, one can conclude that some arson incidents like the burning of the Wits bus were premeditated as arsonists ignited the bus with petrol before they alighted. (Pooley, 2017; Rapatsa, 2017) reiterate the efficacy of arson with Cooper (2014) adding her findings on arson at a Kenyan school, which revealed that secondary school learners tended to use more spectacular tactics than their previous protests, perhaps to gain concessions quicker. Although true, it seems that for university students, curiosity and political factionalism may have played a role in the tactic opted for. Mpho shared that *"political parties often use violence to attract followers."* Of the students interviewed, Tuli and Sine, both PASMA members were ardent on violence. The following are possible reasons for the popularity of arson: its potency, its self -fuelling ability, an anonymous origin which is possible for arson; and its inability to elicit a certain reaction from the authority. Cloete (2016), shares that the destruction of the student financial records in the administration building was a means to clear debt.

Social movements have counter movements, which are protectionist of the status quo. Participants in counter movements have different motives, which can range from maintaining the momentum of the protests, to escalating issues and discrediting the student movement (Klandermans, 2013). The #FMF was no different as non-students were allegedly transported to

universities to commit acts of violence. A group of young men were dropped off near Wits and were handed EFF t-shirts. At the UWC and UL some of the arrested parties were not registered students. These events indicate that the lifespan of movements is without external challenges. In this case, these counter movements can be seen as an attempt for the other parties to maintain the status quo. The ANCYL threats of violence to the #FMF stance to urge students to boycott the 2016 local government elections; this indicates that counter movements shape the nature of protests. Key informants rather shared deeper meanings associated with the use of violence and these are discussed in the sections to follow.

Social Factors Fuelling the Culture and Normalisation of Violence in Protests

Survey results indicated that majority of students expressed disdain towards violence. These results mirror Mattes & Richardson (2015) findings that youth were against the use of violence. However, when results were subjected to regression analysis, a small number of Black students at the UWC and Wits were found to favour using violence to advance their case to the university management. This stance was further confirmed and elaborated during the interviews. Primarily students, Student Affairs practitioners and university executives shared that violence which occurred at universities reflected the events in the broader society, which included students. Seemingly, personal and collective risks including consequences may have been the pull factors for denouncing violence. Moreover, the use of violence delegitimised protest action and reduced public support, forcing the university authority to enlist law enforcement officers whose conflict resolution strategies may escalate violence. Violent protests put university authorities in a predicament and whatever action they took, they were likely to be questioned. For instance, Prof. Habib's decision to call police officers to prevent disruptions of the 2016 registration drew much criticism from all sectors (Habib, 2019). The discussion below explores the social factors that promote the use of violence.

Social Class and the Fun of Violence

Middle class students were found to perceive the violence that occurs in protests as fun. Godsell (2015) and Jasper (2014) point out that protests are a fun-filled affair that includes singing and dancing; among those involved these activities energise and build a common identity. Despite their positive attributes these activities may become monotonous over a period of time. Based on the findings of a Zimbabwean study by Makunike (2015), university students do not shy away from provoking the police**.** Therefore, some students may use violence to energise the group. For instance, during a march a Hungarian student threw a bottle of paint at a police officer because he was bored (Gergely, 2018). Therefore, students from middle class families see protests as an enjoyable activity. The enjoyment is expressed in their animation in anticipation of the protests, the clashes with police and their attire - "*mini-skirts, sunglasses and sandals."* These students' calm approach to protests might be because of their lack of experience. In addition, unlike their peers, students from middle class families believe in the legitimacy of the police officers to protect and uphold their interest. Tyler (2006a) attests police officers are unlikely to harass individuals from middle class as opposed to those from low income families. Therefore, it is possible that students identified with the police officers and did not adopt an offensive attitude. This belief contradicts those held by students from low income families.

Hence, students who come from the townships are better prepared for protests and capable of avoiding harm unlike their middle-class peers. El-Hibri (2014) and El-Taraboulsi (2011) point out that the value of coming from violent prone areas was visible during the 2011 Egyptian protests when young football hooligans mentored middle peers on how to avoid rubber bullets and to throw teargas canisters back to the police officers. The level of risk associated with the protests and the ability for students to self-protect validates the element of the fun in protests.

Vestergren, Drudy & Hammar Chirac (2018) share that violent encounters with police officers are likely to change their initially-held perceptions of middle-class students relegating the officers to the out-groups status. In this instance one assumes that middle class rather than students from low income families were likely to engage in violent protests, as Chikane (2018) confirms.

Students from low income families are likely to live in violent prone areas; there is an indication that previous exposure to violence can be a protective factor because it allows the youth to

determine the level of danger they may face and devise alternatives. A recent American study that investigated Black youth response to violence revealed that young people who are exposed to violence are more likely to be desensitised and are less likely to be demobilised by it, unlike their peers who have not been exposed to such violence (Bushman et al., 2016).

Kennedy & Ceballo (2016) point out that emotional desensitisation may be an indicator of emotional suppression and somewhat marks a path to future violence and aggression. From an unconventional view, this response may be an adaptive strategy to ward off anxiety and depression. Hence, Sine boldly mentioned that "*violence is part of our daily live."* Mpho asserted that he "*was not affected by the violence,"* thus, he did not need counselling. At face value these statements may mean that these students have repressed their emotions; in this case, the emotional distancing is their way of coping with stressful situations as they cannot change their environment. The above findings point out that South African protests bear class differences where Black people are likely to engage in street protests, unlike other race groups who seldom take to the streets. When such groups do these are uneventful, possibly, because of the demeanour of the police and the authorities towards them.

Morality of Violence

As pointed out, Wits and UWC students sanctioned the use of violence, as witnessed in the persistent levels of direct and indirect violence that ranged from demonstrations, disruptions, arson to assaults. Sabucedo & Vilas (2014) and van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2010**)** share that anger is the basic emotion that propels people to protest, but Jasper (2014a) notes that indignation, a combination of moral outrage and anger are necessary to propel people to violence. Though quantitative data portrayed Wits students as advocating for violence, they acknowledged it as a regressive short-term solution, unlike some students at the UWC who were in favour of its use. For this group of students, justification for violence included management's unresponsiveness to their issues expressed as "*sugar coating*", attempts to silence by "*painting the whole campus with security."* In this case, the results revealed that using violence was a moral act. Findings from Swartz & Scott (2014) and Ward, Dawes, & Matzopoulos (2012) confirmed the morality of violence: township youth shared that violence was justified to defend one's dignity and of significant others; to retain reputation; to address indiscretions; and for revenge or retribution and/

or when threatened. Attributing violence to morality indicates the loopholes of relying on morality to guide and influence behaviour. Morality is not necessarily universal, but a context dependent personal reaction. Hence, there are differences between participants' beliefs and behaviour. Acceptance of violence also depends on environmental factors.

Historical and Structural Reasons Associated with Violence

Students, activists and the key informants shared that historical, structural and systematic factors were responsible for shaping the society's attitude towards violence. For this section, participants' were in agreement on the roots of violence and reasons for its continuation. In terms of historical factors, firstly, South Africans liberation was attained through the armed struggle, which was necessitated by the apartheid's government obstinacy to uphold racial segregation. Chisholm, (2012) and Davies (1996) chronicle the contentions between students and the college authorities, some of which occurred at the UFH, which then admitted Black students. This student militancy persisted leading to the appointment of the Duminee Commission at the UFH, which legitimised students' issues, but condemned the militancy and violence (Johnson, 2019). Between the 1980s and 1990s universities were hives of political activity as Badat (1990) and Nkomo (1985) have pointed out.

During this period, political parties emphasised the morality of violence, which with students is currently a default position. Moreover, political leaders tend to address long-standing community issues when they employ disruptions and violence. Kurtz (2010, 2011) shares that although South Africa has a long history of nonviolent mobilisation, the indifference of the authorities to issues their constituencies is key to understanding why protest turn violent. Perry, Tal & Weisburd (2017) assert that status and self-worth are a factor of how the authorities treat students by openness and transparency. This legacy of indifference from the authorities and their tendency to implement sanctions against protesting students somewhat created conditions for the normalisation of violence.

Secondly, within political circles there is the tendency among political leaders to dehumanise and instigate violence against the "enemy." This language afforded students' spaces and opportunities to express violence whether verbally or physically. For instance, a common statement that students made was that the university authorities were "arrogant." Politicians also

conveyed the same messages as a way to exempt themselves from having contributed directly to the issue of inaccessible fees at universities, despite their being made aware of this issue (Habib, 2019; Ndebele, 2001). When human beings are dehumanised, it becomes easier to violate them, with little regard for their humanness.

The physical and verbal assaults and death threats directed at university authorities indicates this level of dehumanisation. Consequently, the authorities do have a role in the legitimisation of violence and its use. (Altbach, 2006; Healy-Clancy, 2017; Johnston, 2012) intimate that protests tactics reflect historical and contextual dynamics. Lesedi statement that "*our grandparents, our parents used violence*" illustrates the point that students' actions mirror that of their elders. Lastly, the key informants shared that students were modelling behaviours that they witnessed in their communities. The burning of 26 schools in Vuwani indicated that violence is instrumental, a behaviour unlikely to change without political will.

Institutional Factors Fuelling the Culture and Normalisation of Violence in Protests

Respect for diversity and the upholding social justice are some of the values that universities strive for and these are reflected in institutional cultures. Over the two decades of democracy, Black students have complained about hostile university environments, with experts cautioning of a possible explosion on the basis of the increased number of Black students. It looks like the lack of redress on the part of the management and the state might have frustrated Black students. Institutional cultures that are unappreciative of diversity account for these feelings. The racial polarisation of apartheid South Africa played a significant role in shaping the attitudes of students towards the university authorities including the ways they perceive violence. As per the university population statistics at the universities, there was a higher uptake of Black students in the quantitative and qualitative data strands. Black students at these three institutions cited that they were dissatisfied with tuition fee costs.

They were likely to share that they had negative relations with authorities and the SRC within their institutions. While interviewed participants shared similar issues, participants revealed broad issues such as the lack of transformation and lack of due attention to student issues. On the whole, the normalisation of violence in protests is both a consequence of history and the current milieu largely shapes students' attitudes towards violence. These conditions were the basis for the recurrence of violent protest at the universities and are discussed below.

Student Subcultures

Student subcultures are distinct categories of student groups that share norms and values. Applying Martin & Trow's typology, Roufs (2016) states that student subcultures describe how students relate to the university and include the conformist (academic or vocational) and non-conformist subculture (collegiate or radical). These subcultures denote student's purpose for entering university. The study exposed that, of the three study sites, UWC students overtly expressed their radicalism. Radical students are intellectual drifters, who are intelligent are non-orthodox and likely to be attracted to non-traditional protest tactics. Unlike all other subcultures, they pursue a sense of identity. Examples of these non-conformist students include the UWC and Wits students who disarmed police officers at their campuses. To these students, violence is seen as part of their lives as Black people. Although there is merit in this argument, it overlooks that Black people are not a homogenous group and violence exposure is bound to affect them differently. Unlike their peers who have not been subjected to high intensity violence, these youth are hypersensitive and may unnecessarily resort to using violence. Bushman et al., (2016) and Shields, Nadasen, & Pierce (2009) assert that youth who are constantly exposed to incidences of violence become desensitised and use it to express their needs.

Study findings on relationships at institutions indicated that levels of belonging are racially differentiated with Black students less likely to identify with their surroundings. Students who identify with their institution are likely to adhere to the rules and regulations imposed on them. Belonging as a human motive facilitates the development of understanding, self-enhancement, control and trust (Chiara, Di Battista, & Monica, 2010; Fiske & Rai, 2014). Moreover, these students are reportedly less likely to engage in rebellious behaviour as they believe that they share a common understanding with the management; hence, their behaviour is geared towards overall self-development.

Positive institutional climates and relations with students enhance belonging and identity, bestow a positive and desirable status to students (European Commission, 2012). From this study, Coloured/ Indian and White students identified more with their institutions unlike the Black students. Accordingly, these results reflect those of Nigerian and Italian studies which noted that students in smaller institutions were likely to adhere to the prescripts of their institutions as they were not relegated to being numbers, but were unique individuals worthy of dignity and respect

(Pym et al., 2011). Supportive climates also indicate that authorities are respectful towards students, a concern that students stated repeatedly when they expressed that they were not taken seriously (Bushman et al., 2016).

Reputation Maintenance versus Students' Concerns

A common area of contention that students raised was that the university authorities were not as caring as students would have desired. Both students and Student Affairs practitioners saw the university management as indifferent to students' needs. Social distance between the university authorities and students creates an atmosphere of mistrust, which inhibit the formation of genuine relationships. From the perspective of students, the university management was only concerned with the maintenance of their reputation. Reputation is the value and honour that one bestows upon themselves and to other social relationships. A study that Carney (2010.) conducted indicated that those in power were likely to lie to save their reputations. Violence that occurred during the #FMF centred on discrediting the reputation of university authorities and, to an extent, the female activists or SRC members who led the movement.

University executives communicated via the media to assure the public of the state of their campuses, and some of the communique appraised the public on the rationale for actions taken, some of which ranged from allowing private security or the police on campus or effecting curfews to ensure the safety of on-campus students. For instance, the prayer march organised at the UFS or the open letter that the Wits VC wrote to implore students from continuing with the protests**.** These VCs actions portrayed care and interest on the part of the university management, thus the universities sought to maintain their reputations. Student Affairs practitioners pointed out that these behaviours were fundamentally congruent with the behaviour of engaged leaders. It seems that the #FMF was interpreted, in some instances, as a platform to assert the leadership of male students. Evidence hereto was seen in some male students booing, hurling insults, and refusal to be addressed by these democratically-elected SRC female students.

