

**THE POLITICS OF STUDENT MOVEMENTS: A CASE
STUDY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL,
HOWARD COLLEGE CAMPUS**

Joshua Ngobeni

Supervisor: Kathryn Pillay

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Sciences in Politics, College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban, South Africa.

2015

DECLARATION

I, Joshua Ngobeni, declare that the research reported on in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my own original research. Where data, ideas and quotations have been used that are not my own they have been duly acknowledged as being sourced from other persons. No part of this work has been submitted for any other degree or examination at any other university.

Signature:



Date: 01 July 2015

Joshua Ngobeni (Candidate)

Signature:



Date: 01 July 2015

Dr Kathryn Pillay (Supervisor)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express my gratitude to the following:

My supervisor Dr. Kathryn Pillay for her exceptional guidance and encouragement.

My colleagues, family and friends for their moral support during my studies.

Ultimately my appreciation goes to GOD the all mighty.

ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
ANSB	Afrikaner Nasionale Student Bond
APC	African Peoples Convention
AZAPO	Azanian Peoples Organisation
AZASM	Azanian Students Movement
AZASO	Azanian Students Organisation
BC	Black Consciousness
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BPC	Black Peoples Convention
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DASO	Democratic Alliance Student Organisation
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
EFFSC	Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command
NASMO	National Student Movements
NFP	National Freedom Party
NSFAS	National student Financial Aid Scheme
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
PYA	Progressive Youth Alliance
RIT	Racial Identity Theory
RMT	Resource Mobilisation Theory
SADESMO	South African Democratic Student Movement
SANSCO	South African National Student Congress
SASCO	South African Student Congress
SASO	South African Student Organisation
SCF	Student Christian Fellowship
SIT	Social Identity Theory
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDW	University of Durban Westville
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UNB	University of natal (Black)
YCLSA	Young Communist League of South Africa

ABSTRACT

Student protests have been escalating in South Africa for decades owing to the disgruntlement of students at the country's universities. The literature indicates that socioeconomic backgrounds influence students to strike and protest at universities. Although there has been a tendency of students to use political tactics against the illegitimacy of the apartheid regime in the past in South Africa, it is clear that currently, student politics are more concerned about issues which directly affect the student community. Resource Mobilisation theory, Social Identity theory and Racial Identity theory provide powerful explanations for UKZN students to mobilise for protest. These approaches explain why group identification functions as an unavoidable inspiration for a politicised identity.

This study discovered interesting stories about student politics, organizations, and protest at UKZN by capturing and offering a comprehensive picture of what happened at and the causes of protest actions at Howard College campus in 2014. A qualitative methodology was used for data collected in the study, which discovered how students make sense of their identities and the experiences they have in mobilisation and protests and the analysis of data was done thematically. The sample of the study drawn from the UKZN SRC members and other student organisations, blamed the lack of adequate student funding and broader university conditions as a provocation to the student body to mobilise for protest. This study found that during student protest, student movements' leaders were primarily responsible for mobilisation for the protest action. Research participants related their experiences and disclosed the strategies they utilised during mobilisation. The persistence of students' collective demonstrations since apartheid can be linked to a persistence of the encounters which university students continue to confront. Unlike during the apartheid period, research participants acknowledge racial identity as an irrelevant element in unity within and between student movements. For the purposes of this research, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were used to obtain data from participants. The research participants gave the impression that protests cannot be avoided through negotiations but only through providing the required services to all students.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
ACRONYMS	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Background of the study	1
1.3. Definition of concepts	7
1.3.1. Identity	8
1.3.2. Mobilisation	9
1.3.3. Protest	9
1.3.4. Student Movements	10
1.3.5. Student Politics	10
1.4. Problems being studied in this research project	10
1.5. Research questions and objectives	11
1.6. General problem area	12
1.7. Structure of Dissertation	13
1.8. Conclusion	14
LITERATURE REVIEW	15
2.1. Introduction	15
2.2. Student Movements and Student Organizations	15
2.3. The Political Role of Student Movements at Universities	17
2.4. The Role of Socioeconomic Background and Identity on Student Politics	21

2.5.	The Role of Ideologies in Student Politics and Student Movements	23
2.6.	The Origins and Dynamics of Protests.....	27
2.7.	The Mobilisation Process for Collective Protests	32
2.8.	The Role of Information and Communication Technology and the Mass Media in Mobilisation	37
2.9.	Issues and Structure of Student Political Organizations and Student Protests at UKZN41	
2.10.	Conclusion.....	43
CHAPTER 3		45
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....		45
3.1.	Introduction	45
3.2.	Resource Mobilisation Theory.....	45
3.3.	Social Identity Theory.....	48
3.3.1.	Self-Categorisation	49
3.3.2.	Social Identification.....	51
3.3.3.	Social Comparison.....	52
3.4.	Racial Identity Theory.....	52
3.4.1.	Racial Identity Development	53
3.4.2.	The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity	54
3.5.	Conclusion.....	55
CHAPTER 4		56
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....		56
4.1.	Introduction	56
4.2.	Research Method.....	56
4.2.1.	Research Design.....	57
4.2.2.	Sample.....	57
4.2.3.	Data Collection Techniques.....	59
4.3.	Reliability and Validity in the study	62
4.4.	Limitations of the Study.....	64
4.5.	Ethical Issues.....	64
4.6.	Transcribing and Analysing the Data.....	65
4.7.	Conclusion.....	66
CHAPTER 5		67
STUDENT POLITICS, CHALLENGES AND PROTESTS		67

5.1. Introduction	67
5.2. Causes and Consequences of Student Protests at UKZN, Howard College Campus	67
5.2.1. Students Unhappiness about Lack of Student Funding	67
5.2.2. Students' Dissatisfaction and the Values of Protests	72
5.3. Students Views on Protests Freedom and Democracy.....	79
5.4. The Legacy of Student Movements' Activities.....	83
5.5. Conclusion.....	90
CHAPTER 6.....	91
STUDENTS' MOBILISATION PROCESS, SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND, UNITY AND IDENTITY.....	91
6.1. Introduction	91
6.2. Mobilisation Strategies for Student Protest at UKZN.....	91
6.3. The Impact of Social, Political and Economic Backgrounds on Student Politics and Social Identities at Howard College Campus.....	98
6.3.1. Student's Racial Background and Social Identities.....	98
6.3.2. Socialism as a Solution to Student Protests.....	101
6.3.3. Impact of Students' Identities and Current Student Challenges on Student Unity ...	103
6.4. External and Internal Student Movements' Conditions and Influences.....	110
6.5. Conclusion.....	114
CHAPTER 7	115
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	115
7.1. Summary	115
7.2. Recommendations	118
7.3. Conclusion.....	120
7.4. Suggestions for further research.....	121
REFERENCES	122
APPENDICES	149
Appendix A: The defaced statue of King George V at Howard college campus draped in a blanket written, –end white privilege”.	149

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This research aims to examine how students at UKZN, Howard College Campus self-identify or self-categorise, and the impact of this on student protests. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a background to this study. Towards that end, it will also provide a discussion on historical and current perspectives of student politics and protests.

1.2. Background of the study

At the start of the first semester of 2014, students at the Howard College Campus of the UKZN embarked on protests which involved various student formations. These student organisations at the university are affiliated to various political parties in South Africa.¹ During the protests, while some students chose to attend lectures, others continuously disrupted teaching and learning activities at the university. Financial exclusion and lack of financial aid were said to be the causes of these disruptions by the students (Singh, *Rising Sun Overport*, 21 February 2014). While students were divided on whether or not to support the protests through disruptions, various student formations were mobilising the student body to boycott classes and disrupt those in progress. The protesting student movements were diverse. However, they appeared united towards the same goal.

Student politics and protests at UKZN can be linked with the historic formation of the first national student movement in South Africa, which occurred when students from the entire Afrikaans and English speaking campuses gathered at Grey College to form the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) in 1924 (Stubbs, 1987). The major role of NUSAS was to

¹ The South African Students Congress (SASCO) and the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) are associated with the African National Congress (ANC) (see <http://www.sasco.org.za> and <http://www.ancyl.org.za>) while the South African Democratic Student Movement (SADESMO) is the student wing of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) (see <http://www.ifp.org.za/sadesmoonline>). In addition, the Democratic Alliance Student Organisation (DASO) is the student wing of the Democratic Alliance (DA) (see <http://www.dayouth.org.za/daso>), and the National Students Movement (NASMO) is affiliated to the National Freedom Party (NFP) students movement (Memela, 2011).

facilitate the cohesiveness of the universities' Student Representative Councils (SRC) and to put forward liberal viewpoints to all student organisations (Badat, 1999; Reddy, 2004). However, as a counter reaction to the liberal view of NUSAS a section of other white² students walked out to form the Afrikaner Nasionale Student Bond (ANSB) (Macqueen, 2009).

In the process of the struggle for recognition of black³ students' representation in the university governance across the universities in the country, a religious movement called the University Christian Movement (UCM) was formed in 1967 in the then University of Natal which subsequently gave black university students a better prospect of combining their efforts into a singular force (Stubbs, 1987:4). In addition, the UCM's political ethos appealed to the black university colleges' authorities in South Africa, which consequently provided it with a chance to operate on those campuses in a way which was rare for NUSAS (Stubbs, 1978:4).

Macqueen (2009) states that student politics at the University of Natal started to be politically forceful between 1970 and 1974. During that period, the city of Durban was the scene of intense intellectual debate among a wide range of progressive political movements (Greaves, 1987). There were student protests at the University of Natal, and the University of Durban-Westville (UDW)⁴ (Macqueen, 2009). It was also during this period when the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) by black student activists at the University of Natal Medical School was born (Stubbs, 1987). Reddy (2004:26) notes that during the 1970s the mass exodus of youths intensely swayed by BCM viewpoints and hardened by the familiarity of the Soweto student uprising⁵ gave rise to the consolidation of the campaign in the post-Soweto unrest period.

² White is a racial category which, according to apartheid classification, entailed a person who, having met a predetermined criteria of characteristics and could generally be accepted as such, was a white person. This so-called general acceptability was the basis for excluding from the White category other light-skinned groups such as Coloureds (Seekings, 2008).

³ Black is a racial category, which according to apartheid classification entailed any member of an African indigenous race (Seekings & Natrass, 2005).

⁴ UDW was established in 1961 in Durban and was declared a University for Indian students. Like all universities in South Africa, UDW was a creation of an oppressive plan by the designers of the apartheid system to safeguard white domination in the country. In the mid-1980s the university had gone through transformation by permitting the entry of black students which made it non-racial although during that period the student body was predominantly Indian (Morrell, 1991:52).

⁵ June 16th, 1976 is the day when Soweto school students marched in the streets of that township to protest against learning in Afrikaans. This protest was met with excessive force from the apartheid government's security services, leading to arrests, injuries and deaths. Some student protesters who survived the severe retaliation of the then government went into exile (Ndlovu, 2011; Gibson, 2004).

Throughout the 1970s, the South African Student Organisation (SASO) continuously displayed a confrontational connection with liberalism, and intensified the embracing of black consciousness as an ideology of black self-determination (Brown, 2010:717). Furthermore, according to Reddy (2004:24) —.the BCM’s ideology developed in close association with the practical activities of SASO. The rapid, but somewhat surprising, immediate proliferation of BCM ideas to communities via hundreds of local organisations and the consequent resurgence in black political activity led SASO to inspire students to initiate a national black political organisation called the Black Peoples Convention (BPC)”.

Steve Biko and SASO were very involved in politics during the 1970s and they established an office in Durban from which SASO regularly published a newsletter with an objective of propagating ideas and provoking debate on the University of Natal Black (UNB) section as well as other black campuses in the whole country (Macqueen, 2009:12). NUSAS was then perceived by SASO as biased against non-white campuses, though it often assumed the representative role of all university students regardless of racial group (Mngxitama, et al., 2008; Stubbs, 1987; Reddy, 2004). Consequently, Brown (2010) states that in July 1970, SASO rejected NUSAS and regarded itself as the solitary representative of national student unions and proclaimed its will to act self-reliantly.

Steve Biko, who was a student at the University of Natal, and Richard Turner, who was a lecturer in the Politics department at the university during the 1970s, engaged in intellectual and political dialogue which was crucial to framing and setting the terms of students’ political debates (Mcqueen, 2009). Richard Turner was a very influential intellectual in stimulating political debates among students at the University of Natal. Fatima Meer,⁶ a lecturer at the university during that time – as interviewed by Kenston (2010) – recalls that, Richard Turner exposed white university students to the realities of apartheid and encouraged the students to begin to appreciate black people’s opposition to the apartheid system.

⁶ Fatima Meer was a political activist who associated herself with BCM, but later left the movement and joined the academia in the 1970s (Kenston, 2010).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the BCM philosophy did not focus on attaining political power (Stubbs, 1987, Reddy, 2004). Sono⁷ (1993) outlines how today BCM is fighting a struggle that no longer exists: they are fighting white forces while political power lies mostly in black hands. Another weakness outlined is the absence of a constitutional framework within the philosophy of the BCM (Sono, 1993). Furthermore, as Gibson (2004:3) recounts, several of the founding influential leaders of BCM had betrayed and abandoned their movement's principles and joined other political organisations for power, privilege and money. For example, Barney Pitso Rantso had already abandoned BCM in the early 1980s, and subsequently Saths Cooper⁸ abandoned the BCM because of similar reasons (Gibson, 2004:3). By the late 1980s, the philosophy had become static and was significantly reduced to just slogan and rhetoric (Veriava & Naidoo, 2008). Rather than developing anew in the advent of the banning and imprisonments of its espousers in the late 1970s – indeed, rather than seeing a redevelopment of BCM philosophy as a vibrant idea, it began to perish (Veriava & Naidoo, 2008). Politically, it has been argued, the ANC became hegemonic (Gibson, 2004:3). According to (Klein et al., 2008), the ANC strategically limited its uptake of philosophies and avoided replicating the philosophical perspective of the BCM.

The BCM, throughout its active years of existence, represented a new self-confidence and aggressiveness towards apartheid and colonialism (Stubbs, 1987). Consequently, and as an organization, it stopped developing a philosophy after the death of Steve Biko (Reddy, 2004). By the early 1980s, BCM began to be dismissed and regarded as a temporary philosophy which was not permanently necessary (Sanders, 2002). After the Soweto student uprising in 1976, many influential BCM leaders joined the African National Congress (ANC), which consolidated the impression that BCM was a “minor term,” and thereby enhancing the ANC as *THE ORGANIZATION* of the struggle (Badat, 1999; Gibson, 2004). Belatedly, the BCM organization

⁷ Sono, Themba is an author and was a member of SASO during its early years in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He was one of the main scholars in the emerging field of study called Black Consciousness during the 1980s and 1990s. He became the third president of SASO after Pitso Rantso. However, he would later be expelled from SASO after making a speech at the General Student Council Conference in 1972 in which he urged SASO to adjust its tactics against apartheid policies by proposing that the BCM work together with white individuals and the security forces. This suggestion was a violation of SASO's and BCM's programme of action (Gibson, 2004).

⁸ Cooper, Saths is a former member of BPC and was a student political activist. He was also influential in the formation of the Student Representative Council (SRC) at the University College. In 1969, Cooper was suspended from the University for his political ideologies and activities. However, some reports in 2003 allege that his suspension was a disciplinary action meted out for cheating during examinations. His expulsion barred his participation in the official launch of SASO (see <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/dr-sathasivan-saths-cooper>).

called the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), tried to integrate Marxism into its philosophy (Reddy, 2004).

Sono (1993) and Thompson (1996) claim that writings on BCM in post-apartheid South Africa mainly focus on the history and formation of the BCM, and the influence of its ideology on the Soweto riots of June 1976. Sono (1993:113) further explains that BCM ideas exist and will continue to exist in South Africa as long as the social and economic imbalances between black and white people exist. Moodley (1991:151) shares a similar view by stating that after the downfall of apartheid, BCM ideas live on but more as an alternative vision than an organisationally active political party. However, the available academic scholarship does not situate BCM within postcolonial studies, primarily because Steve Biko is not considered a significant philosopher in numerous studies (Veriava & Naidoo, 2008). In addition, although Sono (1993:130) agrees that the philosophy of BCM still exists, he predicts its death by arguing that "the future politics of South Africa will be class-based rather than race-based" (1993:131) without denying that racist attitudes will continue in South Africa.

In some university student protest incidents during the 1980s, University authorities collaborated with the police in framing public violence charges against some UDW students. These charges extended to SRC executive members and generated violent disagreements between two hostile political positions at UDW, namely; the South African National Student Congress (SANSCO) and the Azanian Student Movement (AZASM)⁹ (Morrell, 1991:70). Consequently, the university authorities exploited the state of affairs by rejecting the SRC and regarding it as dysfunctional (Morrell, 1991:70). In addition, the university authorities justified the decision to exclude the SRC from the university Senate, Council and even the Faculty Boards by claiming that the university student movements were more focused on national political activities which were tense during that period (Morrell, 1991:70).

Student movements, just like political parties, continue to use political and economic ideologies to guide their actions in pursuing their goals. For example, Masondo (2010) acknowledges an old

⁹ AZASM was the student organisation of AZAPO formed after the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) had broken away from BCM. Although BCM ideology shifted away from student movements at universities, political parties such as AZAPO and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) still presently embrace BCM ideology (Gibson, 2004; Morrell, 1991).

and unresolved debate on whether the South African Student Congress (SASCO)¹⁰ should be a Marxist-Leninist organisation. The organisation in July 2009 decided that SASCO had to be a Marxist-Leninist radical and rebellious student organisation defiantly dedicated to the struggle for a socialist system. However, some members believed that the ideology was irrelevant to fundamentally change SASCOs existing politics (Masondo, 2010). SASCO's ideological inconsistency has prevented the organisation from consolidating a radical left viewpoint on the transformation of the social order and education (Masondo, 2010; Shivambu, 2006).

Currently, students at UKZN as well as in other South African universities just as during the apartheid period, face challenges, which cause them to mobilise, protest and strike (Maimela, 2010; Pattman, 2010; Muya, 2014). Furthermore, beyond racial differences, university students today are faced with many challenges similar to those of the apartheid period (Koen et al., 2006). Remarkably, the hostile protest tactics used by students currently are similar to those employed in the apartheid period (Oxlund, 2010). Some of the students who aggressively protested against apartheid policies at universities usually received interdiction orders which intensified student protest during the apartheid period. This form of protest persists in contemporary South African universities (Morlan, 1970; Koen et al., 2006; Badat, 1999).