For instance, during the #FMF Mr. Mcebo Dlamini, although suspended as a Wits student, was at the helm of the movement; his subsequent arrest for public violence, assault and malicious damage to property entrenched him as a martyr. Apparently, this behaviour is not peculiar to the #FMF as Ruth (n.d) shared that UL male students regarded female student leaders as unworthy of

their respect. Additionally, Cele (2014) shares that SASCO was rather reluctant to elect female student leaders in prominent positions. These perceptions therefore allow for prejudice against female students and hamper their embracing of their roles. Seemingly, some female students support these negative attitudes as Bozkurt et al., (2015) and Everitt-Penhale & Ratele (2015) point out. They note that female students valued machismo as it indicates security. Therefore, the perceived weakness of the female leaders might make them lose morale. Importantly, this finding indicates the need for attitudinal change on the part of male students.

Fees

Black male students were particularly dissatisfied with fees charged across their institutions as opposed to female students who thought that university authorities were not sympathetic to their needs. This was unlike their peers of other races. Students' dissatisfaction with fees was however not an indication that they were disconnected with their institutions or dissatisfied with their universities and services offered. Their dissatisfaction represents a complex web of historical and contemporary socio-economic conditions within the country. The call for free quality education has been longstanding; however, it was subsumed under the struggle for liberation. Irrespective of democratic emancipation and the desegregation of the HE sector, Black "Born Frees," continued to face marginalisation. This was captured in their high dropout rates from the universities because of financial exclusion. The decline in government subsidies, the increased number of new entrants in the system because of the massification programme, mergers of universities and closure of colleges, reduced post-school opportunities meant that students from low income families received little aid from the state. The prevailing conditions resulted in students resorting to protests to circumvent their exclusion from the university; HBUs experienced more protests, some of which turned violent. In HWUs, the intensity of protest and the violence experienced differed according to the number of Black students admitted; as their numbers increased their dissent became apparent but were suppressed implicitly and explicitly.

Implicit measures were the institutional culture as Dawson (2006) shared that Black students saw participation as a way to reduce their social capital. Similarly, Moyo (2017) shares that Black students from elite families regarded protests as a nuisance that can potentially disturb their holiday plans. In this regard, protests were basically an ambit of students from low income families, with the help of some middle-class students.

(Cloete, 2016b; Koen, Cele, & Libhaber, 2006; Ndebele, 2001; Wangenge-Ouma, 2012) share that efforts of academics and student leaders to have the government remedy the tuition fee situation were unsuccessful. As a result, these students did not have any other recourse except to protest and risk, arrest, expulsion or even suspension from their university studies. Seemingly, students from middle class families, faced the same predicament, as the likelihood of dropping out of university increased.

Considering that between 2012 and 2016 the South African economy has on average grown by about two percentage points; leading to declining incomes in real terms. It is, therefore, understandable that students called for free education as the survey results indicated that parents paid for tuition fees of their children. Between 2016 and 2017, basic necessities for students namely, university boarding fees, books and stationery, and tuition fees increased by 8.5%, 6.8% and 6.2% (StatsSA, 2017). Therefore, even when parents are employed, majority are low income earners. Masehela (2018) confirms that Black students at HBUs tend to experience ongoing poverty related financial challenges, despite these institutions having low fees and most of their students on financial aid.

For university managers and Student Affairs practitioners, fees have been a concern, but decreased government subsidies meant that universities had to rely on fees to supplement their income. The decline in subsidies put universities, and the university managers who had to charge fees, in a predicament; as result, universities resorted to top-slicing to accommodate all students who could not afford to pay their fees. Meanwhile, VCs interacted with the government to plead their case. However, politicians either absolved themselves from the cost of HE and blamed universities for unaffordable fees (Gigaba, 2015; Habib 2019) or urged students to pay fees during the #FMF (Cloete, 2016a; Makhafola, 2017). To students, the stance that the government took on the #FMF was inconsistent with their pronouncements that HE was to be free. Authorities who give inconsistent stances are less likely to inspire trust from those they lead (Jackson & Gau, 2016). Therefore, the politicians' pleas were meant to delegitimise students' call for free education.

The 2017 South African quarter labour force survey revealed that unemployment for the second quarter rose to 27.2% from 26.7%; this translates to 6.1 million people. Of this group 33.6% were youth between the ages of 25-34 years (StatsSA, 2018). Graduates start their careers saddled with tuition debt and unfulfilled personal and familial expectations. Student debt is increasingly becoming a concern in the Western countries as the figures for the USA and the UK are high (American Student Association [ASA], 2013; Hanover, 2012; Murphy, 2017; Staff Writer, 2015). Equally, South African students are likely to advocate for free education because their graduate status does not translate to easy entry in the labour market, although comparatively speaking graduates are more likely to be employed that non-graduates. A further complication is that the labour market employs HWU graduates quicker than HBU graduates (Oluwajodu, Blaauw, Greyling & Kleynhans, 2015).

Considering the above socio-circumstances, Kongolo's (2012) study about students' university choices has shown that youth from low income families choose universities based on proximity to their homes, low fees and a militant SRCs. This evidence implies that despite Black students having access to universities, fees hampered their absorption and retention in the sector Irrespective of social class, studies show a 15.4% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) goes to savings accounts as South Africans, are heavily bonded because of low salaries (Alexander Forbes, n.d). The 2013 Stats SA confirmed this dismal state of affairs and identified that household and transport costs accounted for about 50% of monthly expenses. A bank study showed that over 76% of their middle-class customers salaries did not sustain them until the end of the month (Staff Writer, 2019).

At the political level, the government had created an impression that its massification programme and the NSFAS loan programme were sufficient and efficient mechanisms to increase access and retention of the previously- disadvantaged groups at HE institutions. The closure of agricultural, nursing, and teacher's training colleges left universities as the main outfit that offer post-secondary education. These closures excluded the majority of Black students who could not afford university education. For the majority that did, these students went to universities that were not of their choice, dropped out and/ or did not complete their studies in required time.

Of the three institutions under study, Wits students were the most concerned about financial exclusions, possibly because its tuition fees were among the highest in the country. The universal call for free higher education aimed to restore dignity of the poor students as none will be means tested for affordability. Moreover, the psychological burden of waiting for approval of applications will end. In 2016, a DUT first year student allegedly committed suicide because he was denied the NSFAS loan, although the university shared that his application had been successful and his family refuted that he was suicidal (Khoza, 2016). Free education meant that students were no longer going to be publicly labelled as financial deviants as seen in the UFS notice board in the previous chapter, be barred from sitting for their examinations or from receiving their graduation certificates.

Relationships with University Authorities

Chapter 2 illustrated that the apartheid state used education to entrench segregation and to subjugate Black South Africans. As a result, race and racism continuously shape relationship dynamics at South African universities excluding Black students. Coloured, Indian and White students at the three institutions were more likely than Black students to agree with the statement that the management attempted to form positive relations with them. However, these sentiments were insufficient to build relations between these two parties. As a result, these three groups easily adapted to the university environments because these spaces embodied their traditions and culture. van der Westhuizen, Labuschagne & Kekana (2016) share that White students, in particular, highly identified with their institutions, which they affectionately referred to as home.

The lack of identification was profound for students irrespective of social status, including middle class students with expressed knowledge of White culture. Unlike their colleagues from poor households, middle class students face double alienation as they neither belong nor identify to either group. This is because both of these groups see them as pretentious. South African Black middle-class students who attended multi-racial schools are referred to as coconuts meaning that they are brown on the outside, but White on the inside (Singh & Bhana, 2015). White students at a HWU university classified Black students, either as *Black-Black* or *White-Blacks"* (Kerr & Luescher, 2018). These statements reveal an element of racism and that Black students are an out –group whose identity is othered, meaning that it depends on that of White students. Subsequently, these students feel excluded as they are shunned by both Black and White students.

Yeganeh & May (2011) share that the lack of generational cultural capital was a barrier to Black students being accepted in middle-class status. Regardless of their mastery of elite culture - having the correct qualifications and a middle-class status - Black students' historical disadvantage was a barrier to their assimilation. Jansen (2004) conducted a study on racism at multi-racial schools and found that White school teachers were more sympathetic and patient with White learners as opposed to Black learners whom they often addressed in a high-pitched and agitated voice. Therefore, for these students, exclusion is a continuation of the racism they faced as helpless children. Students from the lower classes faced similar, but exacerbated status related challenges. For instance, Black students are often classed as academically ill-prepared. In instances where they seek help, they are stigmatised as incapable, while when Ivy League students use support services they are regarded as taking initiative (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Higham, 2012; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). A UCT study found that White students complained that Black students were over-subscribed in support services. This statement implies that White students conceived their collective identity, positively, and that they were entitled to these services instead of their Black peers (Luescher, 2009).

Black students at the three campuses have complained about the daily overt and subtle micro aggressions that they faced in the academic and administrative spaces at their campuses. Gugu's statement that "*you Black females feel entitled*" embodies the perception that Black female students are expected to be docile and unjustified to seek recourse. These calls for entitlement often surface when students challenge the status quo and make those who are in authority aware of these campus subtleties. Conceiving student assertiveness as entitlement when they require recourse goes against what a university stand for, as it is within these spaces that students are expected to interrogate and self -advocate.

University Executives Attempts on Creating a Conducive Environment for Students

University authorities acknowledged that the university environment excluded Black students, since it was not reflective of their identity. Several acts like meetings with SRC, social media visibility and practicing an open-door policy were termed to circumvent the short comings. However, Black students regarded these efforts as insufficient because firstly, academic and administrative spaces were skewed to western values, which to a larger extent create racial parallelism, determining how issues of "privilege and marginalisation" are acknowledged and

dealt with. Although race is still an important element in students' fractured relations with the management, social class further compounds these differences (Kessi & Cornell, 2015; Luescher, 2009; Puttick, 2011).

Gugu shared that although the UFS VC maintained an open-door policy, appointments with students are subjected to him accessing the said student academic record (Jansen, 2016). For the VC, the act might mean his need to understand academic challenges of students, who however perceived this act as awkward. Whereas social media presence is essential in this era, it is likely that confident and outspoken students with the necessary means will interact with the managers. A sentiment that AH shared is that "activists dominate Town Hall meetings." Therefore, student activist may also unintentionally marginalise their constituencies, create tensions with students as this group is supposedly denied a voice, an observation also made by Student Affairs practitioners. Another observation that the authorities made was that student leaders sought to dominate rather than reach collaborative decisions.

Survey and interview data revealed that students were likely to choose their campuses, again, on the basis of familiarity with the institution and anticipated support. For example, in a study about social inclusion, UWC students shared that the university mission statement was misleading because the institution was oblivious to the challenges of the disadvantaged students it attracted (Healy-Clancy, 2017; Higham, 2012). This failure to meet students' expectations has contributed to fractured relations. Reasons that relate to the management being unsympathetic to students' needs are numerous. For instance, Tuli shared that "*VCs were content with sitting in their air-conditioned offices."* Botshelo and Gugu shared that "*VCs were concerned with maintaining the reputation of the university.*

These statements indicate that students saw university authorities as self-interested and not concerned. Student Affairs practitioners refuted this claim, since unlike students they were aware of efforts made to address some of the issues of the students. In view of the reduced government subsidies maintaining a positive reputation is essential to retain academic expertise and attract donations. However, what seems to be lacking was communication on the motives of the university authorities.

The VCs meeting with President Zuma and the warning of the imminent student protest is a case in point. Seemingly, students were unaware of the efforts to address their challenges. As violence erupted, universities sought police intervention, which catalysed the protests. Students interpreted the involvement of the private security companies as a way to silence them. Moreover, the additional costs of this service were unwarranted because students alleged that the officers were heavy handedness. The actions of the authorities strengthened students belief that university authorities were unsympathetic. Sentiments against the university management thrived and fuelled the violence, an anomaly for the universities, whose intentions were to promote safety and wellbeing of all parties within the university.

SRC Relations with the University Authorities and Student Body

The HE Act 1997 formalises and lays foundation of the relationships between university students and the authorities. Provision for the SRC in the various university committees aim to promote and instil democratic principles, accountability and legitimacy of these bodies (Mugume & Luescher-Mamashela, 2015). Effective SRCs are necessary to have a well-functioning institution; however, the survey results indicated that students, especially in the Faculty of Humanities and Management, were uncertain of the SRC's commitment to the needs of the student body; similar sentiments were voiced in interviews. For the latter, it seems that position and stature within the university shaped responses. Findings at the three universities indicate that the SRCs were no longer shaping student discourses because they were either powerless to influence the university executives or were being labelled as sell-outs. Irrespective of their waning power, SRCs are an important part of the university governance.

Oni & Adetoro (2015) support the notion that the SRC contributes to the smooth running of the university and helps prevent violent protests. Subsequently, there is a need to involve them in cooperative governance. Several studies, including this one, revealed that the executive status of SRCs does not translate to decision-making power (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011; Mugume, 2015). Student leaders were in an undesirable position, as neither the university authorities nor students expressed positive sentiments towards them. The UFS response was cautious, hence the "*posture of the SRC is difficult to determine.*" UFS and differed from Wits, where the SRC were not *"representing voices of students.*" Failure to execute its purpose has not only led to strained relations with the university management, but permeates the SRC relations with the student body,

resulting in incessant protests. Several reasons account for this state of affairs. Firstly, while students make the bulk of population at universities, their representation in decision-making bodies is disproportionate, leading to decisions that favour administrators (Macharia, 2015). Hence, Vongani and Cole regarded the SRCs as "*mouth pieces of the management.*" For example, the UFS SRC agreed on a fee increase, although there was an indication that students were likely to reject it.