Though the mixing of students from different races within the same university was disallowed in South African universities during apartheid years, it existed for a number of years prior to the fall of apartheid at a campus of the UKZN which was then called the University of Natal (Stubbs, 1987). There was the Durban campus, which had only white students and the University of Natal Blacks (UNB) section, which accommodated only non-white students (Patmann, 2010; Stubbs, 1987). The racial complication of these campuses made the student politics of the two campuses to be divided in terms of goals since the challenges were far apart (Stubbs, 1987). Black students were not receiving the same treatment as their white counterparts at the university's Durban campus (Greaves, 1987; Stubbs, 1987). As a result, the UNB section students were focused on black emancipation in university participation (Greaves, 1987).

¹⁰ NUSAS merged with SANSCO to form SASCO in 1991 (Maimela, 2010).

Currently all UKZN campuses are no longer segregated according to race: they are racially mixed (Pattman, 2010:958). In addition, UKZN is a five-campus university based in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa. The University is the product of an amalgamation of UDW and the University of Natal, which was done in 2004 (Pattman, 2010:958). The merger process was a national government strategy to reorganize the higher education setting in South Africa in order to address past disproportions between previously advantaged and formerly deprived institutions (Ruggunan, 2010:6).

The current mixture of student racial groups at UKZN, like in many South African universities, is a true reflection of the broader racial topographic outlook of the population (Pattman, 2010:954). Racial collections found in South Africa currently are Black (with various identities representing the diversity of ethnic groups in various parts of the country), White, Indian and Coloured race groups: these groups are acknowledged by the state (Gounden, 2010). In some instances cluster identities of ‘_Black’ refer to the combination of African, Indian and Coloured communities (Gounden, 2010; Pattman, 2010:954).

Presently, according to the UKZN annual report (2013:2), UKZN had 44 327 students registered for study in 2013. Of these, 58.4% were women. Furthermore, the student profile of that year reflects the extent of transformation at UKZN: African comprised 66.6%, Coloureds 2.1%, Indian 24.5%, White 6.5% and Others¹¹ 0.3% (UKZN Annual Report, 2013:2). This indicates that the university is racially diverse.

1.3. Definition of concepts

In this subsection, clarifications are provided for key concepts that form the basis of this study. The concepts are identity, mobilisation, protests, student movement, and student politics. These concepts are clarified in the perspective of the study and not essentially in any other perspective.

¹¹ African, Coloured, Indian and, White categories refer to South African students only. ‘Others’ category refers to international students regardless of their racial classification. Some, for example, may be from the African continent or may see themselves as Africans even though they may be the citizens of countries outside the African continent (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005; Gounden, 2010).

1.3.1. Identity

Identity refers to the ways in which individuals define themselves (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Moreover, it refers to what makes individuals think, feel and act as members of a group and transforms individual behaviour into collective conduct (Turner, 1999). According to Turner and Brown (1978) and Jenkins (2004), identity is an individual's understanding of who they are and who other people are. In collective identity, a shared cognitive framework unites people in their understanding of societal, political and economic conditions, and action-orientated, social movement participation (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010; Van Zomeren, 2009). In some cases, individuals develop their shared identity, cautiously reflecting on the values of their actions, words and emotions (Vallerand, 2010; Yang, 2000).

Polletta and Jasper (2001:285) describe collective identity as a person's reasoning, ethical and expressive association with a wider public or a particular group, or organisation. It is an awareness of a collective standing, which may be abstract, rather than "experienced directly", and it is separate from personal identities, even though it can form a portion of a "personal identity" (Polletta & Jasper, 2001: 285). Although individuals characteristically identify with a number of social groups simultaneously, race is a significant identity that serves as a fundamental part for several people's sense of self (Sellers et al, 1998). Racial perception is a solid and noticeable reality which mostly affects circumstances, relationships between groups and connections between and amongst groups (Sellers et al, 1998).

It is of paramount importance to say from the outset that current racial identities found in South Africa were inherited from the apartheid era (Gounden, 2010). However, there have been marked changes among some of the identities with the end of apartheid (Gounden, 2010; Sikwebu, 2008). In 1994, South Africa as a democratic nation state started to work on the construction of a sole nationwide identity to eradicate identities inspired by the apartheid policies (Gounden, 2010:5).

1.3.2. Mobilisation

Jenkins (1983:533) defines mobilisation as “the process by which a group obtains collective control over the resources needed for collective action” and directs these towards social change. Mobilisation can be defined as the process whereby social and political movements’ leaders “encourage people to participate in some form of political” or protest action (Klandermans, 1984:587). In its actual expressions, therefore, mobilisation method can take on many different forms. Social and political movements’ mobilisers characteristically influence people to protest, or join an organization (Van Stekelenburg et al., 2009). All types of political mobilisation are initiated by mobilising “agencies looking for adherents to a collective cause. These agencies try to persuade potential adherents to take part in public actions in order to defend that cause” (Jenkins, 1983:533). Consequently, mobilisation usually has a noticeably shared aspect to it. Mobilisers know that there is a strong point for achieving objectives of protests when a large number of people join the protests, and so they seek to inspire the actions of huge collections of people in order to accomplish well-defined collective ambitions (Klandermans, 1984:536).

1.3.3. Protest

Protest is an activity that rises when there is a powerfully feeling of frustration concerning prevailing plans and programmes of management, government or other associations (Buechler, 1990; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010). Protests usually transpire, on the part of individuals who feel directly affected by these programmes, and who are incapable to demonstrate their disgruntlement through systematic and reasonable channels (Boulding, 1965; Van Zomeren, 2009). The purposes of a protest are not to just shout individual opinions in public and be ignored. The purpose is to make opinions known so that others pay attention (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010). Attention will only be paid to the cause if the issue is somehow significant (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010). According to Smith (1993), individuals have a tendency of expressing emotions for their perceived fellow members belonging to a similar group.

1.3.4. Student Movements

Student movements is the description given to the designs and the actions of student groups involved in social protests (Badat, 1999:21). Student movements, depending on the character of the members, can be violent during protests and as a result, this can have undesirable consequences for a long time after the protest (Altbach, 1991:250-251).

1.3.5. Student Politics

Student politics refers to the mechanism students use to be politically involved, and from time to time, in order to contribute to expressions of political discontent in their respective environments (Altbach, 1984: 636). Therefore, people who are in power usually consider student politics as a detrimental factor, and one that needs to be eliminated from the academic environment (Altbach, 1984: 636). However, student politics and activism remain a notable matter for a large number of world universities because, globally, university students continue to be politically active and involved, and from time to time, they contribute to political discontent in their respective environments (Altbach, 1984, 636).

1.4. Problems being studied in this research project

Student politics and protests played a meaningful role in the struggle that ended apartheid and brought democracy in South Africa (Oxlund, 2010; Pityana, 2012). Student protests alongside protests by other sectors of the citizenry continue to persist in the country despite democracy; and it is not yet clear what the effects are for the country (Koen et al., 2006; Ngwane, 2012; Dominguez-Whitehead, 2011). To a large degree, university students continue to experience displeasure with certain aspects of their universities, and they show that disgruntlement through strikes and demonstrations. These normally disrupt the normal functioning of the university. The past occurrences of the anti-apartheid protests dictate that protest politics is needed to build an improved society (Ngwane, 2011). It is, therefore, undeniable that methods of mass mobilisation such as rallies, pickets, and protests are political commitments to achieve protestors' demands

(Muya, 2014; Cele, 2008). Since protests are a reality and materialise frequently in several areas of the republic, they therefore cannot be overlooked (Ngwane, 2011).

1.5. Research questions and objectives

This study was informed by a broader question which serves as a basis for this study. That question is as follows:

- What is the impact of self-categorisation and social identification on student politics and protests at Howard College UKZN?

The key questions that subsequently arise from this are:

- What inheritance has past identity politics left for current students dealing with the challenges of identity that exceed the narrow designs of racial classification?
- To what extent did the socio-political situation affect student politics at Howard College campus?
- How were the visions of students' organisations at Howard College campus incorporated into a unifying plan before and during student mobilisation for protests compared to the racially motivated student protest mobilisation of the apartheid period?

This study therefore investigated what led to student protests, and further examined the role of self-categorisation and social identification of students on the protests at UKZN Howard College campus focusing on how student movements mobilise participants during the protests.

Secondly, the study explored whether the current student politics reflect the past characteristics of student political organisations which were active before democracy in South Africa. That is, whether or not students still organise themselves based on race even though South Africa is now a non-racial democratic country?

Thirdly, the study also examined whether the university students' challenges such as academic development, student fees, bursary allocations, institutional finances, financial exclusions and academic exclusions gave students a shared identity. It explored whether these university students and their movements socially identify themselves out of such academic challenges that are collectively encountered.

Additionally, this research investigated the relationship between students' identities and the political ideology of the student movements. In other words, what is the reaction of the student organizations when presented with different ideologies as a program of action? It thus investigated whether ideology matters more than identity in influencing student politics and protests. The study further probed whether student movements at Howard College campus are guided by political ideologies regarding their protests.

Finally, this study investigated how students at Howard College identify themselves. It further explored how students define and place themselves in a multiracial, multi-ethnic and multinational situation.

1.6. General problem area

Dominguez-Whitehead (2011) notes that during the course of the protests, police action against students was carried out and led to scores of casualties. He adds that following this, such confrontations persisted sometimes for weeks as protests were intensified by the same aggressive force which was used by the government security forces in order to stop them. Ndebele (1997) acknowledges that the instability between students at universities is not expected to fade soon in a democratic South African society, and emphasizes the importance of finding a solution to the status quo at the country's universities. This research is vital because it aims to give insight into the feelings of students, and the dynamic powers of student movements.

1.7. Structure of Dissertation

Chapter 2 presents the literature review of the topic. Furthermore, the relationship between student politics, student movements, protest, mobilisation and identity is discussed in depth. This chapter also provides an account of the scholarship on student politics and protests. Lastly, student politics, protests and activism, mobilisation and the trajectory of student politics is presented.

The theoretical framework is presented in chapter 3. Resource Mobilisation Theory, Social Identity Theory and Racial Identity Theory which form the theoretical bedrock for the study are defined and explained in that chapter. The reasons for choosing the theories, their interrelationship as well as their relevance in the study are also discussed.

The research methodology is presented and discussed in chapter 4. The benefits of using a case study design in research are elucidated. In addition, the reasons for using the qualitative research method are outlined and discussed. This includes arguments for selecting a sampling method called the snowball sampling procedure. Other justifications are provided as well for the type of research instrument used and its procedures in the collection of data alongside explanations of the requisite techniques. A discussion of research reliability, validity and ethical considerations also takes place in this chapter.

In chapter 5 and chapter 6, the responses obtained during research data collection are presented, discussed and analysed. The two chapters explain the conclusions drawn from the data and their implications. The analysis of data in this study is done thematically by manually coding the data. The reviewing, combining and interpreting data to describe and clarify the phenomena is also done in this chapter.

In chapter 7, a conclusion to the research is provided with an emphasis on the results acquired, the contributions made from the findings, their subsequent recommendations and lastly, propositions for further research.

1.8. Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the topic of the research. It has also provided the historical background of student politics and protests together with an overview of such matters at the UKZN. In addition, the key concepts used in the research have been clarified. The dissertation's key issues as well as problems being studied have been described. The following chapter thus provides an overview of the relevant literature in order to situate the research presented here in relation to existing studies and debates in this field.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this literature review is to provide an objective account of what has been written by various authors and scholars on the subject of this thesis which is the politics of student movements. It therefore reflects prominent emerging literature and debates about student movements' politics and protests. In addition, it places emphasis on students' mobilisations for protests as well as the impact of students' racial and social identities on student politics and protests.

2.2. Student Movements and Student Organizations

Batliwala (2012:3) argues that all movements are established and defined by their own membership, and that without membership a movement would not exist. There is no typical regulation concerning a minimum number of members which would serve as a benchmark for acquiring the status of a movement beyond just a group of persons (Batliwala 2012:3). Regarding membership of student movements and student organisations, Badat (1999:21) states that a student movement is neither a single organisation nor is it an extension of an organisation – rather, it is a wide-ranging entity, which contains individual students who are not officially committed to organisations.

Student movements have been in existence for many decades and their role has been significant in transforming not only the complexion of learning institutions but also the lives of the broader societies in authoritative regimes (Maseko, 1994; Nkomo, 1984; Brown, 2010). Badat (1999:21) argues that student movements can be distinguished from other student groups such as student bodies and student organisations by their defining features. In addition, a student movement is a forceful unit the scope and limits of which are expected to vary based on political environments, "time of academic year and the issues being confronted" (Badat, 1999: 22).

A student organisation is a group of students who share a basis of affiliation to the organisation's political, cultural, religious, academic and/or social activities agenda (Badat, 1999:22). Furthermore, Badat indicates that many student organisations are constituted by a voluntary involvement even though others such as the SRC at universities, include all registered students at a particular university (Badat, 1999:22). Badat (1999:38) states that a student organisation's role and character is also influenced by the way in which it views and deals with specific difficulties connected to student circumstances. Badat (1999:38) adds that this role and character is also affected by the way organisations embrace some concrete organisational matters, as well as the condition of its interactions, with other groups and dominant organisations.

Batliwala and Brown (2006) argue that formal and informal groups have equally become key contributors in movement policy, in their obligation as contributors in discussion between the core movements' programmes and exterior institutions such as the media, the government as well as the broader community. Batliwala (2012:3) argues that dealings "between movements and organisations" are diverse because "organisations may support movements and movement building". Furthermore, Batliwala (2012:3) writes that social movements can construct formal organisations; and these formal groups may be joined with informal groups or may perhaps offer particular services to informal protest groups, from which she then defines a movement as "an organized set of constituents pursuing a common political agenda of change through collective action".

Although organisations "play critical roles in building movements and as organising structures within them" movements represent approximately greater and more expansive structures than organisations (Batliwala, 2012:14). Melucci (1995:47) argues that a movement identifies itself through a conscious understanding of its relation to the background or surroundings in which it emanates and grows, as well as a consciousness of the prospects and challenges it confronts in a particular ground of action.

Hamilton (1968:351-352) mentions three classifications of student groups characters; the first type is a radicalism or "militancy" that is strongly involved in student and national politics; the second type comprises followers who, while reliably active may or may not support organisations and vote in polls, may be present at meetings and participate in protests and other

activities; and the last one as ‘nonparticipants’ who for a diversity of motives, stand passive and detached from student politics.

Boulding (1965:53) distinguishes between protest movements and educational movements for the reason that protest movements are designed to bring change for which a society is ready while educational movements aim is “to push the society toward a change for which it is not yet ready”. In addition, Boulding (1965:53) argues that any protest movement has to be penetrating, disruptive, unbecoming and unsympathetic when pursuing to abolish undesirable policy implementations and push for a transformed society. In contrast, educational movements have to be “devoted to present legitimacies, and be suspicious of ‘arousing counter-protest’” (Boulding, 1965:53).

Weinberg and Walker (1969:81) break down the social organisation of student politics into three categories. The first is “national student unions, which aggregate student interests right up to the level of negotiations” with government administrations on straightforward matters which may include bursaries, setting up adequate student housing and so on. The second category is student party-political groups or divisions of nation-wide political organisations as well as small political parties and sectarian political groups, in which student movements, which are affiliates of national political parties, contest for student backing in the fight to govern university and to influence broader political affairs. The last is university student governments, whose focus is interior and definite to a specific institution of higher learning.

2.3. The Political Role of Student Movements at Universities

Student politics and protests have played an important political role in society since the turn of the previous century in South Africa and many parts of the world (Cele, 2008; Pityana, 2012; Stubbs, 1987). Lipset (1971:14) writes that students have usually functioned as the “main agent for political change” as they have “invariably been more responsive to political trends, to changes in mood, to opportunities for social change than any other group in the population except possibly intellectuals”.

According to Altbach (1989), students of developing nation-states and dictatorial societies play a very important role in politics. Students in such nation-states regularly form one of the “best-organized and most expressive collections,” and enjoy better liberty of self-expression compared to the entire individuals (Altbach, 1989:11). As a result, these students regularly view themselves as the leading, advantaged associates of the public and take seriously their obligation “to be the principles of their people, and to act as voices for a larger population that is less educated” and poorly structured (Altbach, 1989: 13-14). Student movements do not merely display a quick reaction to the political environment; however, their activities are likely to have a scattering effect that activates other areas of the affected community (Lipset, 1971:14). Cockburn and Blackburn, (1969:15) states that the goal of the student movement should be to forge a radical coalition with the workers.

Political scientists have placed emphasis on people’s voluntary contribution in associations for the reason that partaking in movements and collective groups contributes to improving social equality and democracy (Putnam, 2000). Since student politics take place within a specific organised situation, they are controlled and inevitably intended for, as well as conditioned and fashioned by, the various official procedures and administrative ways (Morrow, 1998:386). The student leaders therefore fight for their space in the running of their universities by creating awareness of the desires of the larger student body (Olsen, 2007).

Long (2002:4) argues that university students have the right to partake in politics and potentially transform political systems by politically empowering oppressed people. Thus, students make voluntary decisions about partaking in issues related to certain social issues driven from their individualistic interests or familiarity (Long, 2002:4). In student political arenas, the interaction that a student organisation has with other groups outside the student community and general organisations is guaranteed to strengthen and improve the activities and roles of student organisations, their character as well as significance (Badat, 1999:38). Therefore, student politics, which affects higher education, sometimes spills further than the campus environment with disrupting repercussions for the political system of the concerned society (Badat, 1999:38).

The process of learning the university curriculum, the nature of academic institutions and surroundings, and the policies of universities have a significant effect on political consciousness and student activism (Altbach, 1984:640). Altbach (1984:640) continues to state that “for students in the social sciences particularly, the study of social forces contributes to the understanding and sometimes to criticisms of established institutions and policies. Universities have unique cultures, histories and practices that contribute to student political consciousness”. Even though university students are largely concerned with broader societal political affairs, the established university setting does play a noteworthy part in influencing national politics. It is therefore vital to comprehend the university environment and its philosophy to better understand the dynamics of student politics (Altbach, 1984:640).

Instability in student politics may occur owing to the interpersonal dynamics of students’ families influenced by the pace of societal transformation (Keniston, 1967). Preceding research on family socialization and student politics has highlighted the significance of social class as one factor that influences student political activism (Roucek, 1967:112). While a wide range of studies on student political activism are moderately consistent, such findings are currently inadequate and not credible because they overlook the sociologically and politically significant aspects in the backgrounds of students and focus deeply on family socialisation (Roucek, 1967:112).

McGrath (1970) argues that student participation in matters affecting student community truly advances democratic principles because university students are politically, morally and legally entitled to partake in managerial practices at the institutions. Democracy should be inclusive and accessible to directly and indirectly affected populations in decision-making (Long, 2002:4; Luescher-Mamashela, 2011:18). Obondo (cited in Oberio, 2012) postulates that if governance is shared then students’ participation gives optimism in achieving universities’ goals and objectives. Menon (2005) too emphasises that in the transformation of universities, students should be involved because students’ representatives are capable of making meaningful contributions in decision-making processes.

Oberio (2012) acknowledges the benefits of involving students in the running of the university. The rationale for effective students' participation is that students will accept decisions made in the platforms where their voices were raised and will feel a part of the controlling participants in formulating and implementing those decisions (Oberio, 2012). Luescher-Mamashela (2011:11) notes that a number of scholarly studies indicate that it is no longer debatable to include students in university governance because the mere inclusion of student movements into university governance is itself considered an achievement towards students' political struggles by the wider student community (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011:11).

Roucek (1967:115) argues that in the period of the 1960's some governments in some countries quarrelled with students to get them to accept their policies. In some situations the students themselves presented their demands upon their governments. In addition, some governments continuously wished to influence the student community and went so far as suppressing some student organisations' leaders (Roucek, 1967:115). According to Altbach's (1984: 636) argument, it is inappropriate to denounce student politics as an undesirable force and it is essential to comprehend the forces that induce student social action and to review the significances of this social action. Furthermore, in some respects, student political participation can contribute to the processes of nation building and political" socialisation (Altbach, 1984, 636).

Student politics in underdeveloped nations has political strength of notable significance to the extent that in most of these societies students take responsibility in political involvement even before completing their academic learning. This serves to bring national, ethnic and local politics into campus life (Roucek, 1967:115). In addition, Weinberg and Walker argue that student politics can be influenced by the formal and cultural properties of political systems such as the" reliability and legitimacy of the system of government", the forms of party organisation within the existing political system and the nature of the existing political system; for example, two party or multiparty systems (Weinberg & Walker, 1969:81).

2.4. The Role of Socioeconomic Background and Identity on Student Politics

According to Arundale (1914:1), all politics are identity politics because they are reinforced by determinations to define and defend identity. Politics includes making comparisons and choices about standards and benefits as well as about groups and individuals (Arundale, 1914:1). Identity just like politics involves comparison, choice, and commitment under conditions of conflict Arundale (1914:1). The standard of political fairness does not only undermine temporary triumphs but it also disturbs chains of command. Identities therefore recommence the mechanism of “political energy” (Arundale, 1914:1). That notwithstanding, identities can also work oppositely by diminishing or restricting democratic political self-determination. Democratic politics itself at times seems to promote this trend by undermining itself by nurturing a misrepresentation of identity politics (Arundale, 1914:1).

According to Meyer and Wagner (2006:11), university students form part of a historical tradition of youthful generations that realise new civil identities and inject fresh awareness which enables them to perform good deeds for the public. This type of student politics indicates the commitment by students for political change (Meyer & Wagner, 2006:11). Students who come from relatively privileged strata of the population have fairly greater prospects to network with their peers from dissimilar social strata (Roucek, 1967:115). In such situations, traditional barriers of class, background, ethnic group membership and religion seem to be of less importance in the “meritocratic atmosphere” of the campus environment (Roucek, 1967:115).

Student politics is intentionally shaped through the views of “social, national, ethnic, racial, economic, gender, sexual, and religious identities” (Long, 2002:3). This means that students have various identities, and claiming those identities’ distinctiveness is a vital feature of higher education. Higher education frequently stimulates a reconsideration of students’ identities to focus on themselves so as to find out “who they are”, and to discover the impact of their identities “on their political lives” (Long, 2002:4). In addition, Long (2002:4) argues that higher education in a democratic setting permits students the choice to “represent” several facets of their identities, which could possibly enable an identity politics that is disjointed and/or conflict-ridden. However, the discovery of identity by students can be followed by times of

misunderstanding and insecurity while giving students a chance to scrutinise multiple identities, which is a liberating and transformative deed (Long, 2002:4).

The efforts of the South African government to change the economic, political and socio-cultural position of the country influenced the transformation of the concept of identity in the country, which as a result, brought in identity conflicts in the country (Gounden, 2010). The post-apartheid state is confronted with the challenge of dealing with the inheritances of apartheid-racialised identities. South Africans tend to see their society in racialised terms, and post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by the double inheritances of apartheid which are –cultural diversity and economic inequality, that both have racial characteristics” (Seekings, 2008:5). Racial groups are thus competing identities seeking to declare themselves within the democratic dispensation (Gounden, 2010).

Throughout the colonial period and into the apartheid period, one of the most problematic issues in South Africa was the racial problem (Nkomo, 1983; Seekings, 2008; Stubbs, 1987). Individual, domestic, socio-economic and racial identity factors significantly determined the background of individual students and influenced the nature of student politics during apartheid in South Africa (Nkomo, 1983). In the academic environment, students begin critically to view the mishaps and inadequacies in society, and to strategise in response to eliminating those imperfections through student political activism (Nkomo, 1983: 44-45). An increasing number of the population among the emerging middle class and the elite who are currently disconnected from the plight of the poor communities are capable of paying expensive tuition fees for their children’s education in universities (Abdi, 1999:158).

The socio-economic position of South Africa currently is one of the challenges. South Africans face difficulties in their efforts aimed at creating a shared common identity in a multi-ethnic and multiracial country (Gounden, 2010). South Africa’s changeover from an apartheid era to a democratic future erected on the vision of a ‘non-racial’ nation and harmony between various cultures has influenced its social, political, economic as well as cultural life (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997). Although the likelihood of having a collective single national identity is likely, it is problematic in a multicultural nation-state such as South Africa (Gounden, 2010:5). The socio-economic position of South Africa today offers a challenge to determinations intended at

constructing a joint identity and this impedes efforts on the road to a joint national identity in South Africa (Gounden, 2010:5).

The fall of the apartheid regime has in a multiplicity of ways subverted the racial design of identities of the citizens and consequently; the democratic South Africa since 1994 has attempted to strategise on how to use these identities in post-apartheid society (Yarwood, 2006:50). It has been argued that within the environment of multiculturalism, it is hard to conceive a shared national identity; therefore, there is a need to redefine the concept of identity in terms of a common culture, which admits and compliments “the cultural identity of individual ethnic groups” in the South African society (Gounden, 2010:5).

It is common reasoning in the social sciences that social as well as individual identities are constructed – that is, they are not intrinsic (Alexander, 2006:2). Alexander (2006:2) argues that the state, or more generally the ruling classes, in any society have the exemplary entitlement of setting the pattern on which social identities, including racial identities, are centred and groups and strata of such societies certainly challenge or admit these identities over time. Although they are constructed, social identities seem to have a prehistoric soundness for most individuals, “just because they are not aware of the historical, social and political ways in which their identities have been constructed” (Alexander, 2006:2).

2.5. The Role of Ideologies in Student Politics and Student Movements

All persons are political thinkers by nature, and whether they recognise it or not, they use political philosophies and theories whenever they communicate their views (Foley, 1994). Philosophy inspires a method which individuals apply to give themselves a sense of meaning in their lives, which then leads to collective behaviour during protest action (Ross, 1997:42). “Concepts such as ‘freedom’, ‘fairness’, ‘equality’, ‘justice’ and ‘rights’ are used in the same way, such as words like ‘conservative’, ‘liberal’, ‘socialist’, ‘communist’ and ‘fascist’ by people to label their own views or those of others” (Heywood, 2003:1). However, Foley (1994) argues that not every political thinker has acknowledged that philosophies and ideologies are of great significance. Politicians and political organisations can use ideas and ideologies as “window dressing” to disguise “the deeper” truths “of political life” (Heywood, 2003:1).

Sargent (2009) states that many ideologies were originally established in association with the development and evolution of a social movement. Today, when no social movement is absolutely united, one of the most strongly disputed issues is the ideology of the movement (Sargent, 2009:4). Every party or movement competing for supremacy pronounces that it has ideological accuracy. As a result, “in addition to conflicts between ideologies, there are deep divisions within ideologies” (Sargent, 2009:4). Tucker (1989: 34) suggests that a movement’s ideology assists in planning how to mobilise and what strategies are to be used that mobilisation. “In politics, ideologies specifically play the role of defining political systems, organisations, movements, political practices and political cognition”...which are — all enacted or reproduced by political discourse” (Van Dijk, 2006:739).

Political ideas are not just an inactive thinking of anticipated political rewards or individual ambitions (Seliger, 1976). They also have the capability to stimulate and guide radical political action itself towards the shaping of material life (Seliger, 1976). At the same time, political thoughts do not arise in vacuums but they are formed by the societal and past conditions in which they progress and by the radical determinations they serve (McLellan, 1995; Heywood, 2003). Any stable and credible account of political life therefore needs to admit the continuous interaction between philosophies as well as the “historical and material forces” (Heywood, 2003:1). Philosophies and ideas provide a viewpoint through which the world is analysed, clarified and understood (Eagleton, 1991). Political ideas and ideologies therefore set objectives that stimulate radical political action (Eagleton, 1991; McLellan, 1995). It has been argued that all politicians seek power (Sargent, 2009:1). Heywood (2003) argues that this forces them to be practical, and to adopt those policies and ideas that are widely held by the majority of the electorate. Although it can be argued that this may not always be true – a case in point is South Africa which has one of the highest rates of service delivery protests in the world (Peters, 2012; Powell, et al., 2015).

Most people and organisations approach politics through an ideology, which is defined as an organised set of related ideas that adjust one another (Sargent, 2009; Heywood, 2003). Ideologies are valuable to people and organisations both for their own personal comfort and contentment,

and for their public political accomplishments (Heywood, 2003). An ideology helps individuals to make sense of the diverse political problems that come to their attention (Heywood, 2003). They also help individuals make sense out of politics for themselves and recruit supporters for public argument. Politicians and organisations develop ideologies which fit to their necessities and desires, and guide their decisions (Sargent, 2009; Heywood, 2003).

Van Dijk (2006:739) observes the close connection between discourse, politics and ideology, in the sense that politics is usually broad and philosophical. Ideologies are mostly duplicated by writing and conversation (Van Dijk, 2006:739). Although, ideologies are unclearly and negatively defined in terms of ‘false consciousness’, they are usually described as the establishment of social beliefs shared by groups that form the foundation of group approaches (Van Dijk, 2006:739). In this way, ideologies may encourage group members’ individual views of particular events as well as the societal issues in which group associates are involved (Van Dijk, 2006:739). Fominaya (2010:395) argues that “actors do not necessarily have to be in complete agreement on ideologies, beliefs, interests or goals in order to come together and generate collective action.” This affirmation counters more structural understandings of what brings and held members of movement together.

An ideology is not stagnant. Rather, it orders or organises different ideas while also absorbing fresh or novel ones (Sargent, 2009; Freedon, 1996). It so doing, it advances through slow modification. In politics, individuals and organisations are usually concerned to assure others that a course of action they support is the right one (Freedon, 1996; Van Dijk, 2006). Therefore, ideologies are established and sustained because of their usefulness to individuals and societies in countering societal and economic challenges (Heywood, 2003; Freedon, 1996).

Liberalism is a political ideology that fundamentally condemns economic and social inequality (Manning, 1976; Vincent, 1995). Liberals view equality of opportunity as essential, and that equality is best achieved by the elimination of discriminatory practices and lessening the great disproportions of capital in society (Manning, 1976). Liberals generally support forceful public programmes to decrease or eradicate these socioeconomic disproportions (Manning, 1976; Vincent, 1995). They recognise government as the significant means to implement these

programmes, while also protecting civilian freedom and liberal ideals (Sandel, 1982). Furthermore, liberals consider that public policy should be unrestricted and that it is the government's duty to safeguard every citizen has access to, among other things, reasonable and classic educational training and civil rights for organisations to organise and strike (Schumpeter, 1976; Sandel, 1982).

Karl Marx argues that the capitalist economic system would ultimately be conquered in order to bring about a new fair and equal society (Kegan & Larrain, 1983). This would mean initially implementing a socialist system which would lead unavoidably to communism (Kegan & Larrain, 1983; Wright, 1978). According to Marx, all inequities in the world can be traced to class struggle, or the inequities inherent in the capitalist system (Kegan & Larrain, 1983; Weiner, 1981; Wright, 1978). Marxists therefore consider themselves socialists or communists (Wright, 1978).

Communism is an ideology that is based on the shared proprietorship of all material goods (Seliger, 1976; Wright, 1978). Thus it espouses social equality by overseeing economic production and the subsequent dissemination of those products by way of a convincing economic strategy which by all accounts stands for the wellbeing of the entire public (Schumpeter, 1976). Socialist ideology is based on shared or nationalised possession and representative control of the means of wealth creation and supply of material goods (Wright, 1996). Socialism can usually be uneasy to describe since various scholars have diverse thoughts about the nature and the character of a socialist society. There are a many similarities between communism and socialism (Seliger, 1976; Schwarzmantel, 1991). However, Sargent (2009:109) argues that after the downfall of the dictatorial socialism called communism, capitalists had renewed assurance and declared the free market as the rescuer of humanity. They have even claimed that the difficulties that capitalism faced ~~had~~ been the result of a loss of faith in the free market, rather than any inherent problem with the system" (Sargent, 2009:109).

2.6. The Origins and Dynamics of Protests

Student protests and struggles frequently follow pressure for transformation, and protesters habitually understand that their characters are determined by the landscape of political events (Koen et al., 2006). Despite the fact that anticipations involvement and negotiations of students between university authorities and university students have a duty to constitute acceptable student political actions, it has not substituted the occurrences of hostile protest actions (Koen et al., 2006; Cele, 2008). The above argument suggests that negotiations between student and student leaders at times fail to stop the origins of student protests.

Studies of protest actions in democratic countries have depended on the view of political opportunity structures to clarify the occurrence, rate of recurrence, and strength of political protests (Aleman, 2005:73). Protest activities are regarded as normal to the extent that they result from satisfactory prospects and the anticipation of rewards (Aleman, 2005:73). Protests are the best platforms for people to express their grievances as a way of escaping deprivation, obstruction or unfairness (Berkowitz, 1972). Gurr (1970) highlights the role of deprivation as the main cause of protest; he discusses that poverty provokes a state of mind of bitterness that is responsible for the protest group. Additionally, McCobin et al. (2009:2) suggests that when individuals protest against a particular issue it has to propose a practical solution and the issue has to be something which concerns many students on campus. Students should not be forced to partake in protests; therefore, it is crucial to strategise into attracting students' attention without applying force to make them join (McCobin, et al., 2009:2). This has the possibility of creating more opposition which can lead to counter-protests in the process (McCobin, et al., 2009:2).

It can be catastrophic ~~to~~ the protest movement if the protest takes a form which provokes a counter-protest over the form itself, and not over" the purpose of protest action (Boulding, 1965:53). Any purpose of protest action can simply ~~be~~ lost in argument and counter-argument over the question as to whether the form of the protest" is genuine or suitable (Boulding, 1965:53). Even when a state of affairs is suitable for a protest movement, protests can go wrong; rendering them fruitless especially if they manifest in ways other than forms consistent with the objectives of such protests (Klandermans, 1997). A protest action is most probable to be fruitful

where it exactly embodies a realistic opinion which is common in the society, but which has by some means not been called to public's awareness (Boulding, 1965:53).

Aleman (2005:71) argues that political scientists have not focused adequately on the contribution of protests in the strengthening of a new democracy. Furthermore, according to Aleman (2005:71) the availability of political opportunities in socio-politically stable nations put those nations in a risk of experiencing protest. In a democratising country, however, it is sometimes not clear how stable political positions are and whether usefully placed supporters may be obtainable to protesting groups (Aleman, 2005:71). In this condition, it is not easy for protesting individuals in communities to design their demands (Aleman, 2005:71). For example, when a united democracy is established, most complaints are handled through appropriate democratic governmental institutions (Higley & Gunther, 1992). As a result, members of protest movements find it important to avoid protest actions and obey the rules of the new democratic government (Barneo, 1992; Przeworski, 1991).

Student protest and politics played a very essential role in the struggle that ended apartheid and brought democracy to South Africa (Cebekhulu, 2006; Pityana, 2012; Badat, 1999). Protests persist to influence the societal politics and surroundings crucially in post-apartheid South African society (Ngwane, 2011). Pityana (2006:4) posits that South African university students must, among other things change their approach, and comprehend that South Africa is currently in a new dispensation. Students in this dispensation need refined tools and tactics of struggle to reverse the unfavourable results of apartheid and uphold democracy (Pityana. 2006:4). In addition, in the emerging democratic countries, the literature has focused regularly on elucidating the motives for certain argumentative happenings (Dalton et al., 2010). The writings of Van Stekelenburg et al. (2009); Klandermans (1997); Olzak and Koopmans (2004); Sniderman et al. (2004) put emphasis on the essential role played by prevailing political and economic conditions in the group of protest.

Protest movements may also put themselves at risk of deteriorating if the purpose of the protest is not strong, or if there are many different objectives which may inappropriately be infused in the same protest (Boulding, 1965:53). In those circumstances, a protest is therefore likely to be

disjointed due to its unclear aim and basis. A political protest movement with weak purposes of protest is unlikely to realize its purposes (Boulding, 1965:53).

Furthermore, value, resources and opportunities predict protest participation (McAdam, 1982). The unpredictability involved in the political sense is that student representatives who take part in official situations may require the defiant, activist support of their constituency to defend and also strengthen the gains already made by preceding student generations, regardless of whether these have been legally enshrined (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011:11).