Cele, Luescher, & Barnes (2016) assert that student representation at university committees renders them unproductive, voiceless and powerless to issues of their constituents. Nyundu, Naidoo & Chagonda (2015) share that majority of university decision-making committees rubber stamp decisions of the executives. The lack of debate and, at times, pressure to accede may frustrate SRC leaders and make them either submissive or militant. Rightly or wrongly, there is an impression that SRCs have power to effect changes in institutional processes - where these are not forthcoming, it then loses credibility. Secondly, the above argument disregards that SRC members at the various campuses had unsuccessfully registered their displeasure with the fee increase. It was only when the campuses closed that some concessions were reached. The SRCs lack of power and marginalisation are embodied in students' age, transitional status, level of knowledge, and the negative attitude of some university authorities towards student leaders and student activists (Christensen & Arczynski, 2014; Luescher-Mamashela, 2011; Rivetti & Cavatorta, 2012; Xakaza-Kumalo, 2011).

Developmental resistance is the disregard for rules and a normal feature of development and includes unfocussed and unskilled militant opposition to the rules. In the long-term, these youth are able to be independent, although the same study shared that these youth were less likely to freely pursue their values (van Petegem, Vansteenkiste, Soenens, Beyers, & Aelterman, 2015; van Petegem, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, & Beyers, 2015). This information does to an extent support the belief that student leaders are likely to endorse the stance of the powerful groups. Subsequently, the SRC may be a means for authorities to control and monitor students to make them less combative.

Subdued SRCs members and students are desirable because they are perceived to promote social mobility and transformation including national global competitiveness. Of regard was the manner in which authorities engaged with students whose strategies ranged from cooperation, resistance and disengagement to positioning themselves toward authority or motivational positioning (Cele, 2008; Haenfler, Johnson, & Jones, 2012; van Petegem et al., 2015).

Thirdly, marginalising students from decision-making processes is counterproductive because it hampers the development of trust and creates necessary conditions for violence to occur. A ministerial report, whose objectives included exploring the causes of disruption and unrests at the NWU (Mahikeng campus) revealed that university authorities made unilateral decisions without involving the SRC (Phaahla et al., 2009). The exclusion of the SRC in the decision-making process and sporadic communication were the grounds for mistrust at universities (Oni & Adetoro, 2015). Hence, students are likely to see the actions of authorities as uncaring. For example, students interpreted the non-formalised memorandum namely: the UFS management, the failure of the President, MDHET, Wits university management and council to meet students as the lack of a positive status. Therefore, issues of students were unnecessary to the university authorities. Considering that student-authority at universities have always been tenuous, actions that confirm the lack, thereof, discredit the management as uncaring. Students expressed this uncaring as disrespect, which Bushman et al., (2016) state can trigger collective violence, particularly at adolescence and youth' levels.

Overall, the results highlighted that SRCs have lost their popularity amongst students; some of the reasons include the lack of power or its exploitation. The lack of power and ineffective formally-established structures prompt SRC leaders to rely on personal connections to address student issues (Mugume, 2015). Therefore, students known to these leaders or those who belong to the same political party may benefit from this arrangement. While there has not been extensive studies on the level of corruption among the SRC members, studies on student leadership allege that corrupt acts are rife (Cele, Luescher, & Barnes; 2016; Kgosithebe & Luescher, 2015). In some institutions, SRC members allocate rooms to students who can either bribe them or are part of their organisations; hence, their corruptibility rendered them to be out of favour with the student body (Moreku, 2014; Mugume, 2015). At times, disregard for students' needs is orchestrated from political parties.

SRC and Political Party Relationships

Political parties are to an extent reliant on their university branches to steer sentiments towards the mother bodies. The secret meetings that the ANC leadership held with the Wits PYA members illustrate the attempts of the authorities to quell the #FMF movement (BLFt, 2016; Mbembe, 2016). This activity was necessary as over the years the ANC has lost student elections to other political parties. With the popularity of the EFFSC at campuses, these losses are likely to be more pronounced than in the previous years. The rise of the EFFSC affirms Mawasha's (2006) statement that universities are dynamic entities with identities in a state of flux as per the political environment. Student leaders are likely to observe the expectations of their political parties as these bear long time benefits. Rapatsa (2017) attests that student leadership in the current era concerns itself with personalities instead of with political ideology and appreciation of difference. The declining popularity of the ANC among youth occurred when the party lost student elections to the DA at UFH, the birth-place of the ANCYL. The emergence of new political parties, which students endorsed further dented the popularity of the ANC. Therefore, the 2015/2016 students' elections were highly contested and even saw public spats between student leaders, VCs and political parties about participation in and outcomes of student elections (Mokwena, 2017). Thus authorities shared that SRC leaders were emulating the behaviour of the same political parties they were disparaging.

The EFF command's intervention at Wits and the UNW Mahikeng SRC leader's outright challenge to the VC, that "*should expect anarchy*" (Macupe, 2016) indicates political interference. Other cases include the delay of the UWC SRC inauguration, the disruption of the Wits election campaigns and /or the fights that occurred at the UP and claimed a life of a student; these are examples of how violence proliferates student politics (Mpemnyama & Zidepa, 2015; SASCO UWC, 2015a). These contestations indicate the power of student politics and the benefits for those in the SRC. Means to buy student leaders' loyalty are rife in all governments across the world and may indicate that political parties are losing their legitimacy, thus their pursuit of student leaders. (Fongwa & Chifon, 2016; Shai, 2016) share that some university leaders and politicians tended to ply student leaders with gifts hoping to keep student protests at bay. However, these collaborations are often short-lived as the student body revolt against these decisions.

Apart from terrain contestations between student political parties and challenging university authorities, some students voiced strong feelings against capitalism. However, this displeasure often took racial undertones in the expression, "White capitalist monopoly." Therefore, capitalists were termed as undesirable as they deepened poverty and were unwilling to share their wealth. Moreover, these oligarchs denied Black people from reaching the same status. This logic justifies racism, which is an antithesis to democracy. Retrogressively, students may have been evoking racial hatred of the Black population against the Whites, with a view to stir up a revolt.

Benefits of Violence during Protests

Participation in protests has been shown to bear benefits for those involved and these are often long term as revealed in Vestergren, Drury & Chiriac (2018). For this study, numeric and narrative results differed significantly as survey respondents shared that violence was not beneficial for their course; hence, students rejected it, unlike interview participants. This result was unexpected because interviews are not necessarily anonymous like questionnaires. Three reasons may be advanced for participants' openness. Firstly, their understanding of the value of their information to the study. Secondly, the interviews provided them with an opportunity to share their feelings and thoughts and, thus, the study may have had a cathartic effect. Lastly, the view that the researcher was genuine and able to establish rapport with them (Cibangu & Hepworth, 2016; Jones, Bowden, & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015). A bulk of the participants including the key informants shared that there was merit in using violence during protests.

Firstly, the participants cited that violence was a means to get attention from the authorities, although this was a short-term benefit as it was seen as a worthy action. Violent protests at the universities signify that university management does not have control over the students' situation, level of influence and the extent students were willing to go to, to have their voices heard. Violent protests signify the inefficiency of formally laid down processes to register issues and the undesirable response from university authority. It is only when students use violence that they are likely to be heard.

Student Affairs personnel and students tended to agree on the veracity of violence. Hence, "vi*olence is the only language that they understand*". This finding is consistent with the students' waning trust in the SRC because they were self-serving. In this case, violence helps students' issues gain currency and have the attention of the nation, be it through mainstream or SNs.

Secondly, the use of violence tips the structure of power at universities. H. Dawson (2014) indicates that unemployed youth were part of a community shut-downs and for that day they commanded respect of people who would otherwise not have given it. In this case, the use of violence becomes a means to gain power. The regular and late-night meetings with students, whether the SRC or the #FMF with university executives, Council members and high-powered individuals like judges, legitimised the students' issues and cement their power. During this time, partners and stakeholders came together to ensure that the needs of students are addressed; however, some of these engagements collapsed because of lack of cooperation. This situation further pressurised university executives as the lack of consensus meant that violence will not only continue, but also was likely to escalate. Key informants at universities shared that students continuously changed their demands and negotiating teams, prolonging the negotiation process.

Thirdly, engaging in violence might be a means to identify with peers with the same inclination to violence. And since the majority of the students was between the ages of 18 and 22 years, this need is understandable. Hence, some may avert risks in order to gain approval from peers. Luna, Paulsen, Padnanabhan, and Geier (2013) and Sather & Shelat (2017) share that youth below the ages of 25 years tend to seek out peer approval as belonging and relationships are crucial to their personal identity and development. Additionally, they tend to be adventurous. It might be possible that those who engaged in violence did so to protect themselves from further victimisation or even harm. Carney, Yap, Lucas, & Mehta (n.d.), Simpson, Farrell, Oriña, and Rothman (2015) posit that these shifts of power allowed students an opportunity to lower cognitive, emotional and physiological stresses and inhibitions associated with engaging in violence.

While a large number of survey completers shared that they made a choice to partake in protests, interview results contradicted this stance as some students shared that they were threatened to participate in the protests. It is, therefore, possible that some protest leaders took advantage of this fear and compelled them to unwillingly engage violence.

Fourthly, group identification and value expression were the benefits as revealed by Wits students; those between 18-22 years identified moral reasons instead of personal reasons as motives for their participation in protests. Fewer students shared that they partook in protest because of fear. It is conceivable for Wits students to cite that they would protest on the basis of moral reasons, as they were at the centre of the #FMF; thus, students felt that there were compelled to join their peers to illuminate the challenges that they faced. *"I did not need a second invitation*, or "*If you knew their plight you would have joined,*" Xolani. Results of the study indicate that South African students, particularly those below 22, upheld values of communitarism or *Botho/ Ubuntu*, meaning humility and the recognition of the interconnectedness between human beings. Students' involvement in the #OutsourcingMustFall signified this value as did their statements that they "*could not abandon our mothers and fathers*." (Luckett & Mzobe, 2016; Metz, 2016). Their statements and actions revealed that students are empathetic, hold high moral standards and are not self-conceited as they are often depicted. These qualities are common for universi**ty** students because they are in the post-conventional stage of moral development.

Critiques shared that the students realised that the workers' protest was an ideal platform to help launch their grievances. Evidence, however, indicates that students-worker partnerships existed in the 1990s (Pendelbury & van der Walt, 2006). Students' involvement in the worker's movement was a continuation of this legacy. Whatever their reasons, one cannot deny that students' involvement in the protests was not for themselves, but for their peers and the future generations. This is expressed in Naledi's statement that "*I could not imagine another generation facing the same malaise*." Although, Ubuntu is an African value, evidence proves that values are common to human beings irrespective of their contexts. Values are transcendental beliefs of what we hold dear and guide our actions.

Values fall in four opposing broader categories: self- transcendence, self-enhancement, openness to change and conservatism (Schwartz, 2010; Valihorová, n.d.). A multi- national study of examining personal values and activism revealed that activists held self-transcendental and openness values, meaning that they were concerned about the welfare of others, self-directed in thought and action and were driven by humility, but also sought stimulation. Complimenting these findings was an Israeli study that revealed that 'protests participants' have a particularistic world view and hold universal values (Vecchione et al., 2015).

Fifthly, the legitimisation of violence was part of the narrative that was shared on social media. The purpose, thereof, was to create a sense of losing out for those parties that did not partake. This was especially when images of clashes with the police were shown. Vestergren, Drudy and Hammar Chiriac (2018) share that conflictual interaction with police allowed protestors to use violence. SNs also helped students legitimise the violence that they perpetrated as they accused mainstream media of one-sided reportage, with focus on violence and not on its antecedent factors. Gugu's tweet that "*we are under siege"* in response to the police helicopter hovering above their campus can be thought of as creating conditions where violence is acceptable. Hence, unconventional media became a news source for the movement and shaped the direction of the conversation. To minimise the challenges of mainstream media and to increase their audience students used social media as a communication tool (Bosch, 2016; Lotz, 2017). Had students not been marginalised, this media platform would not have been popular and trusted.

Social media sites may build trust, identity, diffuse tensions and re-energise a movement, especially in times of danger (Treré, 2015). University executives were rather caught off guard by the potency of SNs to distribute news be it legitimate or not. By the time they caught up, some false news had already galvanised students. Ginges & Merari (n.d.) and Vecchione et al. (2015) share that the hype and immediacy of "likes' and "shared" statuses of messages may prompt students to engage in violence because of their belief in the cause of the movement or for popularity. Despite their ease to transmit information, SNs are prone to infiltration as seem in the tweets about Wits originating from a location more than 50 kilometres away, and housing political parties (Lotz, 2017).

Sixthly, personal satisfaction is another benefit that students expressed. This was conceived of as fun. Subsequently, this group of young people were not risk averse; risky behaviour elicited feelings of happiness and subverted rational thought (Luna et al., 2013). A study investigating the joy of violence among school-going children showed that majority of the children enjoyed violence; this was irrespective of whether they were bystanders or active participants. While this sample is different from that of this study, there are consistencies between these studies. This perception may be linked to Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory, which classified South Africa as a masculine society, where the use of violence is normalised (Hofstede, n.d). In a nutshell, violence was a thrill for these students.

Involvement in Protests

The ability of the authorities to exercise power is subordinate-sanctioned, meaning that they can either validate or reject legitimation myths; in this case students questioned the power of the authorities. While it is common for subordinates to question the authorities, the manner in which this is done depends on its cultural dimension. Sine's statement that his university's calling the police force *"means business",* is an example.

Students who shared that they willingly partook in protest illustrated awareness of their citizenship rights. On the other hand, their actions mirror the worldwide displeasure of youth in institutions that exclude them in decisions-making processes (Lima & Artiles, 2013; World Forum for Democracy [WFD], 2015). A small proportion of students shared that they were pressured by peers or threatened to partake in the protests, this pressure may not always be overt and coercive, though the results prove otherwise as UFS students cited that peer pressure would prompt them to participate in protests. Several reasons are associated with their decision, like having friends partaking in the protests or being part of social justice organisation or curiosity. Knowing someone who will be partaking in protests, creates certainty and comfort especially for first timers. Hence students may feel compelled to participate. Students who belong to organisations easily join protest actions. Although novices are inexperienced on protest actions, they are politically-interested and may engage in violence to prove their commitment to the cause and gain approval (Saunders, Grasso, Olcese, Rainsford, & Rootes, 2012).

Movement infiltration is an indication of a threat; hence, intervention of the police and private security and students retaliate. Whereas this behaviour is not common at South African institutions, continentally such have been common and were often state-instituted, either through para-militaries or bandits (Johnston, 2012). Another reason for their reluctance to participate in the protests might be that these students were worried that their involvement in continued protest action might jeopardise their future careers (Ndlovu, 2017). This response might mean that there were incidences of violence that the students had witnessed and, thus, they thought it best to join the protests to avoid trouble. Accordingly, people who participate in protests have different motives and leave the movement when they feel that their goal has been achieved. This differs from that of committed activists who often continue to pursue additional goals of the movement.

Effects of Violence on Students

Despite the form that protests take, they tend to create psychological distress and deprivation. Disruptions create a sense of fear, uncertainty about personal safety and affect stability and predictability associated with the institution. Few participants cited that they were ambivalent about violence because its efficacy made it helpful. For Xoli it was a *"pragmatic solution and a weapon for the poor",* that the university authorities pushed students to using it. Their indecisiveness may rest on their experience of the insecurity that violence creates. These feelings ranged from fear to despair and helplessness, as some of the participants watched buildings burn, or were fired with rubber bullets or witnessed their friends wasting away by either abusing substances or withdrawing from daily life activities because of depression (Bisson, Cosgrove, Lewis, & Robert, 2015; Cherewick, Doocy, Tol, Burnham, & Glass, 2016). It seems that age and sex were key determinants in establishing the effect of violence.

Male students shared that the violence that occurred during the #FMF, did not affect them at all. This response differed from those of all females and older males who expressed that they were affected by the protests. For example, Student Affairs practitioners had comments, such as "*we hid under tables*" or "*I stopped coming to work for some time,*" which attest to the intensity of these feelings. Chalufu (2017) reveals the emotional challenges that related to being in Student Affairs, including death threats. This case illustrates that some of the students were adamant on using violence, with little regard on its effect on their targets.

One can only imagine how students felt especially since they have had little life experience on direct combat with police and fellow students to facilitate their coping skills; this is because this generation of student have lived in a relatively stable political era with minimal political violence (Chisholm, 2012). On the other hand, this cohort of students have been exposed violence at their schools and university campuses, some of which is gendered as indicated in the threats, sexual assault and harassment that occurred during the protest (Modupe; 2017; Madonsela, 2017). In this instance, it seems that male activists were disrespectful towards female leadership; hence, despite their engaging in a social justice movement, these values were limited to fighting for fees. These results contradict Vecchione's et al., (2015) value study results that indicated that activists cared about the welfare of others. Charges of assault against Mr Mcebo Dlamini reveal this peculiar behaviour; however, one cannot dispute the possibility that some of those who threatened or engaged in violence were not activists nor students. Some of these were students as revealed in the accounts of the key informants and participants.

The fear of being harmed was real at these three campuses as seen in the burning of the Wits university bus with passengers and the stoning of the UWC venue during an examination session. It is therefore understandable that some students reluctantly participated in the protests. The extent of insecurity was seen at Wits where the celebratory singing by a group of Black students was construed as a protest (Cumming, 2017). Majority of participants shared that they were depressed or knew of depressed friends, some of whom had taken to abusing substances, or attempted or committed suicide because of the stress they experienced due to the protests. A student's tweet in late November on the Wits page read *"the fire-crackers are triggering my experiences with stun grenades and the police at Wits. I am on the edge*" (Sibongiseni, 2015).

The statement above is consistent with the fact that fire-crackers were used to disrupt lectures. Therefore, the violence that occurred at universities affected all parties irrespective of the role they played in the protests

Solutions to Curb Violent Protests at the Universities

Dealing with and solving violence is rather complex as indicated in the varied responses where participants called for education and sanctions. Unlike White, Indian and Coloured students, Black students shared that reconciliatory processes and not punishment were the solution to address violent protests at universities. One may assume that Black students' responses are linked with their realisation and need to be recognised and respected. Claassen (2014) indicates that this posture is understandable as violent protests are moral and should, therefore, not attract penalties from the authorities. This is especially true as Black students unlike their peers are more likely to be arrested or harassed, with such even occurring outside their campuses. An incident where private security guards accosted a UJ student outside campus indicates that sanctions can at times be unwarranted. Looking at this event, it is understandable that Black students were against the closure of the universities, as it made them more vulnerable to police and or security officers' brutality unlike when they were on campus. This does not necessarily mean that students were absolutely safe on campuses as police officers often use tear gas to flush out protest leaders or ring leaders.

The then police commissioner issued a warning to students that they had stock-piled "protests" ammunition and were ready for protesting students (Cele,2016). Studies have shown that tear gas is particularly dangerous especially in closed spaces and may cause long term respiratory problems, blindness and death; therefore, its use is questionable and has been banned by the WHO (Cele, 2016; Sorokanich, 2013). It would be interesting to investigate the health effects of this mode of intervention on students and, perhaps, journalists who were part of these protests. Furthermore, Black students were pro-feedback from the authorities and advocated for transparency in the running of the university, indicating that they were rather suspicious of the university management. For instance, Xolani shared that the "*university management was*

concerned with White students" because on the week of the Shimla park incident, the Black students were left in a volatile campus whereas White students were removed to safety.

Qualitative data revealed divergences between proposed solutions of students and key informants. From the informants' point of view, there needed to be a holistic approach to dealing with violence. Education and dialogue were the proposed solutions, which were to buffer disciplined approaches. These strategies were necessary to understand of and respect for each of the parties, their points of view, and to build consensus, identity and accountability. These strategies were deemed successful within a social and political landscape that espoused common principles. Therefore, addressing poverty and inequality, including accountability on the part of the authorities, were necessary to forge a cohesive society. The dissonance between expectations and lived experiences, including the rampant corruption are some of the factors that fuel violence at universities (Aghedo, 2015). This statement illustrated that issues of society permeate to the university and although students shared that the university management should listen and meet their demands, it seems that dominance instead of dialoguing was the anticipated outcome for some of the student leaders and activists. As such, Mokgalong (2014) shares that protests at universities tend to follow the same patterns, indicating the need for a strategic shift.

Procedural Justice and Social Identity Theories Application

Results of the study indicate that race, social class and the socio-political context were crucial in determining whether protests turned violent or not. South African universities have massified, but still retain their elitism thus excluding other groups. It is this elitist environment that excludes and disempowers students and creates for opportunities for violence to erupt. The GEM of procedural justice posits that people are likely to embrace decisions when they partook in their fashioning. From a macro-perspective, students' behaviours reflect widespread dissatisfactions that unravel in society, where the general public has resorted to protests as a means to be heard. Accordingly, the results of the study point out that students and university authorities have strained relations. The cause of the strains was the perceived ineffectiveness of both the SRC and the university management to address issues. Underlying this ineffectiveness was poor communication that bred mistrust, leading to lack of cooperation among these parties, especially students.

The 'apartheid' image of the university continues to prevail at all South African institutions, irrespective of the democratic political franchise. On one hand, the massification process has illuminated this image and challenged their legitimacy as institutions that promote nation-building and social justice. On the other hand, it seems that some of the Black students who enter the system have expectations that are rooted in their perceptions; where these are unmet, relations tend to be strained. These students had a low sense of belongingness and identification within these spaces. A community that shares a common identity is essential for harmonious relations and constructive conflict resolution. Chiara, Silvia & Monica (2010) intimate that identification is a psychological process that enhances feelings of fair treatment, helps modify students' in-role behaviour and increases cooperation with peers and overall adherence to the university rules and regulations.

Moreover, students who identify with the culture of their institution have social support that allows them to deal with the challenges they may encounter at the university (Levy & Earl, 2012). Therefore, it is the responsibility of the authorities to create necessary conditions for such relations to develop. Concerning the study, students shared that their relations with the university were strained, as they believed that the management treated them unfairly and denied them having their voice heard. Accordingly, institutions gain legitimacy when its target groups, beneficiaries, partners and stakeholder groups believe it meets its mandate, making it worthy of accepting and adhering to its prescriptions with little resistance (Gerber, González, Carvacho, Jiménez-Moya, & Jackson, 2017). Most importantly, an authority conveys importance or a sense of worthiness to those they lead based on how they react to their demands. As revealed in this study VCs and Student Affairs practitioners were receptive to considerable levels of students' issues; however, the politicisation of the protest and the mixed messages from the political parties somewhat disintegrated the conversations.

In terms of the quality decisions, which include fairness and a voice, one realises that students felt that they were treated unfairly and were denied an opportunity to share their concerns. An insistence on increase fees at different institutions, despite the Wits protests, indicated that decision-making processes at the different institutions were unfair, as it seemed that these processes were not neutral or transparent and that SRC members may have been coerced to agreeing with management.

Furthermore, there was an indication of an imminent mass student protest. By March 2015, SASCO called for a national university shutdown on issues affecting students. Therefore, the SRC leaders who endorsed fee increases contradicted the stance of their student body and their political party (DHET, 2010; Rudin, 2015). Students challenged the authority of the management, SASCO and DHET and further distanced themselves from these out-groups. The out-group status of the SRC, boosted the #FMF splinter groups as the in-group, as the latter was perceived to be genuinely in pursuit of students' cases. With time, this group also lost its legitimacy because its tactics alienated the majority of students. Members are likely to denounce groups that do not confer a positive identity and pride on their part. Whatever the decisions made it seems that the process of making the decisions was necessarily considered to have these endorsed by students. Corey, Corey and Corey (2018) indicate that cohesive groups are able to control the behaviour of their members without the application of outright sanctions.

Furthermore, students interpreted the involvement of private security personnel at their institutions as combative. At Wits, the EFF was banned for disrupting the election campaigns, while at UWC, protests were banned for a year. These two modalities were reminiscent of apartheid era strategies and implied that universities sought to impose rather than negotiate with students. Similarly, the pressure was on universities to attempt to salvage the academic year, to curb the disruptions and violence that occurred on their campuses. These actions occurred when Wits students were afforded an opportunity to protest uninhibited until the start of the new academic year. Although, VCs publicly announced their support for the cause of students, their spending money on private securities communicated a negative message to students. Symbolical that students were not allowed to continue with their protests. Heightening, the perceived unfairness of the universities were public intimations from political party leaders of universities, especially HWUs, wilfully denying Black student access to HE, while government support was inadequate or even not forth coming. These statements were rather provocative as over the years government subsidies for HE were insufficient. In an already polarised society, these statements were regrettable as obligation was laid squarely on the universities. Students, however, expressed that responsibility was on the state when they marched to both the ANC headquarters and the Union Buildings.

In terms of quality treatment, institutions sent mixed messages. While the managements were receptive to the #FMF, it used counter-intuitive measures to discourage the continuing of protests. These modalities of dealing with protests created and escalated tensions between students and the university. Presentation of the UFS memorandum and the UWC council chairperson rescinding the agreement made with the #UWCFMF indicated the lack of interest, respect and arrogance to which students continuously referred. Further, tarnishing the image of the authorities was the MDHET's infantilization of students during the Durban indaba along with the President's failure to meet students and media reports that seemed to be against the #FMF. In essence it appeared that authorities engaged with students to quell protests rather than to implement structural changes. The non- committal 6% government proposed fee increase illustrated the point made above.

The duration of the grievances, sluggish response and action of the authorities over the years and the withholding of and non- implementation of the free education report recommendations despite rampant corruption of the current administration were some of the contributory factors to the protests. This state of affairs created the necessary conditions for eruption of violence as institutions meant to address students' concerns were not necessarily ineffective, but disregarded the plight of students, heightening the lack of trust that existed. Failure of the authorities to uphold procedural justice meant that their authority and legitimacy was compromised. Carter (2011) and Mcquarrie et al., (2013) describe legitimacy as an evaluative process informed by the assessment of the institution's services as fair and desirable, and fit for purpose and value. Lack of legitimacy can be conceived of sanctions that the populace imposes on the authorities for not upholding expectations and such may validate violent protests. Notably, the personal and social identity elements played an important role in shaping attitudes to protests and violent protest. Data revealed that Black students tended to be politically active as opposed to their peers of other races, whose social capital (race, class, wealth and culture has somewhat protected them from the vestiges of life. In the midst of the challenges faced and non-response of the authorities, violence becomes a tool to achieve social equity and justice. Hereafter follows a scheme that illustrates factors that contribute to violent protests.