Van Zomeren (2009) states that unruly protest action is usually more effective for underprivileged group members because peaceful actions usually require underprivileged groups to organise administratively. They also have a challenge to escape the effect of skilled and financially resourced dominant groups (Van Zomeren, 2009:735). The underprivileged groups as a result inevitably apply disruptive tactics in their protests and the disruptive actions are unsuccessful if the elite group suppresses the protests action (Van Zomeren, 2009:735).

Student protests in South African universities happened more repeatedly when there were very few official channels of communicating messages and conducting proper meetings between students and university authorities (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011:8). The setting up of formal structures for communication and cooperation between student leaders and university authorities was thus done as an appropriate solution to reduce disruptive student political activism on campus (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011:8).

The key dissimilarity between historical and current university student activities is that the failure of student leaders to acquire for them meaningful allowances such as student representatives' privileges from universities authorities during negotiation (Koen et al., 2006). This is blameable for student protests that instigate more negotiation (Koen et al., 2006). In some situations, SRC leaders lead student groups to protest and eventually engage in violent confrontation with police and security officers to back their claims (Koen et al., 2006). In fact, some SRCs are usually viewed as political formations cloned out of radical political student organizations (Gwala, 1988). As a result of this perception, for example, some of the students

who aggressively protested apartheid policies at universities usually received interdiction orders (Morlan, 1970; Oxlund, 2010) which subsequently intensified further student protest during the apartheid period. Often studies of student confrontation focus largely on obvious/ public forms of resistance, not on the “ordinary” and often “hidden transcripts” of resistance (Reddy, 2004:26).

Student protest actions can be erratic sometimes to the outsider and become highly provocative, aggressive and even violent, both within the campus environment and outside (Mathieu, 1996:25). Mathieu (1996:25) further argues that frequently, cultural beliefs and practices create an inspiration of collective identities. McGarty et al. (2009) acknowledges that various situations of collective action are demonstrations of a particular political view believed by an individual, rather than views of the respective social or demographic groups they belong to.

Student movements employ various methods to express their grievances concerning issues, which relate to higher education and conditions outside the higher education field (Nkomo, 1983:244). A display of annoyance by any protesters is usually an emotional reaction aimed at unfairness and the consequences are protest trends and actions (Van Zomeren et al., 2004). In addition, students become devastated with the lack of prospects for higher education and the wider social distresses in their surroundings (Long, 2002:2). At the same time, domestic and transnational issues can provoke student movement to act to address evils and desires in troubled societies (Long, 2002:2). For example in Quebec, student movements brought changes in policies which were aimed at growing openness to learning opportunities by offering financial provision based on the students’ economic background (Giguère & Lalonde, 2006). Student movements responded by protest actions to the changes, as they believed that the changes in the programme were a danger to the economic strength of their group (Curran, 2005).

Bunting (2006) acknowledges that ever since 1998 numerous cases of financial exclusions at South African universities have occurred resulting in students (usually black and coming from poor homes) being unable to pay their university fees. The situation of discontent at South African universities, which is a source for strike and protest actions, can be thus be correlated with socio-economic factors (Dominguez-Whitehead, 2011). Regarding students anger, Dominguez-Whitehead (2011) notes that, during the discourse of the protests, police action

against students are carried out and eventually lead to scores of casualties, which intensifies and fuels the confrontation over several weeks. To a large degree, university students continue to experience displeasure with some aspects of their university, and they show the disgruntlement through strike and demonstration activity which disrupt the normal functioning of the university (Dominguez-Whitehead, 201; Cele, 2008; Koen et al., 2006).

Strikes and protests continue to be widespread two decades after the dismantling of apartheid, and these incidences deserve attention (Dominguez-Whitehead, 2011). Finance is one of the main provocateurs of student organisations in universities (Dominguez-Whitehead, 201; Cele, 2008; Koen et al., 2006). When finance is available, it is easier to enable the extension and actions of an organisation and can create a plain obstruction to its advancement and growth. In a situation where an organisation functions at nationwide level, finances may also have emotional impact on the process of decision-making and democratic involvement within the organization (Dominguez-Whitehead, 2011). The manner in which an organization addresses the organisational problems has an effect on the impermanence or continuation of an organisation (Badat, 1999).

The noticeable concern about protests in South African universities is the emphasis on issues that considerably affect student dropout rates, which are financial aid, fee increases and financial exclusions (Koen, et al., 2006: 410). In addition two other dominant concerns include marches about the accessibility of dwellings and against racism (Koen, et al., 2006:410). The residence focus typically relates to overcrowding, the quality of food, intermittent construction and maintenance of student housing facilities as well as the “general quality of residences” (Koen, et al., 2006:410). These troubles about student housing account for some of the protests and cases of conflict at historically black universities, and are therefore proof that economic inequalities persist to be a dominant “variable in student politics” in South African universities (Koen, et al, 2006:410-411).

Another important aspect of student protests has been about racial intolerance in universities which relate to student performance in academic studies or course essays especially where the majority of student fail noticeably (Nhlapo, 2006). Some protests have also transpired when

students have felt that lecturers have been racially prejudiced against some groups of students (Koen, et al., 2006). Additional racial aspect has involved students call for the promotion of Africans into managerial posts to help transform universities and for necessary advancement in the excellence of student services and in resource distributions at historically black universities (Koen, et al., 2006; Cebekhulu et al., 2006).

2.7. The Mobilisation Process for Collective Protests

Stryker et al. (2000) state that the more people identify with a cluster of individuals, the more they are motivated to protest on behalf of that cluster. Associates of deprived groups should be encouraged to adopt a variety of mobilisation strategies to improve their situations (Hirschman, 1970). Collective strategies available can be militaristic such as collective revolutions and strikes, as well as mild forms such as petitioning or peaceful marches (Lalonde & Cameron, 1993). Melucci (1995:48) argues that struggle offers a basis for the formation of group identity and for commonality, rather than mutual benefits. Melucci (1995:49) writes that shared identity creates the boundaries of the actors (protestors) in relation to the field (environment); it therefore, adjusts involvement of individuals for joining the collective group. This view is an expansion of Bourdieu's Field theory who observes the world as a space that comprises a number of fields or areas within which people and institutional agents struggle for authority in accordance with particular logic (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

Taylor and Whittier (1992) give emphasis to the relevance of collective identity in protest participation. They furthermore claim that the generation of a shared identity is fundamental for a movement and protests to materialise. Long (2002:4) suggests that where student participation is extremely personalised –where the personal is linked to the political” that this should not be equated with individualism –where self-interest is the overriding motivation”. Their participation therefore means that it is not linked to any collective objective; and the extremely personalised participation has highly disjointed efforts (Long, 2002:4).

The complication in understanding collective action participation is dependent on the knowledge of the passages through which –collective identification” leads persons to participate in such

actions (Giguère & Lalonde 2010:228). The understanding of whether collective identification is “independent of strategic concerns or influence such concerns” as well as “how... these concerns motivate collective action participation” (Giguère & Lalonde 2010:228). In addition, concurrently scrutinising identification and reasons for partaking in joint action is central to finding answers for determining emotional aspects as such aspects are core to collective identity’s influence on partaking in collective actions by movements (Giguère & Lalonde 2010:228).

Berezin (2001) argues that any type of identity has an emotional element. In addition, Benford (1997) contends that some psychological scholars and analysts have totally overlooked emotions, and as a result have failed to clarify on the facilitating role that feelings have in the communication and explanation that occur among movements and its people. Emotions are widespread in social movements and play a significant role in many ways in the movement’s progress (Aminzade & McAdam, 2001). From time to time, and for strategic motives, protests leaders do not display emotions in public but rather in secret (Aminzade & McAdam, 2001; Goodwin & Pfaff, 2001)). Emotions perhaps are exploited for their ability to help mobilise participants, and are restrained when their benefits towards protests are not so clear; that is when emotions become private. Showing anger in public during demonstration empowers protesters. However, a display of the distress and discomfort of unfair treatment can also be used by protest campaigners to gain sympathy from their followers and intensify their campaign (Goodwin & Pfaff, 2001). Protesters involving themselves in risky actions have to tactically control their own fear (Goodwin & Pfaff, 2001).

Crane (1994:400) provides four perspectives of protest mobilisation. The first is discontinuous mobilisation in which “state power and social movement weakness hinder sustained organization and action by advocates of democracy”. It is therefore a mobilisation that emerges in “fits and starts”, being only visible whenever the occasion rises (Crane, 1994:400). Crane, (1994:400) continues to argue that this continuity postures tactical problems for association activities which needs to “reinvent goals, personal networks”, and repertoires “of resistance with each new instance of mobilisation”. The reason for this is that there is a change in movement leadership with every moment of mobilisation and every single subsequent collective movement “is likely

to repeat at least some of the mistakes of its predecessors” (Crane, 1994:400). Social movements mobilise “by accomplishing the three core tasks; diagnosis of social ills; prognosis of movement possibilities; and motivation for social action” (Crane, 1994:395). The second is conjectural mobilisation in which movement activities find a small number of chances to mobilise. They therefore have to grasp conditional opportunities whenever possible (Crane, 1994:401). Conjectural mobilisation generates its own difficulties; though, time is always against the leaders of movement who require to performance speedily with very little preparation benefit from short-term circumstances (Crane, 1994:401). The third is public mobilisation in which he argues that mobilisation everywhere has a noticeable public face. Community protest action has to fulfil a wide range of purposes at simultaneously (Crane, 1994:401). “The core framing tasks of diagnosing social problems, proposing solutions and motivating participation must be accomplished simultaneously and in the glare of intense publicity” (Crane, 1994:401). The last is symbolic mobilisation in which expertly created signs can be used to express short slogans that influence several prospective protest group members (Crane, 1994:401). Strategic symbolising “draws upon established cultural practices, the store of familiar signs and words, through which the movement expresses itself”. For, in order “to be effective, a symbol must speak to popular sentiments through representations that are sensible” (Crane, 1994:401).

Collective action has two perspectives that are of certain interest to social movement planners, and campaigners, which are “how to motivate people to engage in collective action, and how to use collective action to create social change” (Van Zomeren, 2009:727). Disorderly protest can create an environment of insecurity for privileged group members. Volatility is a threatening action and the possible consequence is defensive action by an out-group to ease the perceived intimidation (Louis et al., 2005).

Political scientists have not distinctly expressed the links between political protest and democratisation. The first studies of democratic evolutions argued that the opening of right of entry to power discouraged mobilisation (Aleman, 2005:72). In advanced writings, some political scientists distinguished the deep difference between current theories and what was happening on the ground (Aleman, 2005:72). They hurriedly articulated that opening political systems declined the rates of mobilisation; in so doing amassing the probability that opposition

would happen (Aleman, 2005:72). Some sociological and political research suggests that democratic collective action is universally unsuccessful. Foley (2003) argues that campaigns' achievements differ largely as a function of satisfactory political opportunity structures. Bermeo (1997) claims that political science has paid great attention to the causes of intergroup clashes and has not focused enough on forces that bring diverse people together and that, additionally, political scientists have not clearly articulated the relationship between political protest and democratisation. Regardless of the fact that mobilisation has played a very significant role in the collapse of many governments; prominent literatures of democratic transitions maintain that the opening of access to power discourages mobilisation (Bermeo, 1997).

Hollyer et al. (2014:1) argue that for democracy to remain stable people must prefer to accept all decisions achieved democratically rather than embarking on forms of mass mobilisation such as protests, strikes, or even violence as a way of forcefully expressing their will. Democracy is endangered by the risk of mass mobilisation on the part of people's discontent with democratic results (Hollyer et al., 2014:1). It is a reality that people may be inspired to turn to protests due to the perception that democratic institutions have proved to be unsatisfactory in guaranteeing their leaders to follow widely held interests (Hollyer et al., 2014:2).

Ngwane (2011) acknowledges that methods of mass mobilisation such as protests, pickets and demonstrations are therefore the ways of political engagement that benefit people to encounter entrusted interest in order to triumph against deprivation and win their demands and fulfil their necessities. Van Zomeren (2009:735) argues that an action that is successfully operational in mobilising other disadvantaged group members, has to emphasise the correspondence amongst deprived group members and their dissimilarity from the privileged group(s).

Social revolution is successfully attained in an environment where protesters direct their aim at a subject which is changeable and which is reactive to the demands of collective action and which does not risk the emergence of "counter mobilisation by political opponents" (Van Zomeren, 2009:735). Nevertheless, several political scientists suggest that the unsuccessfulness of parties is determined by ineffective mobilisation for collective action leading to a condition in which

organisations' habitual actions are seen as being less effective than disorderly attention attainment methods (Van Zomeren, 2009:735).

Notwithstanding that mass mobilisation is subject to planned complementarities, the willingness of any one person to mobilise is dependent on the preparedness of others to organise for protests (Hollyer et al., 2014:2). The lack of facts functions as an inhibition to the organisation to organise protests and strikes (Hollyer et al., 2014:2). A group member participates in joint action at any given period to represent the group and the act is focused on changing the situation of the affected group for the better (Wright & Taylor, 1998:649)

Passion plays a significant role in motivating individuals for protest action (Vallerand, 2008; 2010) in which individuals show their passion to join some action, which is derived from a sense of self and identity (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Social influence is a modification in the conviction, approach, or actions of an individual which occurs as consequences from the act or existence of another (Raven; 1990:495). Social power, according to Raven (1990:495) is based on "resources which an influencing agent can utilise in changing the beliefs, attitudes, or behaviours of a target; promise of reward, threat of punishment (coercion), legitimacy, expertise, reference (or identification), and information (persuasion)" The passion can be harmonious or obsessive (Mageau et al., 2009). Ideological commitment motivates people's political actions and significantly stimulates their preference of activist strategies (Steele et al., 2002). Individuals who are ideologically zealous usually have adopted valued groups or philosophies into their identity which is either self-directed or is externally orientated (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

For protesters to be keen to risk danger and penalty for protesting, they have to be soundly certain that an adequate amount of their fellow citizens will partake in the demonstration too (Hollyer et al., 2014:6). Mobilisation therefore occurs feasibly when all people are suffering the same way and when such information is transparent. Transparency assists in offsetting informational insufficiency thereby facilitating mobilisation where it would in other circumstance prove challenging (Hollyer et al., 2014:6).

The character of the university community has a tendency to contribute to curiosity in social and political issues and to make it easier for students to express their social and political interests. Therefore, students can easily organise for political conversation and political action (Roucek, 1967:115). A student's job is, of course, to study; but there are circumstances when a decision to put his or her books away and to wear a political banner can bring a key transformation in the political future of his or her society (Roucek, 1967:115).

Students mobilise for protests because they are in the specific situation of consistently being reminded to deal with the challenges of their own communities (Giguère and Lalonde, 2012). Furthermore, as Badat (1999:39) points out, student gatherings, frequently in huge groups, on university campuses facilitate smooth interaction, mobilisation and organisation. Universities, by the quality of their role in learning, teaching and research, may habitually offer larger political opportunity for revolutionary activities and defiance (Badat, 1999:39). Therefore, regardless of the actual restraints that university student organisations face, there is an existence of circumstances which enable mobilisation and organisation, and which guarantee that students are tactically well conditioned for political activities (Badat, 1999:39). At the same time, student movement leaders usually opportunistically mobilise the student body to further their personal political goals by politically mobilising the student body (Maseko, 1994: 70; 77-78).

2.8. The Role of Information and Communication Technology and the Mass Media in Mobilisation

According to McClurg (2003) the impact of communication in networks on the tendency to partake in political activities depends on the extent of political conversation that happens in social technological linkages and political facts that individuals are consequently able to collect. Over the past twenty years, the political impact of the internet and digital social mass media has become a widely recognised focus of research in terms of political message and involvement (Paletz, 2002). Democracy is generally viewed as a system in which the organisation of commonly non-violent protest on behalf of social movements constitutes a central element of mainstream politics for voicing dissent from the political *status quo* (Meyer & Tarrow 1998:2).

Vegh (2003:71) describes internet activism as “a politically motivated movement which depends on the internet” using strategies that are either internet-enhanced or internet-based. The internet is used as an awareness and advocacy tool useful for providing alternative news to counter information channels that are often controlled and sometimes oppose the what activists demand (Eaton, 2013). Student activists are too dependent on mass media to expose their concerns and intentions to the public and they utilize it to distribute their messages to the society outside the university surroundings (Altbach, 1991: 250). Altbach argues (1991: 250), that it is vital for students to examine the role of media because mass media may modify the forms of student collective actions. Social movements habitually beg media exposure through the establishment of pseudo-political occasions which may be of interest to the news broadcast media (Paletz, 2002).

According to Storck (2011), there has been a great revolution in mobilisation throughout the old-fashioned and current mobilisation method for protests, and the implication of internet-based Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in this period is dual. The first implication resides in the utility of ICT as a tool for activists to mobilise, organise and inspire protests. The second is in the use of ICT as a medium to document events outside the reach of those in power (Storck, 2011:4). It is well recognised that the social channels connecting protesters, actors and groups are fundamental in communication between groups (Storck, 2011:6). Through the internet, activists and groups’ members can learn from one another, rapidly detect and confirm each other’s activities happening severally in manifold ways (Lipschutz, 2005). There is an improvement in networking through ICT in the 21st century (Storck, 2011:6). In the past, people acquired information about developing riots and protests by direct contacts from colleagues (Morris, 1984; Storck, 2011:6).

Social media technologies due to its effectiveness for disseminating messages to the masses may be regarded as a significant, influential means for joint action and social change (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011:1219). Van de Donk et al. (2004:2) for example states that the Internet has been welcomed as a medium which can be useful in supporting dissident and loosely formed groups. Garrett (2006) argues that there is a link between ICTs and collective action because ICT reduces participation costs, creates social networking platforms, and promotes collective identity. In addition, ICT saves time during protest participation by publishing easily accessible information

for movement members and supporters (Van de Donk et al. 2004; Storck, 2011). Furthermore, ICT easily facilitates geographically isolated face-to face linkages and thus considerably strengthens existing social connections by allowing connections among those who may hold dissimilar opinions in organisations (Garrett, 2006; Storck, 2011). As Myers (1994) notes, a key feature of ICT is its capability to quicken and spread the distribution of social movement protest objectives in different geographical areas.