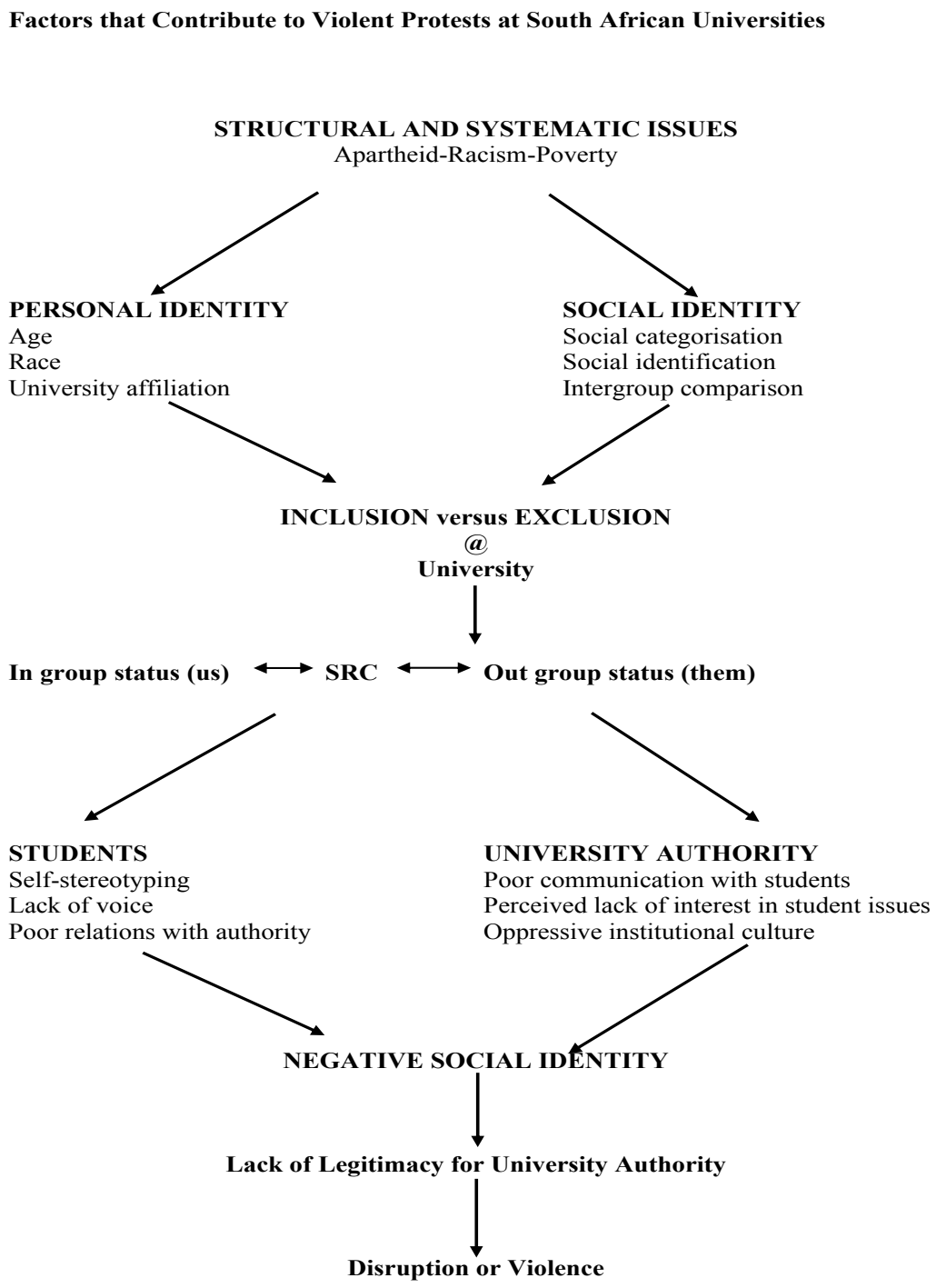

Figure 7.1. Factors Contributing to Violent Protests

An Overview of the Violent Protest Strategy

The purpose of this study is to establish the reason for university students to use violence when they have problems with university authorities. The pervasive and destructive nature of violent protests requires that the researcher devise a strategy to help minimise the incidences of violent protests at various universities. The strategy encompasses the elements of the literature review and the research findings that covered the nature of the violent protest at the universities, its causes and the contributory factors, the perceived benefits, including the effects and modes to reduce violent protests. Therefore, the purpose of this section is to elaborate on what universities can do to minimise violent protests at universities. The name of the strategy is the Integrated University Violent Protest Strategy (IUVPS).

Violent university protests have remained a stubborn feature at virtually all university campuses. Despite their ubiquity, individual universities have had to shoulder the responsibility of devising ways of dealing with them instead of having a comprehensive inter- institutional strategy. There previously was a call to have universities develop a comprehensive policy on student protests, this call seemingly has not been realised. Therefore, universities rely on the criminal justice system to intervene in such incidences, action that often result in the escalation of the protests to overt violence. For instance, in May 2017, Wits came with protests protocols, fashioned according to the Riotous Assemblies Act 1991, which recognises the right to protests is a national provision that requires prior notification to the officials concerned, digression from this requirement leads to protest was to attract sanctions (Duncan, 2015; Senior Executive Team, 2017).

The protest protocols instruments recognise the need for adherence to grievance formal processes, which the #FMF flouted. Moreover, these responses are one-dimensional and do not include other stakeholders that are instrumental to the curbing of violent protest. In 2017, as a response to the university protests, the SAPS, the Wits Medical School, the Nelson Mandela Foundation and the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) devised a practice model for health care during student protests. However, it does not mention how to handle student protests. The same loophole was evidenced in the PMG (2019) five-year legacy report for 2014-2019, on the police involvement in student protest report (2017) and the Campus Society Annual General Meeting

(Seldon, 2018). The discussion that follows looks at the proposed strategy to deal with violent protests at universities.

The Integrated University Violent Protest Strategy (IUVPS)

Violent protests at university have serious long-term effects on the overall wellbeing of students and all staff members at the universities. Ideally, the university environment is perceived to be sheltered from social ills. However, the results of the study indicate that violent protests are rife at these environments and, thus, necessitate intervention. Therefore, this strategy aims at minimising them, without actually encroaching on the rights of students to dissent on issues that affect them. The strategy presents an integrated framework to reduce violent protests at universities, with the following components: Risk factors, which are both structural and systemic in nature. Considering that violence is a complex phenomenon, responses to address it require that stakeholders and partners in the HE sector work together to design and implement modalities in response to reducing risks to violent student protests. This multi-pronged strategy will include efforts of these stakeholders with the aim to ensure that the risk of violent protests is minimised. It is anticipated that all these iterative efforts will yield observable outcomes. Below follow the details of the strategy as per the elements described above.

Summary of Risk Factors that Contribute to Violent Protests

Risks and protective factors of violent protests are iterative and where risks surpass protective factors, then violent protests are eminent. Violent university protests are consequential to structural and systematic factors. At a structural level, the history of colonialism and apartheid that legitimised violence and racism still determine interactions at universities. Under the directive of the government, universities have attempted to design inclusive policies, which have transformed the university sector. However, these efforts have proved insufficient to eliminate the systematic issues embedded at universities and society. Therefore, Black students enter the university from a stance of deficiency, such as poverty, racism and other social exclusions, resulting in a negative social identity. These characteristics are not generalised to students of other races. The above conditions have resulted in Black students relating negatively to the authorities and using violence to address their issues. To restrain violent protest at universities, the following interventions are necessary.

Individual Based Interventions

Universities are environments of teaching and learning; to ensure that the mandate is fulfilled, the following activities are necessary. In keeping with the educational mandate of the university, it is essential that the university students are made aware of their rights and responsibilities as students. This includes sharing knowledge on grievance procedures and the organisations meant to address these procedures. Of essence, students ought to be made aware that they can self-advocate, since they are conversant with their issues. As change agents, students ought to contribute to the type of university that they want, in terms of its identity and values that should permeate these institutions. The success of this strategy also hinges on students understanding that universities are implementing agents, with limited power to accede to some of their demands.

University Based Interventions

The university environment is a community that comprises of students, academic, administrative and support staff. The role of the employed university stakeholders is to ensure that teaching and learning conditions are optimal for the primary group or university students. An optimal learning environment can prevent violent protests.Often interventions target students and exclude other university stakeholders. The most crucial stakeholders meant to identify issues of students, be it at individual or at collective level, are the Student Affairs department. These stakeholders are in a better position to advocate on behalf of students, through sensitising university staff members of students' needs and potential solutions. Identification of these issues need to be proactive where a database of at-risk students is created and interventions are designed to resolve their issues. Importantly, this database needs to be shared with other personnel that interact with students, who would monitor that students obtain adequate support such as capacity-building programmes targeted at students who faced some disciplinary action for engaging in violent protests. Furthermore, all stakeholders (university executives, administrative staff and campus security) who particularly deal with the resolution of student matters ought to attend training sessions to conscientise them on the calibre and expectations of the current generation of university students. This information is necessary to foster communication, mutual respect and positive relationships.

For academics, there should be infusion of the promotion of nationhood in the curriculum. These efforts are likely to bring into focus the implications of violent protests on all those who are concerned. The role of student organisations in promoting cohesion at the university needs to be emphasised. Lastly, university authorities should be transparent about their efforts to resolve student issues and to ensure that they give students timely feedback. Targets of feedback need to be all students in order to promote trust. This openness should also transcend to financial issues, covering aspects like the costs of protests. Periodically, these stakeholders ought to dialogue on the vision of their universities including how to attain such.

Macro level interventions

Macro level interventions represent the values, ideals and norms that the society strives to uphold. HE, represents the most important arm of education meant for the development and global competitiveness of a country. Interventions at this level include the following systems of the government as in police ministry, departments of basic education (DBE), social development and political parties. The role of the government is to make adequate provisions for its citizens. For students, the government needs to ensure that a universal policy on student protests at universities is drawn. Having such will promote consistent treatment. The role of police officers in the resolution of protests needs revisiting. The promotion of dialogue with a view to prevent protests from escalating to violence is necessary. This competency hinges on the state being effective and efficient in fulfilling their plans, be these the disbursement of NSFAS funds timeously or ensuring effective application and admission systems and processes for first entering university students.

The DBE can play an essential role in reshaping learners' attitudes towards the use of violence. Currently, there is major focus on academics and little on the creative aspects that indirectly and informally train learners on various life skills. The revival of these activities, be they athletics or music at schools, may help curb aggression as they open other avenues for self- efficacy. South African communities are exposed to violence; hence, the learners display of aggression, making counselling services should be available at school premises. Learners need to have ongoing life skills programmes help deal with their aggression. School social workers, youth workers and teachers specialising in creative and physical education can offer these services.

Political parties on the other hand need to devise means to discourage violence from their members. These parties should promote monitor, evaluate, support and hold to account the sectors that can collaborate in the lessening of violent student protests. Most importantly, government policies need to be responsive, minimise insecurities and inequalities that contribute to the social injustices.

Strategy

Table 7. 1. The Integrated University Violent Protest Strategy (IUVPS)

Risk factors	Stakeholders	Facilitative factors	Outcomes
Structural factors Systematic factors Relational factors	Students University authorities Staff Political parties Government:	Education Dialogue and collaboration Policy formulation	Responsiveness Belonging & identification Responsibility Collective identity Quality learning & teaching

Conclusion

The chapter presents the results of a parallel mixed analysis in accordance with the four objectives of the study. All participants shared that protests at their university campuses became visible when students engaged in disruptions in response to the tuition fee increase. However, student leaders and activists held that disruptions are never violent, although there is evidence of physical and or psychological harm on the part of those who were targets of these disruptions and even those who partook in the violent acts. Overall, the results of the study revealed that students' use of violence is an interplay of physical, psychological, socio-economic and political factors. At the centre of this behaviour is students' experience of exclusion based on race, age and faculty. This is possibly so out of fatigue with the continued exclusion, marginalisation and an unresponsive university management that expects them to accede to tuition fee increases. Subsequently, students took a radical approach to have their voices heard. Their need to belong and be recognised seems to supersede their perception of the consequences likely to befall them;

however, in an environment with perceived limited alternatives other than violence, this as a short-term strategy. Key informants supported this stance and linked the violent events occurring at the universities to service delivery protests that occur in their communities. Additionally, the institutionalisation of violence, a stubborn remnant of apartheid including the manner in which politicians legitimise violent protests has increased the instrumentality of violence. Of the research participants, younger students tended to endorse violence as a means to attain own objectives. However, a political environment seems to support violence and its ubiquity.

Noteworthy, it seems that students from middle-class families endorsed violence because they do not have prior experience. For them the presence of police officers and private securities indicated that their protests were legitimate and there was no need to be confrontational toward such personnel. Students from low income areas were rather cautious about protests and rather prepared for imminent violence likely to occur during protests. Therefore, middle class students seem to be more trusting of the authorities; assumingly, these students are as opposed to their Black counterparts. It is these conditions that fractured relations between students and the university authorities; notably, White students had a positive inclination to the authorities. However, in relation to identifying with the SRC, majority of the participants agreed that relations were strained, though activists hinted that SRCs abdicated their responsibilities. Senior and Executive management pointed to political party influences as the root for the SRC being out of favour among students.

Apart from the study revealing the fun of violence, the findings emphasise its acceptability because of how authorities react to it, therefore, making it a language. Notwithstanding the benefits of violence, students and staff were affected by the violence at their campuses, though young men were less likely to admit to this reality. It seems that gender determined the intensity of effects experienced as female students were sexually harassed and threatened with rape. On discussing solutions to curb protests, White, Coloured and Indian students and those in authority opted for a combination of punitive and dialogical measures, whereas, Black students, activists and Student Affairs personnel were for dialogue. Assumingly, dialogue bears no immediate and/or long-term personal consequences, thus, its desirability for Black students. Authorities opted for both discipline and dialogue. Following these observations, the next chapter captures the essence of the entire research report, highlighting the important and unusual aspects that respond to the research

objectives. These objectives are discussed under these headings, main findings and contributions of the study, empirical contribution, implications and recommendations of the study.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter gives an overview of the research study, focusing on the crucial elements that seek to answer the main research question, which is why do South African university students resort to violence when they have problems with university authorities. The answer to this research question required that the researcher engages in several actions, as detailed in the previous chapters. The research findings revealed that race, age, institution were influential variables that shaped responses of the participants, especially students. Of these three, race was the constant determinant variable. The sections that follow give an exposition of the four research objectives, the empirical contribution, implications and recommendations of the study. At the end a brief conclusion is made.

Findings of the Study as per the Objective 1

Demonstrations are the most popular democratic mechanism for expressing needs. When done collectively these communicate the prevalence of the issues at hand (della Porta & Diani, 2006; Kynoch, 2013; Staeheli & Hammett, 2013). Popular disruptive tactics that students used included university shut-downs and vandalism; these marked the escalation of conflict. The scope of these protests indicates the common protest trajectory (Kerr & Luescher, 2018). Proponents assert that disruptions challenge the status quo and have little effect on individuals whose daily lives are interwoven in cultural and structural violence. Disputing classifying disruptions as violence somewhat fails to acknowledge and differentiate the regularity and embeddedness of systematic violence. Meaning that those experiencing systemic violence, continue to adapt to it. Whereas, the argument about the validity of structural violence is unquestionable, disruptions are often unpredictable, spontaneous and destabilising.

Disruption of lectures, limiting access and movement, breaking windows and burning private or public property encompass a level of violence. All of these actions are premised on intimidation and/ or efforts to mobilise. Hence, disruptions have psychological effects. Pedersen (2004) intimates the potency of negativity bias or the likelihood that people remember angry faces than happy ones. Negative experiences push the body into a defensive mode making one fearful and/ or paralysed. Moreover, negative experiences are said to remain longer in one's memory. Unpleasant experiences stretch an individual way of dealing with the threat.

The UWC student who was afraid to go to the bathroom indicates the psychological effect of fear and intimidation (Pretorious, 2015). Hence, the unpredictability of disruptions is worth considering. Of all the protest tactics employed during student protests, arson seemed premediated as seen in the online posting of a petrol bomb- making recipe, stashed tyres and fuel. Cooper (2014) cites personal and external conditions for the successful execution of arson. This tactic aims at highlighting to the authorities the commitment level of the protestors to their cause.

Findings of the Study as per the Objective 2

The study made interesting findings pertaining to the factors that contribute to violence, which included it being fun, apparently when associated with age, the need to be politically relevant FOMO and the advent of SNS. Attributing violence to fun goes against moral indignation associated with violent protests (Jasper, 2014a; van Troost et al., 2013). Associating violence with fun is an unexplored area in the realm of South African protests. Considering the levels of violence that youth face in their communities and society these results are understandable. Kerbs & Jolley (2004) share that their American study found that bystanders took the narrator stance that could not differentiate between actual and fictional violence as it was similar to watching violence on television. However, they also felt guilty. This observation resonated with the study findings despite the disparate samples. Also, protests are generally a fun-filled affair that create community through singing, dancing and a sense of purpose (della Porta and Diani 2006; Godsell 2015; Jasper 2012). Youth below 25 years thrive on the excitement of risky behaviour (Sather & Shelat, 2017). With the majority of the participants between the 18-22 years, it is possible that they were unable to resist the excitement and power that comes with violence (Luna et al., 2013). In this case, age seems to predispose students to violent behaviour.

Structural and systematic exclusion was the central reason for violent protests; it manifested as unaffordable fees and institutional culture, as expressed by Black students who have over the years attributed their exclusion to approaches of the university authorities. VCs and the SRC bore the brunt of students' anger as they were labelled '*sell outs*, *arrogant and also threatened*' notwithstanding that VCs stated that they were accessible to students. The younger one's age and actions of self-identifying as middle class made the sentiments likelier. Cummings (2015) shares that the lack of prior experience of the consequences of violent protests might be the reason associated with students' use of violent protests.

Godsell & Chikane (2016) and Luescher–Mamashela (2015) identified that middle class status students held anti-establishment attitudes but were seemingly underprepared for its unexpected and pending repression. Students from low income families were however ready for the impending state violence. Hylmö & Wennerhag (2012) share that although street protests are associated with the low classes, issues that are of national concern, seemingly, garnered common political beliefs, hence, the public sympathy. Historical and present-day reasons, which took a moral stance accounted for students' associating protests with violence. Fiske (2012) Reicher (2019) assert the morality of violence in terms of how the authorities react. Sine's statement that "*they provoked us*" is justification for their violent behaviour. Moralistic stances help substantiate the rationale for violence and open avenues for its use.

Findings of the Study as per the Objective 3

Historical, political and social factors accounted for the associated benefits of violent protests. In this case, based on how the reactions of authorities, it is an efficacious bargaining tool. The response of the university authorities was to make violence a form of student-authority communication (van der Merwe, 2013). Literature reviewed pointed to the pervasive and efficacious nature of violent student protests at different epochs and places. Therefore, violence was not only for purposes of enjoyment but also for indiscriminate use; it was meant to destabilise the university environment through eliciting fear. The state giving in to the demands of students helped reinforce the efficacy of violent protest. Using SN, the student movement gained traction and public sympathy especially when images of violence being witnessed were instigated by the police and/ or security officers. Consequently, these platforms became a reliable source of information about the protests and somehow legitimised the violence that students instituted. SNs allowed them self-determination and a level of identification with the movement; this identification is crucial in the lifespan of any movement (Bosch, 2016; Fuchs, 2012; Luescher, 2015; Onuch, 2015). Despite moral appeals, the more violent the movement, the higher the likelihood of decreased support (Abdulla, 2011; Passini & Morelli, 2015). The weakness of SNs is that they create an illusion of support but are also subjected to infiltration. Cascading from this, students gained power and a sense of community and purpose.

While violence assisted students to attain their goal, participants, especially activists and student leaders, acknowledged that they were depressed. Male students, unlike female students and Student Affairs personnel, underplayed how these violent protests affected them. Additionally, protest subjected female students to sexual harassment and/ or assault. Despite, the emotional effects, students shunned campus-based counselling services.

Findings of the Study as per the Objective 4

The final objective of the study that explored possible solutions to curb violent protests indicated that Black students and Student Affairs personnel were for dialogue, unlike their counterparts who opted for punitive measures. The latter response mirrored that of the university managers, who opted for discipline and the resolution of inequalities. Need for dialogue centres on understanding the stance of another and charting a collaborative effort to solving violent protests universities. The response of the authorities is seemingly a way to promote accountability on the part of the students. However, success of this solution depends on whether concerned stakeholders including the government fulfil their mandate.

Relevance and Application of Social Identity and Procedural Justice

The relational nature of violence determined the choice of both these theories as part of its conceptual framework. Accordingly, collective identity, which is a function of cognitive and emotional evaluation, determined the level of harmony between university stakeholders. Therefore, university that one is enrolled in bestows collective identity. Hence, Wits, UFS and UWC students affectionately refer to themselves as Witsies, Kovsies and Bushies, although the last is hardly used for its association with the apartheid connotation of HBUs. Radburn, Stott, Bradford, Robinson (2016) note the "we feeling" is crucial for building and solidifying social identity and enhances conformity to rules and regulations of the institution. For as long as the psychological aspects of belonging and identity hold, individuals will elevate collective identities and suppress their personal identities. This is because collective identities promote pride.

As evidenced in the previous chapters, social identity is fluid. Extraneous factors like history, political and socio-economic factors undermine this identity. For this study age, race, institution were crucial aspects of the personal identity, creating a dissatisfied social identity for Black students. Therefore, Black students whether at HBUs or HWUs, seem to have negative relationships with the authorities. Hence, the self-stereotyping into "us" and "them", which has

consequences for intergroup comparison. These intergroup comparisons also occur across campuses. The imminent closure of the Wits Esselen and PKV residences without tangible arrangements for students and the continued use of Afrikaans at the UFS are cases that highlight conditions for intergroup comparison. Apart from polarising students and university authorities, the dissatisfied social identity stemmed from the manner in which students related with both the university management and the SRC.

Students' labelled the university management as arrogant and disrespectful in the manner that they handled their grievances which they felt contributed to the violence. Long-standing grievances like unaffordable fees and stifling institutional climates helped crystallise students' assertions. In this case the university management and the state were seen as unfair to poor students as their massification efforts were not genuine. The measures that universities instituted to curb protests meant that students were ill-treated. Balsvik (1998), May, Cilliers , & Van Deventer (2012) and Pym et al (2011) share that retributive actions create rifts between stakeholders because students interpreted these as clamping dialogues. Conversely, VCs saw themselves as accessible to students and also advocated for their needs. Ray (2016) points out that VCs cautioned the former President Zuma of the imminent student protests in January 2016. These VCs efforts indicate their awareness of the importance of harmonious relations at the university. Despite these efforts, students regarded VCs as uncaring. The lack of belief in the SRC and its powerlessness also created tensions with the student body.

The ubiquity of violent protests and the reaction of authorities to remedy them by acceding to the demands of protesters have created the perception that violence works. Therefore, the authorities have created these dynamics with the students. Student, thus, used violence for moral pursuits. It further strengthened their social identity and voice. Fiske and Rai, (2014), Popova (2014) along with Stodolska, Berdychevsky and Shinew (2017) share that when youth see violence as instrumental, reputation building and exciting they are likely to use it. With both the university authorities and the SRC regarded as disinterested, their legitimacy was questioned, leading to lost authority.

Mistrust and antagonism subsequently resulted in the rise of the #FMF; however, since they regarded the university management as not having legitimacy, their interactions were often violent. (Gumede, 2015; Pauwels, 2014) share that weakened social ties, discrimination and the lack of social recognition promote violence, a tool that marginalised groups use to assert their issues. Proposed solutions depended on status held at the university and race; authorities especially the VCs were for discipline and dialogue, while other parties opted for the latter. Black students were also for dialogue. Dialogue can increase empathy, cooperation and identification, leading to development of trust as parties will be doing that which they should do. With such engagements, university authorities and their institutions will be seen as legitimate.

Empirical Contribution of the Study

Doctoral studies are purposeful and systematic endeavours that aim at to bring out different dimensions on understanding social issues. This difference is regarded as an original contribution to knowledge production. Originality is a regarded as an opaque subject; however, researchers illustrate that methodological and contextual elements do contribute to the originality of the study (P. Thomson, 2015). The study which aimed to explore why South African university students resort to violence when they have problems with authority makes the following claims about its contribution to the expansion of knowledge in the fields of violence studies, criminology, student movements, youth development and Student Affairs. For violence studies, this research illustrated the factors that contribute to the violence in protests and some of the attitudes that students hold towards violence. Whereas, criminology is interested in crime and criminals, this study indicated the role of societal factors like structural violence in escalating violence against students. Importantly, the role of police officers in escalating student protests was highlighted. Since, the HE sector was the area of investigation, where students who are young people are initiated into student movements, the study indicates the need for stakeholders (university management, youth development practitioners and Student Affairs practitioners) in this sector to forge positive relationship with students through responsive education programmes and activities. Collaboration between these stakeholders may influence the trajectory of future student movements. This study makes knowledge and methodological contributions.

Knowledge Contribution and Integration

The study explored a controversial and an under-explored area of violence at South African universities. The study revealed participants' definitions of violent protests, the contributory factors, benefits and effects including solutions to curb such protests. Attitudes and meanings differed according to personal and environmental disposition. Unique discoveries of the study are the conception of violence as fun and the challenges that female students face resulting from being part of the movement. While the use of violence in protests is not unique, this study contributes knowledge to an under-explored area in the HE sector. The study applied the SIT and the GEM as part of its conceptual framework. Both these theories highlighted the weaknesses in relationship dynamics between university stakeholders. As per the findings, the lack of a common identity, exclusion and lack of participation contributed to mistrust towards authorities, resulting in the lack of legitimacy suffered by the authorities. For ease of reference, the researcher presented a diagram of how the elements of the SIT and GEM contribute to violent student protests; based on the findings the researcher came up with a strategy to reduce the incidences of violent campus protests (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Empirical and Methodological Contribution

Convergence was the rationale adopted in this MMR study. For the data collection, process the study used self-selection and maximum variation sampling procedures, with a multi- level relationship to sample three geographically and historically differentiated universities at different intensities of violent protests. On- line surveys were used to collect data from students. Qualitative data was collected from students, activist/ SRC members, practitioners in Student Affairs and members of the senior executives. Research participants were both homogeneous in terms of their sample parameters and diverse as per their location and social status. Exploratory factor analysis, multinomial regression analysis and descriptive data analysis techniques were used for the quantitative data. However, the sample size was small it proved adequate for these techniques. Content and thematic analysis were used to analyse narrative data. The two data strands were only integrated in the discussion phase. Convergences and divergences of findings concretised the

rationale for MMR. Lastly, the use of the convergent design was time and afforded the researcher to minimise her impact on qualitative data analysis and considering the complexity of the topic, collecting data simultaneously was an unplanned emotional buffer for the researcher. This aspect can be seen as creativity in research (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Study Limitations

Despite its interesting findings, the study was limited in terms of access. Half of the target sampled universities partook in the study, somewhat compromising the findings in terms of geographical location and sample homogeneity. Moreover, the researcher relied on the institutions to distribute the questionnaires, which was not ideal as the researcher could not send reminders to participants; direct interaction occurred only after students completed the survey. The survey questions were also reduced, thus, clouding meanings of some questions. This was unavoidable because had the researcher not complied there was a likelihood that the research was unlikely to be conducted at some sites. Albeit, the challenges, the researcher understands the need for institutions to protect staff and students and their reputation. Using MM was an interesting learning curve that made the researcher realise that the veracity of these studies increases with training and teamwork; however, video lectures, fora and materials on the internet helped circumvent some challenges that the researcher encountered. Where these were unavoidable, discussing about them was crucial. For instance, the researcher did not pursue data conversion because of the disparate sample sizes.