ICTs have the prospect to change the circulation of political facts, to lessen the price of conservative methods of partaking, and to create new cheap procedures of protest mobilisation, eventually helping to an increase group membership (Leizerov, 2000). Bonchek (1997) states that by depressing coordination and communication financial expenses, ICTs ease collective movement creation, mobilisation, and preservation while refining collective individuals' competence. These factors add meaningfully in growing political membership. ICT assists in the promotion of shared identity and awareness among persons that they belong to a bigger societies by feature of their mutual complaints (Arquilla & Ronfeldt, 2001; Storck, 2011). Therefore, according to Arquilla and Ronfeldt (2001) it has the ability to facilitate communal identity among disseminated individuals who coordinators may rally in acceleration of united protest.

Myers (2000) concludes that due to the increasing use of ICT, series of mobilisations and reactions will increase to the speedy decline of issue-based support. Bimber (2000) argues that by benefit of this quickening, ICTs possibly will eventually supplement to an escalation of group encounter. In today's age, many activists depend on digital media to accomplish massive linkages of personal relationships involving diverse organisational matters (Garrett, 2006; Storck, 2011). The use of ICT is therefore vital because social networks are believed to be significant in recruiting individuals for protest participation (Walgrave & Verhulst, 2006). For instance, Van de Donk and Foederer (2001) suggest that by placing protest related reports and pictures on internet a completely additional collection of persons can share in the enjoyment before and/or after a protest event took place. Consequently, this might cause a growth in support for protests.

Kavanaugh et al. (2005) suggest that ICT may improve the construction and maintenance of social networks, and the corresponding emotional states and senses leading to improved formations of collective identity. Through ICT, the construction of collective identity is easier due to the Internet's ability to organise individuals with related complaints – however, the dispersal of shared identity is quicker and less difficult (Park cited in Della Porta & Mosca, 2005:178). According to Garrett (2006: 205) “the promotion of collective identity is about the awareness among individuals of being participants of a greater community by virtue of the grievances they share”. Kavanaugh et al. (2005) charges that the ICT improves societal groups’ relationships and information conversation, and promotes face-to face connections all of which aid to construct resilient protest groups. Such connections, according to Kavanaugh et al. (2005) are significant in informing the entire public, and in organising or mobilising for protest.

With regard to the media in protest action however, Ngonyani (2000) states that the media has a tendency of exaggerating events and brands students’ actions as rude and irresponsible. Media, such as newspapers for example and others, are not only biased, but are capable of misleading the public about the realities surrounding students’ complaints” (Ngonyani, 2000:43). However, Storck (2011:1) argues that the mass media plays an appropriate and fundamental part of the political contribution effort by social movements. It encourages the politics of social movements by notifying the influential and community about the activities of social movements and clarifies these actions (Jenkins, 1983).

The mass media regularly reports on actions and conduct, in a way that, debatably, starts, strengthens and entrenches large sections of the public’s uncertainties and worries (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). However, Chomsky (1988) is very critical and suspicious of mass media. Often, when he celebrates it, he does so in an ironic way. In this argument, Chomsky is interested in stating that mass media disseminates propaganda but unwittingly towards the detriment of the establishment(s) it seeks to protect (Chomsky, 1989: 149). It does so by concretising categories around which privileged and underprivileged groups are arranged, and therefore makes the case more firmly for the need to challenge establishments (Herman & Chomsky, 1988: 2). Chomsky (1982: 94) argues that the escalation of protest crisis is usually a by-product of mass media whose real focus is to pacify, justify, misinform and disempower in favour of dominant groups

and establishments. Moreover, the activities of one group can influence another through media exposure because the more the media coverage of one group's activities, the more those activities are likely increase. As such, the media itself has a hand in the escalation of protests (Myer, 2000). More forcefully, Cohens (1972:45) argues that media has a tendency of exaggerating events, for example, in terms of the numbers who take part in those event and alleged destructions or hooliganisms that transpire.

Several forms of mass mobilisation are being carried out on the Internet or through the support by media. However, some groups are persuaded and mobilised by the other news bulletin that is being publicised over the Internet (Postmes & Brunsting, 2002:293). Current movements have productively used the Internet as a mass communication medium to reach a larger number of people. The amount of "independent news providers" who mass converse "their views on current" happenings has mushroomed (Postmes & Brunsting, 2002:293).

This subsection provided an interesting perspective regarding the role of ICT in mobilisation for collective action in modern times. Numerous activists have become users of multiple network platforms, engaging very diverse types of groups and volunteer movements, without difficulties (Garrett, 2006). This means that ICT has significantly improved the formation of collective identities in mass mobilisation for protests (Walgrave & Verhulst, 2006; Garrett, 2006).

2.9. Issues and Structure of Student Political Organizations and Student Protests at UKZN

The UKZN SRC, like in other South African universities, is considered a legal structure provided for in the Higher Education Act (1997) and it provides a wide range of services to individual students as well as different student groups (Seekings, 2008; Luescher-Mamashela, 2011). One of the roles of the SRC is to provide student leadership over the student body through its supervisory task over various student organizations and groups within universities (Maseko, 1994:77). University SRCs are also involved in institutional decision-making structures in the development and putting into practice of institutional and national guidelines on higher education. The SRCs give recommendation and support in the supply of effective and efficient

student support facilities, and also manage and administer student representation at different levels (Tabane et al, 2003:8). They are furthermore involved in giving advice on the improvement of educational programmes in higher education (Tabane et al., 2003:8). By doing so, SRCs use “political, economic and administrative authority in order to manage the activities of student life” (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011; Tabane, et al., 2003:8).

Registered students at UKZN can compete as members of student political organizations or as independent candidates at the university Central SRC or local SRC polls through ballot competition (Electoral Commission, 2014).¹² The goals of student political organisations may not necessarily coincide with those of the SRC. Nonetheless, the goals and purposes of the UKZN SRC as stipulated by the University are as follows:

- To provide representation of the students community in all University problems distressing them and to serve the student body;
- To struggle for the rights of student by endeavouring for a justified condition of general well-being and services for all students, irrespective of “race, colour, creed and sex”;
- To ease the link between the student community and other interested parties inside the University, and the “higher education sector”;
- To support equality and open-mindedness within the University community;
- To strive in the direction of a nationwide schooling system that will impart in students a sense of harmony, accountability and nationalism;
- To strengthen students and student organizations through forming meetings to achieve shared objectives
- To embark on actions which are reasonably vital to realise these aims; and
- To be involved in the resolution of disputes among students in the student community (UKZN website)¹³

¹² Electoral commission is an independent commission which is authorised by the Higher Education Act to conduct and observe the electoral process for student representatives at universities in South Africa.

¹³ http://src.ukzn.ac.za/Libraries/SRC_Documents/SRC_Constitution.sflb.ashx

The UKZN SRC has led the university student body in protest action in the last few years. In 2009, students protested violently over student housing, financial assistance and student academic exclusions at UKZN Howard College campus. The protest was characterized by lecture disruptions and test postponements, clashes with the police and subsequent casualties amongst students (Magwaza, *The Mercury*, 24 March 2009).

Similarly, in 2010 Students at UKZN Howard College campus protested demanding suitable transportation for physically incapacitated students such as paraplegics, improved security protocols, on-campus ambulances, adequate student housing and sufficient financial aid for students (Mbonambi, *The Mercury*, 9 March 2010). Subsequently students at UKZN, infuriated by apparent plans to privatise university residences, protested in the same year (Seekoei & Macfarlane *independentonline*, 17 September 2010).

In 2011 discontentment centred on insufficient financial aid, and students protested at Howard College campus, destroying university assets, disrupting lectures, threatening other students amidst violent collisions with public order police. The protest turmoil resulted in student injuries, hospitalisations, and arrests (Ndlovu & Khan, *The Mercury*, 31 March 2011).

In 2013, displeased students at UKZN embarked on illegitimate protest action at Louis Botha residence, apparently disrupting the academic programme for permanent residence for students who had been living in interim housing. This resulted in lectures being postponed by the university management which called public order police to observe and normalise the situation (Mbalane, *independentonline*, 17 September 2013).

2.10. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a comprehensive account of previous literature, identifying, where appropriate, the relevant themes, conceptual models and aspects in the various issues of student politics and protests. Furthermore, in this chapter I have reviewed the literature and empirical studies on student politics, protests, identity and mobilisation. The views critiques and facts

presented by various writers have been offered. The next chapter provides a discussion of the theoretical premises on which this research is based.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical approaches used in this study. The first part focuses on Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) emphasizing its relevance in the study of social movements and protests. The second approach is Social Identity Theory (SIT), which emphasises the socialization of people and groups. Furthermore, the theory also provides an explanation of the process that gives rise to social identity. The Racial Identity Theory (RIT) as well as the models of racial identity are then presented. Lastly, the relationship amongst the three approaches and their relevance to the study of student politics and protest are also provided in this chapter.

3.2. Resource Mobilisation Theory

RMT is an approach which is useful for providing analytical explanations of how political and social movements effectively mobilise resources (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011:1219). This theory offers answers to questions such as why some disgruntled individuals in social movements are able to organise while others are not. It also examines the diversity of resources that must be mobilised for political and social movements (McCarthy & Zaid, 1977:1213). Fundamentally, RMT associates social movement actions with political behaviour (Halebsky, 1976).

RMT's central assumption is that organisations must mobilise resources for action; and that decisions as to how to mobilise depend greatly upon a group's ideological beliefs, values, interests and goals. Additionally, the commitment of group members is maintained by building a collective identity (Ingalsbee, 1993:140). Still more, RMT argues that there will always be grounds for demonstration in contemporary politically diverse societies because there is constant unhappiness (Rootes, 1990: 7).

RMT stresses both public support and restriction of social movement occurrences and scrutinises the variety of resources that must be mobilised for collective action (McCarthy & Zaid, 1977:

1213). It furthermore examines the relationships of social movements to other groups as well as the dependence of movements upon support for prior protest action successes (McCarthy & Zaid, 1977:1213). RMT argues that social movement organisations have a number of strategic tasks such as mobilising supporters, and transforming masses from being disinterested into being supporters of movements' campaigns (Olson, 1977). McCarthy & Zaid (1977:1217) note that, in mobilisation, problems occur in the choice of strategies, since what may achieve one aim may conflict with behaviour aimed at achieving another.

RMT views social movements as normal, rational, institutionally rooted, and politically challenged by angry groups (Buechler 1990). Individuals are viewed as evaluating the costs and benefits of movement involvement and opting for participation when the possible benefits prevail over the expected costs (McCarthy & Zaid, 1977). The role of different incentives remains a subject of debate, however –debate assumes rational actors on the individual level just as it assumes the normality of movements on the collective level” (Klandermans, 1984:588).

Persuading individuals to participate is a very important element in every mobilisation campaign (Klandermans, 1984:587). Movement participation indicates actions –ranging from signing a petition to sabotage, and from part-time or one-time to full-time activity” (Klandermans, 1984:587). Therefore, mobilisation attempts by a movement organisation have the aim of winning participants – that is, persuading people to actively support the movement organisation by material and non-material means. Individuals who abstain from participating in collective action are those who do not anticipate material or non-material benefits for their efforts (Sturmer & Simon, 2004). Some individuals may recognise their collective as not strong enough to effectively impose and achieve social change (Mummendey et al., 1999; van Zomeren et al., 2004).

A mobilising organisation will try to make the benefits of participation and the costs of non-participation as high as possible, and the costs of participation and the benefits of non-participation as low as possible (Klandermans, 1984:588). Social-movement organisations can severely influence the costs and benefits of participation (Beuchler, 1993) Apart from

influencing individuals, a movement also has indirect means of controlling the costs and benefits of participation (Klandermans, 1984:588).

Klandermans (1984:587) explains that mobilisation attempts always contain two components. The first is consensus mobilisation, which is a process through which a social movement tries to obtain support for its standpoints (Klandermans, 1984:587). It involves a collective good, a movement strategy, confrontation with the opponent, and thereafter results are achieved. When types of action have to change, renewed consensus mobilisation is required (Klandermans, 1984:587). The second component is action mobilisation, which is the process by which an organization in a social movement calls up people to participate through motivation (Klandermans, 1984:587). Furthermore, a movement can choose among several types of action from moderate to militant: movements can also choose the scene of the action (Klandermans, 1984:588).

Social movements, when pursuing their interest through collective action, tend to use a multiplicity of strategies against rival societies. Usually they employ the unruly campaigns that inhibit the rival organisation from the implementation of its planned tasks and programmes (Rojas, 2006:2148). Violence and other disruptive collective actions impose severe costs on a collective group (Rojas, 2006:2149). There can also be adverse effects during resource mobilisation process if a collective movement displays a behaviour, which opposes specified beliefs, programmes and group ethics (Rojas, 2006:2149). On the other hand, other social movements use less violent methods such as demonstrations, conventions and profile-raising to mobilise for collective action (Rojas, 2006:2148). They also use peaceful strategies and campaigns for the sake of an organisation's genuineness and its own good reputation. Schumaker, (1978) argues that unruly collective action damages a collective movement's character and has adverse effects on objective accomplishment. However, according to Gamson (1990) violent social movements are more likely to attain their objectives than peaceful movements.

A general criticism of RMT has been that it undervalues the significance of grievances and ideology as determinants of participation in a social movement (Ingalsbee, 1993:140). According

to Fuchs (2006), the fact that grievances and ideology cannot explain the rise of social movements does not mean that they do not play a role in the decisions of individuals to participate in a social movements. One of the aspirations of this social-psychological expansion of RMT is to find a more satisfying theoretical solution for the problem of grievances and ideology which are determinants of participation in a social movement (Klandermans, 1984:584).

Theorists such as Ingalsbee (1993:140) criticise RMT for intentionally rejecting issues of consciousness and ideology from its theoretical context. Instead, the theory is attentively concerned with the “micro-structural development of movements, looking specifically at organisations' mobilisation of resources as its central assumption and guiding research question” (Ingalsbee, 1993:139-140). In addition, RMT is criticised for its avoidance of social-psychological questions by theorising that the sources of protests and clashes for movements result from societal “factors” which could be one-sidedly influenced “crises” by political leaders and movement organisers (Ingalsbee, 1993:139). Ingalsbee (1993:139) further criticises RMT's principal idea of emphasis which is that groups must organise resources for collective action in the view that resources are attached to questions of collective awareness. He argues that RMT should be regarded as limited or inadequate due to its denunciation of the changing social-psychological aspects of social movements (Ingalsbee, 1993:139).

3.3. Social Identity Theory

Tajfel (1972) introduced the idea of social identity to theorise how people conceptualise themselves in intergroup contexts, and how a system of individuals label and define their own place in society (Hogg, 2001: 186). The social identity is a social psychological scrutiny of group processes, intergroup relationships, and the self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The Social Identity Theory (SIT) originally stresses intergroup relations in terms of attitudes and behaviour; group consistency, decision-making, direction, social influence and stereotyping (Brown, 1999; Tajfel & Turner 1979). SIT attempts to explain how self-perceived membership to a social group affects social perceptions and attitudes (Hogg 1992, 1993; Hogg & Abrams 1988; Tajfel & Turner 1979; Turner, 1982). Social identity is defined as that fragment of an individual's self-

concept which originates from his or her consciousness of his membership of a group together with the significance and passionate influence involved to the membership (Tajfel & Turner 1979). Social identity theorists thus maintain that identity is a phenomenon which every person copes and deals with and it is influenced by race, gender and sexuality (Hogg, 2001; Hogg & Abrams 1988). These theorists suggest that identities, however, can change when they are challenged by life experiences (Hogg & Abrams 1988; Nuttbrock & Freudiger, 1991). Furthermore, as Lappegard (2007:5) suggests, social identity for the reason that it changes, is determined by the value of the clusters or entities individuals are affiliated to or to which they “have a positive reference”.

The fundamental assumption of SIT is that group members of an in-group will seek to find bad aspects of an out-group, thus improving their self-image which is, therefore, a work of group relationships (Hogg & Abrams 1988; Brown, 1996). From the outset a momentous portion of SIT was dedicated to explaining the diverse reactions of members of dominant and minor groups (Brown, 2000:748). Taylor and Whittier (1992) put emphasis on the relevance of collective identity in protest participation; and that the generation of a shared identity is fundamental for movements and protests to materialise. Furthermore, Stryker et al. (2000) states that the more people identify with a cluster of individuals, the more they are motivated to protest on behalf of that cluster. In general however, as Fominaya (2010) suggests, group interaction occurs through two processes, namely self-categorisation and self-identification. These are further discussed below.

3.3.1. Self-Categorisation

In the course of self-categorisation, through a cognitive process, individual members of a group see themselves as a group enhanced by same values (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987). In this cognitive process, depersonalisation occurs which makes individual members to define themselves as a group, ‘we’ and not as individuals ‘I’ (Hogg et al., 1995). Categorising people into groups is based on a normal reasoning process: the tendency to group things together (Tajfel, 1972; Hornsey, 2008). This usually leads to exaggerating the differences between groups and the similarities of things in the same group (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Tajfel and

Turner (1979) propose that there are three mental processes involved in assessing others as in-group and out-group. The process takes place in a particular order (Hogg, 2001:186).

Primarily social categorisation causes people to identify with groups, interpret themselves and others in group terms, and in terms of evident group behaviours (Hornsey, 2008). Groups give individuals a sense of belonging to the social world. People increase their self-image by enhancing the status of the group to which they belong (Tajfel, 1972; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As a result, they divide the world into “them” and “us” based on a process of allocating people into social groups (Tajfel, 1972:292). Social identity theory states that the in-group will discriminate against the out-group to boost their self-image (Tajfel, 1972).

More to the same, individuals classify objects in order to understand them and identify them (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In a very similar way, individuals categorise other people as well as themselves in order to understand their social location by using social categories (Hogg, 2001; Hornsey, 2008). This categorisation of people therefore expresses more about the features of those people and others who are regarded as outsiders (Turner 1985; Turner et al. 1987; Turner 1991) even though an individual can belong to many different groups at different times and circumstances (Hogg, 2001).

Belonging is thus always an active process which is only a naturalised construction of forms of power relations (Yural-Davis, 2006:198). Yural-Davis (2006:198) suggests that categorisation can be understood and analysed according to three levels of categorising processes. The first of these categories is about “locations”; the second relates to individuals’ identifications and emotional attachments to various groupings; and the third relates to ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others’ “belonging” (Yural-Davis, 2006:198). On the other hand, Hogg et al. (1995:260) explains that the simple impression is that “a social category into which one falls, and to which one feels one belongs, provides a definition of who one is in terms of the defining characteristics of the category and a self-definition that is a part of the self-concept”.

3.3.2. Social Identification

Hogg (2001) states that during this stage of SI, individuals tend to adopt the identity of the group that they regard themselves as belonging to. If for example a person has categorised him/herself as a student, the chances are that the person will embrace the identity of a student and begin to act in the ways he/she believes students act and adapt to the norms of that particular group. When it is thought that people belong to a specific gender, or race, or class or country, age group, association group or a specific career, “what is being talked about are social and economic locations” (Yuval-Davis, 2006:198). The social identity attained as a member of collective groups might generate group conduct (Hogg et al., 1995; Hercus, 1999; Jasper, 1997). In some settings individuals perception or actions are more determined by group membership than in other situations, such as when going through inter-group conflicts (Turner, 1982).

Individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong and wanting to become: a process that is fuelled by yearning rather than positing of identity as a stable state (Hetherington, 1998; Yang, 2000). Emotions, like perceptions, shift at different times and situations and are more or less reflective (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Adams, 2003). As a principle, the more emotional components of people’s constructions of themselves and their uniqueness become dominant, the more susceptible and less confident they feel (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

However, in the final instance, collective identities have to be politicised to become the engine of collective action (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010). Characteristically, awareness campaigns of identities originate with the consciousness of collective complaints (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010:2), alongside the identification of an outside adversary held responsible for the group’s difficulty, and from whom claims for recompense are demanded (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010:5). As long as suitable demands are not settled, this power struggle cannot be stopped (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010). In this case, individuals partaking in associations do so to express their interests in politics as well as to demonstrate their social identity (Verba et al., 1995).

3.3.3. Social Comparison

After individuals have categorised themselves as members of a group and have identified with that group, they then have a tendency to match that group with other groups (Hogg, 2001; Hogg et al., 1995). It is critical to understanding bias, because once two groups identify themselves as opponents; they are obliged to contest in order for the affiliates to preserve their pride (Hogg, 2001). Rivalry and unfriendliness concerning groups is therefore not merely a substance of struggling for possessions but also the consequence of individuals' competition for uniqueness (Hogg, 2001; Fominaya, 2010).

Individuals have tendencies of viewing themselves and identifying what makes them similar to other people, and what makes them different (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). People therefore construct a consciousness of themselves and others by means of abstract social categories, and this consciousness become parts of people's self-concepts (Brown & Turner, 1981). Individuals define themselves with qualities that characterise the groups to which they belong (Hogg, 2001).

In addition, SIT has usually viewed *place* as a neutral location, i.e. regarded either as a tag which offers group identity or as a sign of a belief or cluster (Speller et al., 2002). Twigger-Ross et al. (2003) argue that if habitation is also appreciated as a social category which provides identity, then SIT can definitely embrace features of the physical surroundings and the emotional implications involved in that environment, as well as essential aspects of identity formation for both individuals and groups.

3.4. Racial Identity Theory

A person's racial identity is clarified by Helms (1993) as a sense of belonging to a community of people who share a constructed specific heritage. O'Hearn (1998) and Allen et al. (2012) suggests that racial identity most often seems to be a frame in which persons categorise people often based on skin colour. According to Chávez, et al. (1996) the use of skin colour is one of various classification tools that allow persons and groups to isolate themselves from other individuals they consider dissimilar from themselves. Racial identity can be regarded as a

surface-level manifestation based on what individuals look like – however it has profound consequences for how individuals are treated (Helms, 1995; Spickard, 1992).

Helms (1993:3) elucidates that in the contemporary world, academic and literary expressions of racial identity are discussed as a social construction” which she defines as “a sense of group” or shared identity based on one’s awareness that he or she shares a mutual culture with a specific racial group. RIT suggests that race has social meanings which are frequently shaped by political pressures (Calmore, 1992). However, the concept of racial identity has been misinterpreted and challenged. Some meanings are derived from its biological dimensions (Spickard, 1992) and others from its social dimensions (Helms, 1995; Spickard, 1992). As a biological category, it is argued that race is “derived from an individual’s physical features... and character qualities” (Spickard, 1992:14). However Parker & Lynn (2002) argue that identity goes through persistent deconstruction and reconstruction, and race, like other aspects of identity, is indeed a socio-political construction. RIT can thus be understood through racial identity development (Cross, 1995) as well as the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Yap et al., 2011), which I will discuss further below.

3.4.1. Racial Identity Development

Cross (1995) describes a model which is helpful in describing racial identity as a dynamic process. Cross (1995) further adopted the concept experimenter-ascribed identity which he used to define the state of affairs where the social research scientist makes assumptions concerning racial identity of research participants merely because they possess physical features that identify them as fitting to a particular racial group. Contrary, personally affirmed group identities are those groups that the individual uses to define him or herself” (Rowley et al., 1998:716).

Parham (1989) also describes cycles of racial identity development as a lifelong process. Since racial identities are learned very early in life, they work as a basis for interpreting, accepting, experiencing and partaking in the world as well as a way of relating with and identifying with others (Rowley et al., 1998). In a society where racial group affiliation is emphasised, the development of a racial identity development happen in a particular form in every person

(Nuttbrock & Freudiger, 1991). The racial identity development process progresses in dissimilar ways for different racial groups depending on the circumstances they are facing (Rowley et al., 1998). For example racial identity of the under resourced group may develop differently from the privileged group (Helms, 1993; Cross, 1995). Thus, these identities can change when they are challenged by life experiences (Nuttbrock & Freudiger, 1991).

3.4.2. The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) suggests that an individual's racial identity comprises three stable dimensions. Two of these dimensions are racial centrality and racial regard (Yap, et al, 2011). Racial centrality refers to the importance of race to the self-concept. Racial regard is the evaluative dimension of identity and has two components (Yap, et al, 2011). The MMRI describes racial identity as that part of the individual's self-concept that is linked to her or his relationship with a particular racial group (Yap, et al, 2011).

Private regard refers to the degree to which individuals feel confidently toward their own racial group and being a racial group member (Yap, et al, 2011). Public regard refers to individuals' perceptions of how the larger society views their racial group. These three elements are considered to be important aspects of one's racial identity (Yap, et al., 2011). The model further extends to two other forms of racial regard: private (how one feels about being of a black race for instance; and public (the individual's perception of public attitudes toward people who belong to a particular race)" (Lalonde et al., 2008:131).

Racial centrality refers to the extent to which a person's normative definition herself or himself is racial related (Rawley et al., 1998:717). It is therefore an extent of whether race is an essential part of an individual's self-concept (Rawley et al., 1998:717). Thus, racial centrality is an indication of the level to which the individual upholds race as a key defining feature of his or her own identity (Rawley et al., 1998:717). Implied in the conceptualisation of racial centrality is a categorised positioning of diverse identities with regard to their nearness to the individual's fundamental classification of self (Banaji & Prentice, 1994). According to Rawley et al.

(1998:718) attitudes and opinions about race should simply predict behaviour to ~~the~~ extent that race is a central component of the self’.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the theoretical framework. It has also highlighted the relevance of these theoretical approaches to the study of movements‘ protest and identities by providing a discussion of the relevance of RMT in mobilising for collective action; and that SIT is relevant to the study of identification as an influential motivational drive to protest and identification with others is accompanied by an awareness of connection and collective fate with those who belong to the same category. Based on the discussion above, RIT views racial identity as a social construction in which a group of individuals is united by heritage they have in common. This shows that the three theories are interrelated in the determination and analysis of identity and mobilisation for collective action in this study.

RMT is therefore appropriate to use in finding out how student movements go about mobilising students for protest action at Howard College campus. SIT is a useful theory to provide answers on whether the social, political, economic disparities and experiences of the past impacts on social identities of students on the campus. The legacies that different races inherited from the apartheid South Africa will be theorised and analysed to find out whether students identify themselves on a racial basis when mobilising. The methodology for this study is presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

According to Mouton (2001:56) research methodology refers to the collection of procedures which a researcher logically follows to investigate phenomena in a scientific study. It guides the research in terms of collecting, analysing and reporting information relating to the research. According to Babbie and Mouton, cited in Henning (2004:36), “research methodology focuses on the process and the kinds of tools and procedures used during the research process”.

The methodological procedures applied in the study are discussed below which comprises; research design, sampling procedures, research instrument, data analysis and validity as well as the ethical consideration observed.

4.2. Research Method

Babbie & Mouton (2001:270) state that qualitative research is interested in understanding how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world. Qualitative researchers study things in their natural situations, attempting to make sense of, or to understand phenomena in terms of the connotations individuals bring these phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 1995; Strauss, 1990. Nkwi et al. (2001:1) state that, “qualitative research involves any research that uses data that does not specify statistical values”.

Furthermore, qualitative research uses a realistic approach to understand phenomena in context-specific situations such as “real world settings [where] the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest” (Patton, 2002:39). Qualitative methods are most appropriate for this study because they aim to scrutinize how students identify themselves and to explore how their social, economic, political and cultural experiences and situations influence the

construction of their identities.

4.2.1. Research Design

In this study, a case study research design was used. Ryan et al. (2007:740) describe research design as a variety of methods within what is often referred to as the real or revealing worldview. Neale et al. (2006:2) define case study as a story about something unique, special, or interesting about individuals, organisations, as well as events. The case study gives the story behind outcomes by capturing the underlying causes that bring them about. As such, a case study can be “a good opportunity to highlight a project’s success, or to bring attention to a particular challenge or difficulty in a project” (Neale et al. 2006:2).

A case study is a practical examination which, according to Yin (1984:23), examines an existing occurrence inside its real-life perspective when the borders between occurrence and perspective are not openly apparent; and in which numerous sources of confirmation are used. Furthermore case study designs are appropriate when there is a need to provide context to other data, offering a more complete picture of what happened in the event and the cause of the activity (Neale et al., 2006:4).

The choice of this the case study design for this research is informed by the aim of the study which is: to examine student movements and their experiences and thoughts about the incidents of student protests at UKZN Howard College Campus. The key benefit of using a case study is that it offers very rich and detailed information compared to other methods. “Case studies allow one to present data collected from multiple methods” to provide the complete story (Neale et al., 2006:4).

4.2.2. Sample

Mouton (1996:135) refers to a sample as a choice of some of the elements of a population with the aim to discover something out about the population as a whole. The sample method comprises of taking a representative collection of the population and using the data collected as

useful research facts (Frey et al., 2000:125). The sample of the study was selected from the student community, SRC members and other student organizations at UKZN Howard College Campus.

There are two main categories of the sampling method, namely; probability sampling and non-probability sampling (Henry, 1990:25; Babbie, 1990:97). Probability sampling is sometimes called random sampling while non-probability sampling is sometimes called non-random sampling. The choice to use a sampling method is guided by the aim of the study. For example, when a researcher desires “to have a certain level of confidence in the data collection probability sampling is used” (MacNealy, 1999:125). The two sampling methods “differ in terms of how confident we are about the ability of the selected sample to represent the population from which it is drawn” (MacNealy, 1999:126).

This research project used a non-probability sampling method. This is a suitable sampling method to use when trying to examine groups who may have understandings to the queries being asked and may not be willing to respond honestly, and for those conditions “when ethical concerns may keep the researcher from speaking to every member of a specific group” (Fink, 1995:17). Henry (1990:16) states that, when using a non-probability sampling in the study, personal conclusions of research participants have a specific part to play. Probability and non-probability sampling methods have benefits and shortcomings and the use of each method is guided by the researcher’s objectives in relation to facts collection and validity. The benefit of non-probability sampling method is that it is an appropriate method for researchers to draw a sample conveniently and cost effectively for exploration studies that “do not require representativeness of the population” (Fink, 1995:17).

A snowball technique was used for the sampling in this study. Frey et al., (2000:133) describes snowball sampling as a special non-probability method used when the preferred sample characteristic is not easily reachable. It is used in cases when the population of interest cannot be recognised by the researcher but rather by someone who knows that a certain person has the needed experience or characteristics to be included in research (MacNealy, 1999:157). In addition, snowball sampling includes depending on earlier “identified group members to identify

others who may share the same characteristics as the group already in place” (Henry, 1990: 21).

A list of the students who participated in protest was not available, however active student movements at UKZN Howard college campus were known to the researcher. The first research recruits referred the researcher to other students who were involved in the protests so that others could be added to the group. MacNealy (1999:57) describes this as a process whereby “one participant leads to another”. Again, this type of non-probability sampling cannot lead to generalisable results even though it can be generalised to a group that shares the same characteristics.

The sample represents members of active student movements at UKZN which are SASCO National Student Movement (NASMO), South African Democratic Student Movement (SADESMO), Student Christian Fellowship (SCF), African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), and Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC). In total, the number of the research participants in the study were nine and all of them were registered students at UKZN Howard College Campus during the data collection period.

4.2.3. Data Collection Techniques

Research technique is the set of procedures used to collect data in scientific research (Bryman, 2012). The most common type of interviews used in qualitative research is semi-structured interviews (Holloway & Wheeler 2010; Dawson, 2002) which involve the use of prearranged questions with the added advantage of the researcher being free to ask for clarifications. Questions are formulated before data collection out of the main research question. Subsequent questions can be added during interviews through a series of follow up questions for clarification (Holloway & Wheeler 2010; Dawson, 2002).

This research used semi-structured interviews to obtain data from participants. Semi-Structured interviews aim to investigate the views of the participants and so to gain access to their experiences and feelings (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In addition, the researcher can explore new paths that emerge during the interview that may not have been considered initially (Hand, 2003;

Gray, 2004). He or she is able to word questions automatically and develop an informal style during the interview that focuses on the topic (Patton, 2002).

Furthermore, the researcher is free to adjust the order and wording of the questions, depending on the direction of the interview, and to ask additional questions (Corbetta, 2003). The semi-structured research technique was worthwhile in the sense that the study aimed to assess the views of student movements' members about the influence of their identities on mobilisation and protests at Howard College campus.

Smith et al. (2009) state that successful interviews start with careful planning that considers the focus of the research question. Developing an appropriate interview guide or structured interview can help to achieve a comfortable interaction with the research participants which in turn allows the participant to provide a detailed account of their experiences (Smith et al., 2009). The interviewing process involves identifying a broad area in which the researcher hopes to hear from the participants, then thinking about the topics that the interview will cover (Smith et al., 2009). Following this, the topics can be organised into a logical sequence. The responses to the interview questions should provide the researcher with an opportunity to answer the research question (Smith et al., 2009). Roulston, (2010) and Dawson (2002) state that interviews represent one of the most common ways of gathering data in qualitative study because they offer prospects for the researcher to gather rich and meaningful data.

Research participants were informed about the type of interview to be conducted, its nature and the general format the interview will take. The principle that there is no right or wrong answer was emphasized: the aim of the interview was to hear the participant's experiences. The role of the researcher clearly presented in the interview, ensuring that participants could take their time to thinking about their responses to questions, and talking unimpeded throughout the interview (Smith et al., 2009). Smith et al. (2009) note that if the interviewing style is clear and confident, participants are likely to see researcher as not having ulterior motives beyond hearing about their experiences.

I personally went to the building that houses the SRC to recruit interviewees and to make

appointments for interviews. In some instances research participants indicated that they were ready to participate immediately without appointments. The researcher then asked the SRC members to identify students' organisations who participated in student protests who were also asked to refer other students from their own organisation and other students' movements for inclusion in this study. This method was very useful because the population list of persons who participated in the protest was not available. Data from the respondents was collected by using a digital voice recording device which was then saved as a basis for making analyses and recommendations. This was useful as it would have been practically impossible to scribe the responses while the interview was in process at normal speaking speed.

There are various ways of recording interviews: writing notes at the time can interfere with the interview process and notes written afterwards can miss details (Dawson, 2002). In certain circumstances, written notes are preferable to audio-recordings, but most people agree to be recorded, even though it may take them a little time to feel comfortable and speak freely (Dawson, 2002). The wishes of the participants with regard to the recording of the interview are always paramount and they must be able to instruct the researcher to turn off the audio-recorder at any time or not to use it for the interview (Patel, 2004:86). The researcher discussed with the research participants about the steps that would be taken to maintain confidentiality and anonymity in order to build trust (Dawson, 2002). This draws from an observation made by Holloway and Wheeler (2010) that sees listening to the participants' experiences and concerns, as well as recognising them as active partners in the interview as tangible means of building rapport.

Some of the research interviews were held inside the building offices, which was a suitable location away from noise, and provided adequate privacy and comfort. Other interviews were conducted in a restaurant located on Howard Campus where there was little noise. Audio recording enabled a complete retention of the responses, and allowed the Researcher to concentrate on facilitating communication and listening by an open friendly posture while maintaining eye contact. This conserved both time and energy by limiting the amount of notes taken during the interviews. The Researcher informed the participants in advance that the communication during interviews would be audio recorded. The recording devices had been tried

and tested prior to the interview for quality in order to guarantee beforehand that the tape-recording was clear. I later transcribed the audio recordings.

4.3. Reliability and Validity in the study

Although the term ‘reliability’ is regarded as a conception used for assessing or estimating quantitative research, the idea is usually used in all types of research (Eisner, 1991:58). If a researcher comprehends the notion of examining as a way of producing facts, “then, the most important test of any qualitative study is its quality” (Eisner, 1991:58). A well-planned qualitative research can enable a researcher “understand a situation that would otherwise be enigmatic or confusing” (Eisner, 1991:58).

One of the reasons that the concept of reliability is inappropriate in qualitative research is the difference in objectives of assessing the quality of studies in quantitative and qualitative study (Stenbacka (2001). According to Stenbacka (2001:552) “[t]he concept of reliability is even misleading in qualitative research. If a qualitative study is discussed with reliability as a criterion, the consequence is rather that the study is no good”. In addition, Patton (2002) states that validity and reliability are two aspects that all qualitative researchers should seriously consider while planning a study, scrutinising data and judging the value of the research.