Implications of the Study

The study advances that violence in South Africa is systematic and structural in nature and may potentially undermine her constitutional democracy. Several reasons namely poverty, inequality and lack of trust in state organs account for students use of violence to have authorities address their concerns. There is a need to take a holistic and integrated approach to dealing with conflict and violence in all sectors of society, with environments that children and youth given urgent and primary focus. Emphasis needs to be on re-education about values, patriotism as well

as need and implementation of sanctions across the wider society. Essentially, the study implies the following:

- Violence has become an acceptable means for one to achieve material and psychological needs. Therefore, students using it find reasons to justify it. This attitude emanates from weak political leadership, which often calls for youth to use violence in their defence, or which fail to sanction their members for misdemeanours.
- Government policy implementation needs to be a priority area as often commitments are made and publicized to gain political currency. This lack of accountability on the part of technocrats is what fuels levels of impunity at the university level. Moreover, levels of corruption and failure to address these compromises accountability and the taking of responsibility.
- Considering financial status of the country, free HE is unaffordable as the economy is contracting. Means-testing is necessary to provide students with required financial assistance; this would mean that students will pay fees according to their parental income status. Debt owed should be based on projected future income and average time to secure employment. Interest charged should be nominal pegged at three percent.
- Student activism has undergone a form of redefinition as some student activists perpetrated violence against their peers, majority of whom were female and in their first years. These incidences mean that male university students hold misogynistic attitudes despite fighting for social justice.
- University leaders are seemingly detached from the student population and in time of political instability and transition, these fissures tend to be exploited to gain political currency. Moreover, university leaders, need to respond rather than react to protests.
- Meetings and dialoguing with political leaders are necessary as these tend to rely on the energies of youth to make their impact. The language that they use to dismiss "the stance of rivals" does not necessarily mean tensions between them where ideological differences do not mean that they are enemies.

Recommendations

Recommendations for Policy Makers

Students are part of society, which mirrors and sanctions acceptable behaviour; however, in a society where protests are increasingly violent, students' behaviours are not abnormal. Several authors share that culture, income inequality, history and politics bestow patterns of how communities should relate and deal with problems. Patriarchy, poverty and inequality are some of the pervasive challenges that South Africa faces, hence the normalisation of violence. At the core of the violent student protests are the non-responsive authorities, rampant inequality that is fuelled by blatant corruption (Anwar, Fry, & Grigaityt, 2018; Rinderu, Bushman, Am, & van Lange, 2018; Stodolska, Berdychevsky, & Shinew, 2017). Addressing these key issues is likely to reduce incidence of violent protests at universities. Dealing with macro factors is more plausible because it challenges authorities to act accordingly, hence, the following recommendations are made for policy makers and the state.

Synchronising the University Year and Financial Year

Majority of South African students rely on the NSFAS to fund their education, despite this knowledge these funds are always disbursed late after the beginning of the governments' financial year, which is in April. This state of affairs is reason for incessant protests that occur annually often with devastating effects for institutions and students. Therefore, making NSFAS allocations to universities based on their admission is likely curb protests. Considering that the current cohort of students are likely welfare recipients of the Child Support Grant (CSG), school nutrition programme and RPD houses, the late allocation of NSFAS funds represents an anomaly to their perceived entitlements (Suttner, 2016b). Also, universities can revise their academic year and have it start in September. This reconfiguration will allow the state to disburse adequate budgets to the universities, ultimately avoiding protests.

Disassociating Politics from HE

There is a need to detach politics for HE because this relationship has somewhat intensely changed the HE environment. Over the years, student politics have degenerated to reflect dynamics of their host bodies. Apart from election rigging, assault and, in severe cases, murder of opponents have dominated these organs. These behaviours are seemingly condoned as responsible lead parties ignore them. In this sense, student politics have assumed a combative, ideologically wrought stance that threaten the stability of universities. While one does not discount the importance of these structures to shape future leaders, the level of intolerance and self-centeredness is overwhelming. Politicians use their economic and social means to influence students to act violently; however, none ever takes responsibility for the impending dangers as the immediate benefits are attractive (Bowman et al., 2015; Kynoch, 2016; Philipps, 2016). Alternatively, financial penalties should be levied on parties that damage university infrastructure. Political parties should also commit to this proposal. This penalty is often applied in football and seems effective to dealing with riotous behaviour.

Popularising Alternative Paths to HE

The belief of the ANC government that apartheid creations are not beneficial have closed post-secondary avenues such as teachers and nursing and agricultural colleges for students who would have not been admitted at universities. While the Germany basic education model is criticised for segregating students according to social class (Trines, 2016), exposing students and communities to benefits of these educational paths is necessary to absorb students and may even decrease financial spending on education - these are often cheaper than universities and may generate community specific solutions as their education is practical (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Recommendations for University Leaders

University VCs are the face of their institutions and because universities are complex bureaucratic structures, they are required to balance competing needs at times with little support from the government. In light of the above, the study proposes the following.

Proactive Negotiations with Students

The current socio-political climate requires leaders to be transparent and forthright about student issues. The belief that SRCs and university managers are less interested in student issues can be dealt with when leaders are transparent. Over the years, the government has raised youth expectations on the importance of HE with little financial and infrastructural support, leaving these institutions to fend for themselves. To prevent uprisings at campuses, VCs need to communicate efforts made to secure funds from NSFAS without being prompted. These communications ought to be done with the SRCs detailing salient points. This applies to interactions with political leaders. Doing so will make students aware that VCs care about their needs. For instance, students could have been made aware that, over the years, VCs have pleaded for funds and that they pre-empted the #FMF, a call that the government disregarded. (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Publicising Costs of Violent Protests

University rarely if ever share the costs they incur subsequent to violent protests; however, some senior managers are often privy to it. Students need to be made aware of not only the financial costs of their violent protests but also the academic, emotional and physical effects which are likely to persist in the medium to long term. Sharing this information with students may make them aware of how their actions are self-defeatist. Students ought to be encouraged to attend counselling sessions to lessen the emotional effects of the protests on their wellbeing (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Relationship Building Activities

South African VCs are caught up in a different political era where students demand more of their time and personal attention; although most have a media presence, there is little face-to-face interaction with the average student as roles and responsibilities are delegated to different parties. In an environment where there is lack of trust, it is imperative that VCs make impromptu brief visits to lecture halls, student residences and where possible engage in a recreational activity with students or even their meetings in student-designated spaces. These activities serve the purposes of sensitising VCs of the state of their campuses, create visibility and bridging fragmented institutional social identities. The activities will allow VCs to be construed as being genuine. Leaders who are visible are likely to pre-empt areas of possible tensions and conflict. Most

importantly, it may deflate intentions of instigators aiming to destabilise campuses (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Conflict Resolution Skills Training

University leaders are thrust into positions based on academic merit and the assumption that their experience affords them to deal with all sort of challenges, including conflict. There needs to be emphasis on relationship-building as much as other aspects like financial management. Provision of this training is likely to result in amicable solutions for themselves and students. Some aspects of this training may also conscientize these leaders on the prejudices that they hold about students and to move to adapt them (Source: Field study 2016/2017)

Recognition of Multi-Institutional Organisations

Universities are hierarchical and complex structures that require functional relations between students and authorities. Firstly, there is a need to revisit the role of SRCs as a representative body for students because over the years its role has deteriorated by being subjected to manipulation, politically. While these are independent bodies, there is need to ensure that this role is monitored to facilitate continuity of programmes, plans and foster positive relations with the university management. This role should be cautiously assumed, as normally, SRCs are linked to political parties which may see this role as interference instead of collaboration. This is especially true in the current political climate, where students see politics as an avenue for an assured career; for political parties this role established a constant supply of members. Student Affairs departments are in a position to fulfil this role; however, adequate material and non-material support is needed to successfully undertake this role (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Sanctions against Students

Sanctions cannot be discussed in isolation of the environment as the lack of or the contestation of such are common in different communities. Contestations may indicate that laws can be disregarded; hence, students are likely to emulate what happens in their communities and dispute sanctions. Albeit what happens at communities, students need to be made aware that universities are not different from all other institutions as they become effective through rules; ripple effects are likely when these are bridged. Therefore, those who transgress should face sanctions for their misdemeanours. Over the years, universities have turned a blind eye to students or have succumbed to political pressure and interference to drop charges against students. These actions weaken respect for rules and regulations in the long term and create an impression of the

desirability of lawlessness. On a larger scale, the flagrant disregard of the laws is seen in how people in authority undermine rules and even court orders. Without authorities being exemplary there is greater likelihood that students will question rules (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Intra-Institutional Exchange Visits

Universities often sign Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) whose agreements are often one-sided and may be insensitive to the power differences and exclusivity that they may indirectly perpetuate. These agreements often favour HWUs as staff and students often visit HBUs than HWUs visiting them. This scenario depicts that knowledge is an enclave of HWUs because they are better resourced. Affording opportunities to HWUs students and staff with little first-hand information about the state of HBUs may alter attitudes, generate empathy towards Black students and help build genuine interracial relationships (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Recommendations for Students

SRC leaders a crucial mediator between the university management and the student body and numerous studies have shown that universities functional optimally with an effective SRC with the opposite holding true. For this cohort the study makes the following recommendations:

Political Education

There is a need for all South African political parties to reintroduce the love and appreciation for knowledge and action. Current student politics are premised on meeting individual needs with little regard for short or long-term consequences on their immediate environment. Therefore, there is a need to re-emphasise responsibility and accountability as essential parts of civic education. The Student Affairs department as a more neutral university stakeholder can implement these programmes. Luescher (2016) and Moreku (2014) support this stance. To make them attractive to the takers they ought to be accredited and tests given; these can take the form of a portfolio of evidence not necessarily written and which can be pictorial. Students who partake in these initiatives will, therefore, be afforded opportunities to contest SRC elections. This strategy can augment the one that requires excellent student to contest elections. This plan may make students considerate and patriotic as they would be aware of the effects of their actions.

Political education may meet the recurrent expressed need for students to "make history" as it will expose them to other avenues of activism other than political radicalism (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Narrowing SRC Participation to Academic Related Issues

SRC leaders form part of strategic panels at their institutions, one of these is the tender committee. The inclusion of students in these committees indicates that universities are transparent in their award of these contracts. The challenge is that serving on these committees potentially exposes students to likelihood of corruption, and possible coercion from interested parties. Therefore, there need to be anonymised platforms to report experiences of possible corruption. (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Strengthening the Meaning of Engagement and Democracy

There is a need for students to see student politics as an avenue to strengthen democracy and civic engagement for all, instead of small clusters. Attitudinal change efforts should include student driven programmes to sensitise students on how to attain their goals without disregard for the rights of others. This recommendation stems from the findings that some students were forced to participate in protests and some exposed to sexual harassment (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Encouraging an Apolitical Student Body

Redefining student leadership from national party politics will enhance concern with student issues. Therefore, these students can be a formidable collective that champions student issues. The success of this attitude change, requires the national political parties to recognise their damaging role of polarising students based on political affiliation feelings and attitudes before, during and after field-work. (Source: Field study 2016/2017).

Recommendations for Future Research

The study makes the following recommendations for future research:

Firstly, the study has developed a potential model that considered race, institution and faculty as biographical details that determine the likelihood of students using violence. The sample size and the number of variables tested affected the reliability of the identified factors; it would be beneficial to conduct a similar study at a larger scale to verify the veracity of the findings.

Secondly, although protests are a common occurrence at universities, there is a paucity of information on how violent protests affect students academically and emotionally, including their career prospects. This consideration should be extended to academic and Student Affairs staff who are at times caught in the conflict between students and the university management.

Thirdly, it would be interesting to conduct a comparative study of the experiences of female student leaders and activists on violent protests at their respective institutions.

Lastly, there is need to explore the costs of protests in terms of academic time lost, brain drain and overall ability to attract sponsors and meritorious staff and students. Focus on these aspects is essential because universities with a positive reputation endow such benefits to their students and staff.

Appendices

Appendix A: Ethical Clearance

UNIVERSIDAD DE MÁLAGA

FACULTAD DE DERECHO

Programa de Doctorado en Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales

Dr. Ángel Rodríguez - Coordinador

UNIVERSITY OF MALAGA (SPAIN)

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (JURIDICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE)
R 122/15SM

CLAREARANCE CERTIFICATE	Protocol number 04-122
PROJECT	The culture of violence as a mechanism for solving problems with authority among South African university students: historical and contemporary context
INVESTIGATORS	Kwanagetse G. Morwe
DEPARTMENT	Criminal Law
DATA CONSIDERED	25 February 2016
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved unconditionally
DATA 25-02-16	**CHAIRPERSON** (Professor Angel Rodríguez)

[illegible] Facultad de Derecho. Bulevar de Louis Pasteur 26, E-29011 Ciencias de Teatinos, Málaga
[+34] [illegible] 952 1 32135 / 952 1 32136 el. decden@uma.es

Appendix B: Recruitment Poster

Appendix C: Permission Letter

23 March 2016
Ms Keamogetse Morwe
PhD Candidate
University of Málaga and University of the Free State
Email: kgmorwe@webmail.co.za
Phone: 063 170 0851

The Registrar/ Research Director

Name of University

Permission to conduct research at the UFS involving students and staff
PhD topic: The culture of violence as a mechanism for solving problems with authority among South African university students: historical and contemporary context

Dear Professor/ Doctor

I am writing to you to seek permission to conduct research interviews and focus group discussions with the students and key informants for the purpose of my doctoral research supervised by Prof Elisa Garcia España (Department of Criminology, Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, University of Málaga, UMA) and Dr Thierry Luescher (School of Higher Education Studies, Faculty of Education, University of the Free State, UFS). As per the attached letters from my supervisors, my research proposal and research instruments were duly accepted at the University of Málaga and ethics clearance to conduct the research has been granted by the same university. As per Memorandum of Understanding between the UMA and the UFS, the processes at UMA are recognised as valid by UFS.