To guarantee reliability in qualitative research, examination of credibility is essential. Seale (1999:266), states that, “while establishing good quality studies through reliability and validity in qualitative research, the trustworthiness of a research report lies at the heart of issues conventionally discussed as validity and reliability”. In contrast, Stenbacka (2001:552) argues that reliability has no significance in qualitative research because reliability issues concerns only measurements. Stenbacka (2001:552) adds that, the “reliability” concept is insignificant in the conclusion of value of qualitative study. If it is used therefore, “the consequence is rather that the study is no good” (Stenbacka, 2001:552).

Validity is one of the main concerns of research. As Seliger & Shohamy (1989:95) point out, “Any research can be affected by different kinds of factors which, while extraneous to the

concerns of the research, can invalidate the findings”. Monitoring any potential influences that can compromise the research's validity is a crucial obligation of any researcher (Seliger & Shohamy 1989:95). Internal validity is affected by errors originating within the study itself such as mismanaging some of the main variables – also known as design problems; and problems that emanate from the research instrument – which are known as data collection problems.

Research findings are internally invalid if the results are affected by factors outside those which are not part of the research, or when the explanation of the research findings by the researcher is not supported evidentially (Seliger & Shohamy 1989:95). External validity is the degree to which the researcher can generalise research findings to a greater group or other settings (Last, 2001). If the research is not externally valid, the research findings cannot be useful to perspectives other than the one in which the research was conducted (Seliger & Shohamy, 1989:95).

For the reason that reliability and validity ~~depend~~ on the potential for subsequent researchers to reconstruct original strategies, the researcher who presents a vague account of his design is putting himself at risk of being accused of invalid and unreliable findings” (Brink, 1993:37). However, Glaser and Strauss (1967); Leininger (1991); Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that several qualitative researchers avoid the terms validity and reliability and use terms such as credibility, truth, consistency truth, trustworthiness, value, applicability, and conformability, when indicating the principles for assessing the scientific merit of qualitative research.

To avoid incorrect and inadequate data, I used the judgement based on the best available suggestions to choose participants who knew enough, and could recall enough, about student politics and protests at Howard College campus to respond precisely to questions asked. Researchers who are honest with the research participants will be able to obtain correct, trustworthy and credible data (Leininger 1991:92). For that reason, I made an effort to increase the trustworthiness of the responses by making sure that the research participants were very clear on the nature, the rationale and the purpose of the research as Shenton (2004: 64-65) suggests.

4.4. Limitations of the Study

The limitation of the study is that the topic of the research project focuses only on participants at Howard College Campus. It will be incredible to conclude that the research findings represent the reality in all university campuses in South Africa and other countries. Furthermore, the respondents in the study are from political student organisations on the campus and it would, therefore, be impossible to determine the thoughts and experiences of members of other students who are not members of student organisations.

4.5. Ethical Issues

The code of ethics stipulates that the subjects of research must be informed that they are being researched and the nature of the research to which they will be a party (Goduka, 1990:333). The informed consent must also state that the subject may withdraw from the research at any time (Dawson, 2002: 103). White (2006), for instance, states that all researchers must be ethical and not harmful in any way to all participants in research. Sjoberg (1967:3) puts it like this: research must be characterised and guided by –conduct deemed proper and principles, good, honest, right and equitable”. Prior to the interviews, ethical clearance had been applied for and obtained from the UKZN ethics committee.

The consent form planned for and used in this study consisted of the research title, the Researcher’s contact details; the contact details of the Researcher’s supervisor as well as of the humanities, social sciences ethics committee. Additionally, it provided details about the aims of the research, the research design of the study as well as information about the ethical issues involved in this research study. Moreover, the consent form assured the participants about confidentiality and anonymity, and declared the dissemination protocols of the data obtained in the course of the interviews and research.

In this research, every research participant participated voluntarily. It was explained to them, prior to the investigation that, the information would be confidential and be used for the purpose

of the research and its findings. Participants were told that no names would be published in the report in the interest of their confidentiality and that the information obtained would only be useful for purposes of the study.

I saw it as my moral obligation to safeguard the confidentiality of participants through anonymity because it is a very critical ethical responsibility (Jackson, 1995; Goduka, 1990). It is also in the interest of the researcher to preserve his or her reputation from damage due to failure to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of respondents (Jackson, 1995).

4.6. Transcribing and Analysing the Data

The analysis of data in this study was done thematically by first manually coding the data. As Fossey et al. (2002) notes, qualitative analysis is a process of reviewing, combining and interpreting data to describe and clarify the phenomena or social worlds being studied. In qualitative research, the process by which data analysis is undertaken is fundamental to determining the credibility of the findings (Dey, 1993). Principally, ~~it~~ involves the transformation of raw data into a final description, narrative, or themes and categories” (Dawson, 2002, 115-116). There is huge difference in how transcribing and analysing data is undertaken depending on the research problem and the method used in research (Vishnevsky & Beanlands, 2004).

The method of analysis is important: there are generally accepted methods in a field – that is, known techniques accepted as valid which should be applied before embarking on untried methods of analysis (Dey, 1993). Thematic analytic techniques are useful, and each has its place in qualitative research in the social sciences particularly when analysing textual data generated from interviews which are transcribed verbatim from audio recordings (Bernard & Ryan, 1998; Dawson, 2002). Poindexter (2002:61) argues that transcribing the recorded interview is an important procedure concerning data presentation and analysis. The procedure of transcription, in terms of its relationship to analysing the data, must thus be carefully handled (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Coding the material is the initial stage in a thematic analysis process done to reduce the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This may be done by dividing the text into controllable and meaningful text divisions and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 2008; Dawson, 2002). The codes in the coding framework should be narrow in scope, and focus unambiguously on the objective of the research question and analysis, in order to avoid unnecessary coding of every single sentence in the original text (Charmaz, 2006).

Relying on the researcher's intentions, the coding framework may be based on establishing unambiguous themes or words on repeated subjects in the transcript, or on a group of theoretical concepts that are to be explored analytically (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Dawson, 2002). Thematic analysis simply requires a researcher to identify key themes in text and subsequently transform the identified themes into codes (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Dawson, 2002). The responses were thoroughly and logically arranged into comprehensive themes for later analysis (Charmaz, 2006).

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter described the study's enquiry process by providing an outline of the method followed in the study, including a discussion on the ethical issues of confidentiality and anonymity, informed consent and protection of participants. These discussions extended to audio recordings, transcription of research data and analysis. In the next chapter, the responses acquired from the participants by using this research process are presented and analysed.

CHAPTER 5

STUDENT POLITICS, CHALLENGES AND PROTESTS

5.1. Introduction

The analysis of data in this study was done thematically after manual coding. The data was divided into six main categories. These categories entailed the themes under which the research participants' entire range of views and experiences of student politics and student protests fell. All persons who responded to the interview research questions are denoted as participants and the student movement they belong to.

5.2. Causes and Consequences of Student Protests at UKZN, Howard College Campus

This theme represents the research participants' understanding of the causes of student protests at UKZN. It provides an insight into the root causes of student protests from the students themselves in order to make a comprehensive comparison with the causes of student protests which occurred during the apartheid period.

The question asked was as follows, "What caused you and your organisation to be part of the student protests at the UKZN Howard College Campus?" from which three sub-themes emerged from the research participants responses.

5.2.1. *Students Unhappiness about Lack of Student Funding*

The students' inability to pay university fees coupled with lack of adequate student funding at the university does little to help students' conditions. Financing by the public institution of higher education has been and remains the major link between the national government and university campus administration in South Africa since the end of apartheid (Muya, 2014:234). Historically black universities have been deprived of student funding however since the dawn of

democracy in 1994, black students have been allowed to enrol into former white universities leading to an increasing number of black students in previously white universities (Oxlund, 2008:66). The enrolments for black students and other formerly underprivileged populations in South African universities have grown (Nzimande, 2014). As such, research participants think that student funding at UKZN is unreliable in that it is unpredictable due to its inconsistency. Nomalanga, emphasised the lack of students funding at the university as one of the root causes of the protests:

Nomalanga (*SASCO*): I think it is an important question. Some people think that if I have money to register, if I have everything, I have no reason to strike. They also think that those people who are striking they don't have something else to do. It goes back to the economic status of every one of us, and I think is one of the things which is becoming an obstacle. Especially the Indians and white people, they are not such vulnerable like us black people. Our parents work hard in the factories and they don't earn enough money to pay our fees. The university fees are very high.

This view expressed above by this SASCO research participant postulates that the lack of funding predominantly affects the student population of a particular race. Nomalanga denoted that students' circumstances make it difficult for some students register for their studies at UKZN. She saw protests of the vulnerable students' as a reaction to the financial exclusion to be a suitable response to the problem. This is a problem not only in the UKZN but also in the entire country because every year in South Africa, a majority of black students fail to re-register in the following year of study in universities (Koen et al., 2006). The reason is that the universities institutions either exclude them on financial or academic basis or that the students themselves pull out due to financial or academic reasons (Cloete, 2004).

Ndosi from NASMO shared similar sentiments to those of Nomalanga:

Ndosi (*NASMO*): The University is withholding the financial needs of the students. I don't think saying that the university should give us what we want will

be efficient. However, we should ask, how do we get what we want? Why students strike is because students don't have money. NSFAS is not enough in the sense that there are not enough packages but in terms of sustaining certain individuals it is... but it is not enough.

When Bheki was specifically probed further about the causes of collective action and the motivation for his participation in protests, he said the fact that government collects tax from taxpayers enables government to fund all needy students.

Bheki went on to say:

Bheki (*SADESMO*): The University did not want to register if we didn't pay the fees. How can you pay if you don't have money? We are always motivated by hunger for education and to prepare our future. We pay tax and we always hear that government budget more in education so where is the money? If the situation is like this it means one of the two [the government and the university management] is not telling the truth. The saddest part is that students should be one but we know that some of us who are serious and some students are sell-out. Even the lecturers are sell-outs because they are just here for money. We embark on strikes because of that.

Nkosinathi from ANCYL had similar reservations for the university's decision to financially exclude students at UKZN:

Nkosinathi (*ANCYL*): The university fails to fund the poor students who can't afford to pay their fees. Our organization decided to join the protests [which occurred in first semester of 2014] for the betterment of students' lives here on campus – academically, to be specific.

The responses by Ndos, Bheki and Nkosinathi concur with Nhlapho (2006) research findings, which stated that UKZN management uses, among other things, the inability to pay university tuition fees to exclude students from the university. Many students from financially deprived

families join the university when they are not assured of academic funding (Nhlapho, 2006). The aim of embarking on the advancement of students' lives, furthermore supports the argument that: in a struggle for benefits, individuals are more motivated to take a vigorous way to protest to enforce change, while a conflict of values usually lead to demonstrations in which folks express their feelings and bitterness (Van Stekelenburg et al., 2009).

In a different instance, Bongani appears frustrated by the manner in which the university disseminates crucial information about tuition fees and the status of students' academic registration possibilities. He feels that the university does not communicate their decisions in advance to avoid conflict. For example, he highlighted the university's poor timing when communicating information to the student population:

Bongani (*EFFSC*): Perhaps the university thinks that all of us have money and this is not the case. Majority of us are poor and the university management does not consider that when communicating their decisions. What makes it more difficult is that the communication between the university and students is top down and usually one way. The university tells us about this cruel financial exclusion very late and, the university does not justify their decisions. So what do they expect us to do?

The response by Bongani suggests that students are not provided with crucial information from their institutions. However, Nhlapho (2006) argues that student leadership at UKZN does not usually concentrate on relevant matters and relevant documents such as the Audit Reports. This inability to focus on such reports limits the amount of crucial information known by student leaders concerning the student community. As a result, the student leadership has problems in performing their representative duties in universities (Nhlapho, 2006). Based on Bongani's response, the lack of relevant university information and updates is likely to confuse students who are less informed about the state of affairs at universities.

In addition, as Jabulani notes:

Jabulani (*DASO*): Communication of the state of affairs at this university is pathetic. When student representatives come to the masses to communicate the decision of the university management to us they come with exaggeration and instigate students to strike. The communication in the democratic setting should be bottom up and not the existing top down approach. The SRC decide in their caucuses, which consist of ten people, on the way forward regarding the protests.

This response by Jabulani correlates with the finding by Nkomo (1984) that student protests happen more often where formal networks of communication and discussion are lacking. The creation of official channels for communiqué and cooperation with student political movements is a possible remedy for university administrations towards reducing disorderly student political activism on university campuses (Nkomo, 1984; Mathieu, 1996).

Jabulani stated that the university management treats students badly and unfairly. He added the following:

Jabulani (*DASO*): They (the South African government) should allocate enough funds for the students in all South African universities. It is a national phenomenon especially at some universities, which are dominated by black students.

Jabulani did not put much blame on the university management but the South African government for depriving students' funds for their studies. Koen et al. (2006:405) explains that one of the central worries for university students who do not enrol at universities after failing to pay university fees or sustaining enormous amount outstanding, relates to the outcome of official negotiations between students leaders and university authorities (Koen et al., 2006:405). The negotiations tend to lengthen academic study periods for students (Koen et al., 2006:405). Such negotiation is widespread especially at historically black institutions although fees are usually cheaper than the former white universities. Formerly black institutions often have dilapidated capital and low funds to update such resources and university processes. Furthermore, they also have high student debt stock (Koen et al., 2006:405).

A participant from the SCF stated that members of his movement did not officially take a decision to participate in the 2014 student protests:

Bonginkosi (*SCF*): Our movement never took a decision to protest against academic exclusion; however, our members who are members of other student political movements do take such decisions to partake in the protests and we can't prevent them from doing so. As it is everyone's right to do so they can do that freely in the name of their other movements.

The main cause for student protest is commonly lack of funding. There are doubts, however, by the student body as to whether the university management can be trusted on matters concerning funding for students. The members of student movements therefore referred to the causes of their movements' involvement in student protests as the lack of student funds. There is a perception by some research participants that the inadequately funded government sponsored financial aid scheme prohibits underprivileged prospective students from gaining access to higher learning and training.

Foster and Matheson (1999), however, indicated that there is a complexity in the relationship between historical political experiences and protests. They demonstrate that when the group's historical experience becomes important for one's own experience, for example, when the individual becomes political, the inspiration to protest grows. And as a result individuals who experience both subjective dispossession and group deprivation are the most intensely inspired to participate in protest action (Foster & Matheson, 1999).

5.2.2. Students' Dissatisfaction and the Values of Protests

Although research participants agreed that protest actions are a way towards reaching their collective objectives, they equally expressed discontentment with the consequences of the protests. They proudly specified that members of student bodies were largely inspired to achieve fairness and showed the zeal to transform the perception of the university system on students' education. Furthermore, they pointed out that there was no other option better than being part of

student mass demonstration at the UKZN whenever negotiations with the University become futile.

The participants expressed dissatisfaction with the handling of information by the UKZN management and the proclamation of the SRC about the statistics of students who choose to protest.

Jabulani angrily expressed the following point of view:

Jabulani (*DASO*): They (SRC members) give an impression that the majority of students agree with them to boycott classes but this is not the reality. If you look at the number of people who are disrupting lectures it is a very small number, however the SRC always say the majority support the boycott of classes. This is misinformation which is misleading students.

Furthermore, he was ambivalent in his views about protests:

Jabulani (*DASO*): This thing of protesting is wasting our time but we don't have a choice we have to do it. Yes, the SRC comprises a small number of students. It is not necessarily students in the SRC who are affected by challenges but the majority of the students. When there is a deadlock like the disagreement between the student body and the management, the university management should come directly to the student body and hear the majority not few individuals.

Jabulani's response concurs with Badat (1999:38) that the key problem confronting student organisations and the student body is the prolonged academic breaks during the year and during students' examinations period.

Although there are some desired outcomes to protests such as achieving various student interests, sometimes there are unintended consequences such as arrests and victimisations that lead to violence, or even overt conflict. Nomalanga said that the university should treat students as vital

members of the university setting itself because students enable the university staff to earn their salaries. Nomalanga further expressed anger when she stated that the university does not grant the student body the freedom they deserve.

Nomalanga said the following:

Nomalanga (*SASCO*): The management must understand that the university or any other learning institution cannot exist without students. No students, no university. They are employed because of the availability of students. I think the other thing, which I can include, is student victimisation because we find an instance whereby if we protest the people who come and remove us from the strike are victimising us. If you had been in the strike there are those people called the red ants [security services] they come to disrupt the crowd. However, if you look whenever we strike it is the university which calls them. It is not that when we strike we want *amagwiya* [fat cakes] to be R1 or we want free *gwinyas* [fat cakes]. When we strike, we strike for our lives. However we become victimised as students and the cases will be opened and some will be excluded and all the drama that comes with that.

The intervention of security forces has been in existence since the apartheid government in South African universities (Cele, 2008; Badat, 1999; Reddy, 2004). Security forces interventions seem to anger students more because it hinders student protest achievements. Nkosinathi showed frustrations by revealing that a feeling of anger is necessary for achieving students' objectives. Nkosinathi feels deprived of learning opportunities by the university, which in turn diminishes the students' commitment to education.

A participant from NASMO said the following:

Ndosi (*NASMO*): All I can say is that there are more genuine issues behind the protests: it is not that people just strike, no! We are all here to study, but if they are not happy the circumstances dictate that we get away from studying. They

strike to get what they want. You don't hear at a particular point in time that student strike because they are not performing well. Even if students are not performing well it is because students don't have money, students are poor, you see. You come here and attend with an empty stomach. So to some extent it becomes a national issue, so we cannot expect the university to provide that so we are looking at the department of higher education to intervene.

Ndosi claimed that the university is not sympathetic to the future of students. In addition, the grievances of the protesting students are what make them see the need to take up collective action for themselves. The following participant emphasised that the strikes are not the first option to make their voices heard by the university management. Peaceful negotiation is preferred:

Nkosinathi (*ANCYL*): Our role to represent students forces us to participate in the protests. Our priority is to represent the student community. We are always open for achieving our demands through negotiations but if we don't succeed in that, we protest as a last resort. All its members lead our organisation. So when we embark into such critical action we ensure that the demands are genuine and justified.