In order to successfully conduct the empirical data collection for this study, I kindly request permission to access student records (undergraduate enrolment data of 2015 and 2016; HEMIS) for the purposes of sampling and contacting students, as well as permission to contact students, student leaders and university leaders and conduct research interviews and focus group discussions with them.

I am a trained social worker and worked as registered social worker for several years. Prior to embarking on doctoral studies at UMA/UFS, I was a lecturer at the University of Venda in Gender and Youth Studies for ten years. I am acutely aware of the present sensitivity of the topic (both on your campus and on other campuses where the study will be conducted) and the ethical matters and potential psychological issues involved in conducting this study in the present context. If I come across respondents who have been psychologically affected by the topic, I will be able to debrief them and advise them to make use of the student counselling services on campus.

Provided that I am only on the UFS campus until 18 March 2016 (but will be able to return for further studies later this year), I would like to kindly ask you to provide me such permission urgently to begin the process.

Thanking you in advance.

Keamogetse Morwe

Appendix D: Questionnaire

1. Welcome to My Survey

Thank you for participating in our survey. Your feedback is important.

Good day, my name is Keamo Morwe, a joint PhD student at the Universities Málaga Spain and Free State, South Africa. I am conducting a study to find out what is it that leads university students to resort to violence when seeking to address their problems with the university authority. The reason for choosing you to participate in the study is based on your being a university student and having had experienced some form of violence on your campus.

For the purpose of this study, you will complete a 10-minute online survey and if you are interested, you may participate in a focus group discussion, which will be scheduled later. There are no benefits attached to participating in this study, the information gathered will be of great benefit to my study and your institution.

You are not in any way compelled to participate, should you be interested in participating but have questions about the study, I can be reached on 0631700851 or kgmorwe@webmail.co.za, otherwise please read the information below prior to starting with the survey.

Please read the following statements.
- I have read and understood the information sheet provided about this study
- I understand that my participation in this survey is voluntary.
- I have the right to not answer any question I don't like or to stop the survey and withdraw my participation, at any stage, without having to explain why.
- I understand the inherent risks that I will be subjected to, are minimal and should they occur will be promptly dealt with by the researcher.
- I understand that what I say will be kept confidential by the researcher/s and will only be used for research purposes. My name will not be used in any research reports and nothing will be published that might identify me.
-I understand that if I have any further questions I can contact one of the researcher/s listed on the information sheet.
-I agree to some of my comments or statements being quoted in the report, provided that I cannot be identified.
-I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.

1. I agree to complete the questionnaire for this study and waive any claims to damages that might arise out of this participation.

2. Will you like to participate in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD)?

3. If yes, please provide your Cell number and or/ Email address, so that I can reach you in order to schedule the Focus Group Discussion.

4. Faculty

- ◯ Arts
- ◯ Humanities/ Social sciences
- ◯ Law

5. Sex

- ◯ Female
- ◯ Male

6. Age

- ◯ 18-22
- ◯ 23-27
- ◯ 28+

7. Please describe your race/ethnicity.

8. Who is responsible for your academic related expenses?

9. Level of study

- ◯ 2 nd. year
- ◯ 3 rd. year
- ◯ 4 th. year

10. What do you think of the following statements?

	Uncertain	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
It is justifiable for students to destroy property to show their anger.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Given a second chance I will choose this institution again.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

	Uncertain	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Resorting to violence signals the failure of the university system to instill qualities of responsible citizenry in the students.	○	○	○	○	○
The SRC always acts in the best interests of the students.	○	○	○	○	○
I am satisfied with the fees that are charged at my institution.	○	○	○	○	○
The use of violence is normal in the protests of university students'.	○	○	○	○	○
The university management strives to promote positive relations with students.	○	○	○	○	○
A peaceful protest is a sign of weakness.	○	○	○	○	○
With the use of violence, students' issues are dealt with quickly.	○	○	○	○	○
The university management is rarely sympathetic to the issues of students.	○	○	○	○	○
Closing the university to prevent further damage to property is the most practical solution.	○	○	○	○	○
Both the police officers and students are equally responsible for the violence during protests.	○	○	○	○	○
I am satisfied with the standard of services offered at my university.	○	○	○	○	○
Participation in a protest is always an individual student's choice.	○	○	○	○	○

11. What is it that mainly contributes to the protests?

12. What will make you to participate in a protest?

13. Which of the following activities are typical for protests on campus? Choose any three.

- [ ] Vandalism
- [ ] Sit-ins
- [ ] Threats
- [ ] Looting
- [ ] Boycotting lectures
- [ ] Petitions
- [ ] Arson/ burning property
- [ ] Looting
- [ ] Uncertain

14. What can be done to reduce violent protests?

- ( ) Transparency in the governance of the university.
- ( ) Arrest
- ( ) Expulsion
- ( ) Fine for damages
- ( ) Academic suspension
- ( ) Periodic feedback from university authorities
- ( ) Uncertain

Thank you again for your participation in this study, questions can be directed at 063 170 0871 or kgmorwe@webmail.co.za to Keamo Morwe.
Whereas questions, complaints and comments about the study, may be directed to my supervisor, Dr Thierry Luescher: 051 401 3771 at
thierryluescher@outlook.com.

Appendix E: Key Informant Interview Consent Form

Key Informant Consent Form

Violence as a mechanism for solving problems with authority among students at South African universities.

- I have read and understood the information sheet provided about this study, **and/or** the interviewer explained to me the purpose of the research.

- I understand that my participation in this interview is voluntary.

- I have the right to not answer any question I don't like or to stop the interview and withdraw my answers, at any stage of the interview, without having to explain why.

- I understand that what I say will be kept confidential by the researcher and will only be used for research purposes. My name will not be used in any research reports and nothing will be published that might identify me.

- I understand that if I have any further questions, I can contact one of the researcher listed on the information sheet

- I agree to the interview being audio recorded YES / NO

- I agree to some of my comments or statements being quoted in the report, provided that I cannot be identified YES / NO

- I would like to receive an edited copy of my interview transcript YES / NO

- I would like to receive a summary of the key findings from this study YES / NO

If you would like a copy of interview transcript and/or a summary of the key findings, please record your e -mail address below:

Declaration:

I, _____ agree to be interviewed for this study.

Signed: _____(Participant) Date: ___/___/2016

Signed: _____(Researcher) Date: ___/___/2016

Appendix F: Key Informant Interview Checklist (SRC)

Key informant interview checklist (SRC) on the culture of violence as a mechanism for solving problems with authority among South African university.

Date: 12 September 2016

i. University: Western Cape	ii. Department:

A. Biographical data

Please mark the appropriate box with an (x)

1. Sex Female [ ] Male [ ]
2. Age …….
3. Marital status Single [ ] Married [ ] Separated/ Divorced [ ] Widowed [ ]
4. Race African [ ] Coloured [ ] Indian [ ] White [ ]
5. Religion African Zionist [ ] Buddhist [ ] Christian [ ] Hindi [ ] Muslim [ ] None
6. Level of study One [ ] Two [ ] Three [ ] Four [ ]
7. Years as a registered student One [ ] Two [ ] Three [ ] Four [ ] Five [ ] Six + [ ]

B. Questions of context

8. What are the challenges that you experience as a student leader?
9. What is it that triggers protests?
10. How are decisions to protest reached?
11. Why do the student protests often turn violent?
12. Comparatively speaking, how violent are the protests at your university?
13. How do violent protests affect the university?
14. What measures could be taken to curb violence during protests?

THANK YOU

Appendix G: Key Informant Interview Checklist (Administrators)

Key Informant Interview Checklist

Violence as a mechanism for solving problems with authority among South African university students

University: University of the Free State	Date:

A. Biographical data

Please mark the appropriate box with an (x)

1. Sex Female [ ] Male [ ] Other [ ]
2. Race African [ ] Coloured [ ] Indian [ ] White [ ] Other [ ]
3. Highest Qualification Bachelor [ ] Honours [ ] Masters [ ] PhD [ ] Other [ ]
4. Position……..
5. Years as at the University 1- 3 [ ] 4- 7 [ ] 8- 11 [ ] 12 – 15 [ ] 16+ [ ]
6. Years in the current position 1- 3 [ ] 4- 7 [ ] 8- 11 [ ] 12 – 15 [ ] 16+ [ ]

B. Questions of context

- Apart from issues of transformation and financial exclusion what are the typical problems of students at your campus that have potential to escalate to violence?
- What support structures are available to deal with the problems of the students?
- What is the role of the Student Representative Council (SRC) in the de-escalation or the escalation of conflict?
- Unlike other institutions, the UFS was somewhat insulated from the #RMF and the #FMF protests, what made that possible?
- The students allege that the management does not hear them, what contributes to this perception and how to challenge it?
- What are the typical violent behaviours that the students engage in when they are making their claims?
- Why would students choose to use violence instead of other mechanisms?
- What is the university' general attitude to the students use of violence?
- There are allegations of the university responding harshly to students protests (e.g. arrests/suspension), what made such actions necessary, particularly, in what seemed like an orderly and peaceful protest?
- How effective are the above measures in dealing with the use of violence?
- With respect to the benefits, students yielded in the 2015/2016 academic, in what way has the future trajectory of student activism changed?
- Do you believe that there is a "third force" driving the violent protests? If so, what is

it and what do you think it seeks to achieve?

- How can the university as a social institution, promote a non-violent approach to problem solving?
- What are the social values that can contribute to reducing violence and how can these be reinvigorated?
- What are students' attitudes to the use of violence?
- What benefits were yielded from engaging in violent protests in the short and the long term?

THANK YOU

Appendix H: Permission for Entry

1

UFS·UV

06 April 2016
Faculty of Education
University of the Free State

Dear Ms. Morwe

SA Research Committee: Study approval and registration

With reference to your application for approval by registration with the Student Affairs (SA) Research Desk for your study, *The Culture of Violence as a Mechanism for Solving Problems with Authority among South African University Students: Historical and Contemporary Context*, submitted on 24 March 2016, I am pleased to report that approval has been granted for your study to engage the student population for the purposes of the research.

Your study is registered with the SA Research Desk for its full duration, which desk is appointed to offer you support in further detailing access to and data collection among students

Kindly also note that to schedule the submission of the required report of findings to the Research Desk upon completion of the study, as reflected in the research timeline you provided for the study.

Please do not hesitate to contact Mr. Vhugala Nthakheni, with further queries or requests for support.

Yours sincerely

C. Faasen

C Faasen, (Acting) Dean of Student Affairs

CC: Prof. E Garcia España
Dr. T Luescher
Prof. C Witthuhn
Mr. V Nthakheni

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

STUDENT ADMINISTRATION
Administration Building, 1st Floor
ashaikjee@uwc.ac.za, mamos@uwc.ac.za
021 959 2110

13 April 2016

Dear Keamogetse Morwe

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

As per you request, we acknowledge that you have obtained all the necessary permissions and ethics clearances and are welcome to conduct your research as outlined in your proposal and communication with us.

Please note that while we give permission to conduct such research (i.e. interviews and surveys) staff and students at this University are not compelled to participate and may decline to participate should they wish to.

Should you require any assistance in conducting your research in regards to access to student contact information please do let us know so that we can facilitate where possible.

Yours sincerely

DR AHMED SHAIKJEE
MANAGER: STUDENT ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR

FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE.

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY REGISTRAR

10 May 2016

Ms Keamogetse Morwe,
Joint PhD student at the Universities of Malaga, Spain,
and Free State, South Africa.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

"The culture of violence as a mechanism for solving problems with authority among South African University students: historical and contemporary context"

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

This notice serves as proof that the University's internal mailing system may be used as the mechanism by which potential participants can be approached.

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

The necessary ethical clearance has been obtained.

Nicolette Potgieter
Deputy Registrar

Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050, South Africa | T +27 11 717 1204/8 | F +27 86 563 2271 | www.wits.ac.za

University of Limpopo
Department of Research Administration and Development
Private Bag X1106, Sovenga, 0727, South Africa
Tel: (015) 268 2212, Fax: (015) 268 2306, Email:noko.monene@ul.ac.za

13 May 2016

Ms K Morwe
UNIVERSITY OF MALAGA AND UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE

Dear Ms Morwe

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

Researcher:	**Ms K Morwe** - University of Malaga (Spain)/University of the Free State
Title:	**The culture of violence as a mechanism for solving problems with authority among South African university students: historical and contemporary context**
Supervisor:	**Prof EG Espana** - University of Malaga
Co-supervisor:	**Dr T Luescher** - University of Free State
Served at TREC on:	05 May 2016
Decision of TREC:	**Not Approved**

The Committee declined to grant permission to participate in the study as University of Limpopo is incorrectly labelled as the Epicentre of the protest. This statement will affect the reputation of the University.

N Monene
Secretary: Turfloop Research Ethics Committee

CC: Prof TAB Mashego: Chairperson - Turfloop Research Ethics Committee

Finding solutions for Africa

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