The comment by Nkosinathi suggests that the desire of student movements is to reach their demands through whatever means possible. Although strikes cost students their academic time due to calendar extensions of academic learning activities, there are benefits of strike actions when they enable the realisation of desired results. Individuals who use protests as a method of expressing discontentment, tend to have a strong hope to bring change in their communities through protest actions (Boulding, 1965:51). Conversely, in the nonexistence of protest, the discontented society may go on for a long time without change (Boulding, 1965:51).

For example:

Sindi (*NASMO*): We could not fold arms and look at the university bashing us. No one led us to the protest: we led ourselves as affected students. Moreover, the student collective strike is the only language the university management can understand although strike is always a last resort. The university was trying to deprive student their hard won right so we could not betray the heroes of our struggle by selling their hard won battle for nothing. What we fight for is not going to benefit our members only. The victory is for the entire student population and not for small groups of students. Therefore, when we take them out we make them aware that the fight is on for everyone and not for us any as an organisation. Tomorrow if they are no longer privileged, for example, they will also benefit.

Obligation and commitment to their memberships, alongside the adherence to promises made on their respective manifestos form a strong motivation to influence student organisations to strike. Sindi acknowledged that it is a legally protected right to embark on a collective action to fix the problems students are facing. Student protests, on the other hand, may appear to be costly to both complying and protesting students even as it has been so demonstrated by the research participants' references to potential conflicts and complications during protests.

Nkosinathi shared the following:

Nkosinathi (*ANCYL*): Some students, I think, they are not even bothered by what management does to the poor students. They [other students] already have their own daily bread and we have nothing. In fact student from other racial groups¹⁴ do not protest for anything: they are fine with the decisions taken by the university because they are made to suit them.

During student protests, the entire situation of the disruption of classes is a disadvantage to all students since academic time is lost. Bongani angrily stated the following:

¹⁴ The aspects of race will be analysed later on in the chapter.

Bongani (*EFFSC*): Poverty and hunger for education caused us to strike. A hungry person is an angry person. You cannot expect an angry person to be calm, no! Anger leads people to act aggressively. However, the aggressiveness is for good benefit for the students and their future.

Nomalanga interestingly gave an opinion about the solution to the student protest at UKZN. She said the following:

Nomalanga (*SASCO*): The solution is a national solution: the university should not be autonomous because this makes the minister not to intervene. The other solution for us not protesting is to provide us with what we want. Another solution is for the university to give us what we want. We don't want to strike, trust me, we don't want to strike – it takes away our energy. I can't say that we are violent, we are not violent, the only thing we march however if they start shooting we have strong people on campus we have strong men who can do the thing. But we don't start; you know what the red ants do. They must give us what we want. We don't want this from our own selfish interest it is for the betterment of our future.

With regard to violence during collective protest action, Nomalanga recommended calm and non-reactionary interventions from the university along with the university's willingness to yield to student demands. This seems to be practically difficult for the university to do. In South Africa, political strains on university campuses during post-apartheid have become an accepted standard (Maseko, 1994; Cele et al., 2001; Cele, 2009). Even though diverse influences can account for student encounters, violence has become one of the common manifestations at student political levels. Ndebele (1997) acknowledges that the volatility between students and the universities is not expected to fade soon in South African society in spite of democracy. This dictates that it is crucial to find a lasting solution to the *status quo* at the university.

According to Ndosi the methods in which the university authorities handle the student strikes make students view the university decisions as selfish and unjust. Students feel that they are not adequately offered legal advice and are not treated fairly by the university system. Ndosi shared the following:

Ndosi (*NASMO*): The University is a bull, a big bull which wants to swallow all of us. Let me say this in legal perspective. The University challenges us legally, you see, whenever there are protests or something. The university is contracted with big law firms. So those people obviously the university does not allow student to get some sorts of legal assistance. When you go to court the statute says, you are allowed to be represented by a master's student. What is that? So the system, there is no justice. They say they have made the regulations, which regulate the protests, which are wish I don't want to go to details about, but the students don't know how to go about applying for protest action. And we don't have a legal assistance because this is a legal document. So this thing will never end anytime soon. I am sure come next year there will be strike. So it has become a norm.

Students' emotions of frustrations and anger seem to be the main motivator to embark on student protests at UKZN. This correlates with the argument by Van Zomeren et al. (2004) who maintains that the role of emotions has an important part to play in influencing protest actions. Furthermore, Levenson (1994) claims that the emotional state of individuals is a radical motivation to contest multiple adaptive reactions to social challenges. Still more, emotions are an important fragment of a self-regulatory system that aids individuals to notice and react to encounters. In addition, sensations in turn inspire specific reactions (Frijda et al., 1989). This means that there will always be grounds for protest in modern, politically diverse societies because there is constant displeasure. Student movements are rational; they weigh the costs and benefits from movement participation in protest action. This correlates with the argument of Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2010:2) that aggrieved "people care more about how they are treated than about outcomes".

The research participants' responses are in line with the argument of Gurr (1970) that people partake in protest to express their complaints obtained from relative dispossession, frustration or perceived unfairness. Furthermore based on the responses, the frustrations of some of the students at UKZN create tension between them and the university authorities which often lead to the boycott of classes and disruptions. The responses in this theme show that, there is apparently a general agreement about the nature of strategies used by various student formations to approach the challenges of students on campus. The protest situation seems to escalate attention in conflicts over social and racial identities of students at UKZN. This is a reflection of real world identity-based fights which seem to be reappearing among student communities. However, the way in which student protests occur is vital in that it may influence students to strategise about how students' challenges can be approached by the political student organisations and, eventually, how to prevent the challenges from recurring.

5.3. Students Views on Protests Freedom and Democracy

Research participants during interviews justified the collective actions at UKZN by claiming that they are practicing their democratic right. Research participants therefore, provided their understanding of protests and democracy. There are varying understandings of democracy by the research participants and the procedures which student movements follow when planning and implementing student protests. The research participants focused on the nature of student politics and protests in the democratic era. Bongani was reluctant to criminalise illegal student protests and instead tried to rationalise, and almost excuse, their actions:

Bongani (*EFFSC*): The protests are democratic. Majority strike and a very few attend classes. Democracy should be tested during strikes. People should be sometimes asked whether they approve the attending of classes while others are financially and academically excluded.

Bongani's understanding of democracy is correct but he could not put evidence on the statistics of the striking students and those who attend classes during the strikes. There are limitations on the actions of demonstrators who engage in civil disobedience in a peaceful manner – but

unlawful activities as a form of protest are not protected under the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) and those who engage in unlawful demonstrations can be arrested and prosecuted and sentenced. Demonstrators do not have the right to block a building entrance or physically harass other individuals.

Nomalanga seems to believe that the actions of the university are undemocratic and cruel; therefore, it cannot be justified in a democratic dispensation. The university authorities, some participants argued, should be more understanding and flexible and not use the former government's tactics:

Nomalanga (*SASCO*): The fact of the matter is that as students we are not free. There is no justice in this university. Even if you go to the media and report, [that] you feel like you are mistreated... by the university and report it [the mistreatment] to the media ...you will have a case.

The following participant raised a question:

Ndosi (*NASMO*): Where is the freedom of expression?

In addition Jabulani expressed his thoughts on student protests and democracy, and went further to suggest that democracy gives students a number of options to resolve conflicts. The participant then stated that these other options were to be considered as well, as alternatives to protest actions:

Jabulani (*DASO*): Democracy gives us as students a number of options to resolve conflict democratically and it must not lose its meaning to suit our agendas. I protest because it is my democratic and constitutional right. The university is denying us of rights to free education and a right to protest. Yes, the university always says the protest should be peaceful and we must not protest if not granted permission. I do agree with that but the peaceful protest should be on a mutual understanding between the university management and the student community.

This points out that there is a notable rise in expectations of positive contributions by the democratic government in the higher education system. The following participant seems to believe that the actions of the university are undemocratic and cruel which cannot be justified in a democratic dispensation.

Ndosi believes that the student situation should be better than it is now. He narrates the following:

Ndosi (*NASMO*): We should not be suffering at this point in time. We must not forget that the things that happened during apartheid affect us. Therefore, what is happening now are the things which are brought by apartheid. So the ANC can't wake up and fix it overnight. I think we will get there but I think the pace of getting there should be faster.

However, Bheki had contradictory feelings about protest in democratic era. He responded:

Bheki (*SADESMO*): We are now democratic and our protests are protected by our constitution. When we organise the student masses for protest we are not committing criminal act, not at all. We know what we are doing. I don't think it is wise for the university management to violently disperse us when we are exercising our legal right.

The following SASCO participant does not favour the prescribed university procedure to be followed when applying for permission to strike because they feel that they are illegitimate and unfair. There are certain matters that require immediate attention which the university deliberately ignores in the name of adhering to various rules or procedures. The institution is also seen as biased toward the university although students expect the proctor to protect the student body. For example:

Nomalanga (*SASCO*): The rules say that if you want to protest you have to give them a notice of a week before the protest. Again, there is an issue of student sleeping on the street so they are supposed to sleep on the street and then write a letter to the proctor saying that you intend to strike for those issues. The fact that the university is autonomous is something wrong because the government cannot intervene in those issues. The minister of higher education should do something about this because it will continue happening over and over again because nobody is protected.

It is true that the right to protest action is protected by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108, 1996). However, the general rule is that free speech cannot take place on private property without the consensus of the property owner. Furthermore, protestors do not have the right to remain on a property after being told to leave by the property owner or authorities (The Constitution, Act 108, 1996).

Nkosinathi (*ANCYL*): The struggle continues. The transition to democracy does not mean that we have to stop fighting for our rights. I believe that it is very possible to have the constitution and the best democracy in the whole world... and practice the dictatorship tendencies. If you look at South Africa carefully, you may find out that it is true that many institutions including universities and the government itself does not respect the constitution. I believe that the university know and understand what the constitution of South Africa says about right to freedom of association and the right to protests. The matter is that our university is deliberately not willing to follow what is right.

The responses from the research participants in this subtheme indicate that, members of student movements at Howard College campus have various views on the legitimacy of protest in a democratic South Africa. Cele (2008) suggests that student protests should be viewed as critical in developing a political and social mindfulness of society which is necessary as a mobilisation instrument to promote, expand and protect democracy and freedom of citizens. For example, some responses from the participants refer to democracy as a protector: an indication of an

acquired understanding of the meaning of democracy. They seem to wrongfully justify their unauthorised collective actions in the name of democracy and freedom. Their views therefore might be caused by the fact that in the democratic South Africa, repressive laws on student politics and protests as well as over education had been relaxed to such a degree that unendorsed student-group protests occur at universities in the entire country (Oxlund, 2010). Furthermore, student movements after the dawn of democracy in South Africa are facing serious problems such as diminishing resources, nonexistence of excellent and visionary governance, deterioration of membership, waning political consciousness, and opportunism (Cebekhulu et al., 2006).

The issue of democracy emerged as a key feature in the research participants responses when speaking about the government who they rightfully believe were voted by the majority of voters to be in power. They claimed that the government is not getting it right when it comes to caring for the voters. Nevertheless, there was considerable concern by the students about what the university does during strikes. Regardless of the fact that it is a democratic and constitutional *right* to protest and picket, students seem to believe that the actions of the university are undemocratic and cruel. Therefore, they think that the university management's decisions cannot be justified in a democratic dispensation. When student movements and groups are under attack with the intention of preventing their radical political and collective influence to academic as well as societal environments, democracy and freedom are equally at jeopardy because the targeting of students activism means that other societal groups may be embattled in a similar way (Asmail, *opendemocracy*, 12 September 2014).

5.4. The Legacy of Student Movements' Activities

During interviews, I probed research participants to determine what inheritance the past identity politics left to the current students in dealing with the challenges of identity that exceeds the narrow designs of racial classification. Furthermore, it was to explore whether the current student politics reflect the past characteristics of student political organisations which were active before democracy in South Africa. The reason for these questions was in order to determine if the research participants regarded themselves and members of their organisations as conservatives, or conversely as a progressive student generation.

Based on the current occurrences of protests Nomalanga thinks that the manner in which the university treats students leads to a forceful reaction. For example, she shared the following:

Nomalanga (*SASCO*): Student movements have played a very critical role. I think from those people, we have learned to fight at all costs. I think the apartheid regime made them to unite to fight against the apartheid system so even now the current system of the university makes us to unite. We have gained so much from the organisations back then.

The response shows that Nomalanga seemed to be aware of the fact that the students during apartheid were segregated by the policies of the apartheid regime. Black university students were motivated to unite against their oppressor: the apartheid regime of South Africa (Stubbs, 1987; Badat, 1999). The anger overlapped beyond student educational institutions to the external environment (Badat, 1999). Racial identity as a social construction was reinforced for students to fight together as a black race (Badat, 1999). Fighting for student rights is one of the things current student movements seem to be emulating from the student organisations during apartheid. They clearly indicate that the fight against the national government was justifiable for the students of that time to achieve their freedom. The current student strikes are a continuation of the same struggles of those student movements. Furthermore, during the apartheid era, some student structures, at mostly black universities, were socially disjointed and incoherent in their anticipated objectives (Koen, et al, 2006).

Nomalanga interestingly provided a comparison of the current student politics and the one which occurred during the period when BCM was active:

Nomalanga (*SASCO*): ...And comparing it to the former students like Steve Biko they also experienced such things; they used to be victimised by the person of the different race but at this point in time you get victimised by the person of your colour due to socio-economic factors. The fact that you can't afford to pay for your fees you become victimised. So now, it is no longer a race issue but it is more of socioeconomic matter.

It is factual that the excessively ruthless force applied by the police against peaceful university student protests contributed in some way to student confrontations during apartheid period (Reddy, 2004:26). The treatment of black students and the noticeably oppressive control prevailing at black universities, as opposed to the established white universities, frustrated black students (Reddy, 2004:19).

During the BCM period in black universities, students collaborated for political mobilisation and truly effective mass protest.

A participant from SADESMO reflected:

Bheki (*SADESMO*): As I said before nothing has changed. Students were not happy during apartheid and even now we are not happy. So nothing has changed. What has changed is, yes, that we have freedom of speech now according to the constitution. However, what is the use if you raise a concern and no one listens to you. What does that tell you? Student politics of today and that of the pre-democratic South Africa is the same but with a slight difference in the fact that now it is our own democratically elected government which is oppressing us. Fighting spirit – that is all I can say we as students of today have inherited from the past generations of students. The unity in my view is not based on colour or whatever type of identity. Money has power to unite and divide people.

Remarkably, an ANCYL participant acknowledged that students behaved according to the circumstances of that time. Referring to the character of students involved in the 1976 uprising, who were faced with the wrath of the Apartheid regime which influenced their actions. The current student movement campaigns are inspired by the actions of those in the times of apartheid. Students follow the steps of their predecessors when confronting their perceived enemy.

For example:

Nkosinathi (*ANCYL*): Students of today fight for their rights and [do so] peacefully, but if the management becomes aggressive, we become stubborn too. The university management can't keep pushing us around and [we] keep quiet. We have to be strong and fight. The fighting spirit of the previous generation of students inspires us significantly. June 16 [1976] for example student fought for the educational right and we can't allow their deaths and sufferings to be in vain. We have to take it forward. The problem is not specifically the university. It is the department of Higher education. Nothing has changed to be exact.

It is fascinating, though, that those research participants sometimes found it suitable to use hostile protests methods to raise their complaints just like student movements protest methods during the BCM period.

This is further alluded to by Nomalanga who shared the following:

Nomalanga (*SASCO*): Even during those times of Steve Biko, if you follow the thing the white men started the shooting. You can't start shooting at me knowing that I don't even have a bullet proof what do you expect me to do – obviously I'm gonna throw a stone. It is usually them who start shooting at us. The way in which the university offers its services like registration dates. It is not about UKZN: students at Mangosuthu [University of Technology], TUT [Tshwane University of Technology]¹⁵ and some students die. As students we can't want to die for nothing, we cannot burn library for nothing.

The view of Nomalanga supports the arguments by Koen et al. (2006:405) that the major distress of the majority of underprivileged black university learners is not whether universities will accept them or not. The main distress of students in the entire country is whether the university

¹⁵ Mangosuthu University of Technology and Tshwane University of Technology are part of a group of institutions that appear under institutions of higher learning in South Africa (Bunting et al., 2010).

students –will cope academically and whether their financial security is sufficient to enable them to complete their studies”.

Additionally, Bongani argued that the university authorities should be more understanding and flexible and not use the old government tactics:

Bongani (*EFFSC*): There is no change student show their anger through strikes and rebellion to the exploitative system. They applied violence when necessary, and we do that same. They were resilient we are also resilient. Those who are in authority today, just like the apartheid regime, prevent us our right to picket and protest for our rights.

The participant found the previous dispensation’s methods of operation still relevant in today’s challenges in higher education institutions. For example, Bongani shared the following thought:

Bongani (*EFFSC*): The role is the same as the one of the students who played a role in the country’s revolution before democracy. The role is to fight and fight and fight until you win all the battles. We inherited the fighting spirit. Absolutely, we inherited the sufferings such as deprivation of free education, oppression and discrimination. Our organisation was not in existence during apartheid and of course during transition but we are motivated by the past generations of students who laid a solid foundation for freedom for us. They were students who were determined to fight to the end in difficult situation. However, we are taking the baton forward. We stand for their cause and their determination inspires us to fight for the betterment of the majority of our students.

Generally, as Badat (1999) explains, student movements during apartheid were militant and robust in their mass actions. It was undoubtedly because of the wrath of the apartheid regime and its denial to bring forward a democratic dispensation. The aggressiveness of student movements during mobilisation of protests actions seems to persist during the current dispensation although

the apartheid system of governing has collapsed. However, Jabulani said his movement does not always emulate robust methods of the pre-1994 student movements:

Jabulani (*DASO*): So we don't have to copycat all methods of action used by student political movements which were active during the apartheid period in South Africa. The times have changed because now we don't fight the illegitimacy of the regime but what the government is doing to us as students. The government must not treat education as a privilege, no. It is a right and a constitutional right in this country.

Jabulani does not think that using tactics similar to the ones which were used by the former student movements are not always appropriate in present times. There are many changes in the challenges facing university students. For example, Jansen notes the diminishing levels of condemnation directed at government within higher education unlike during the anti-apartheid period where a robust and steady disapproval was heard in South African higher education institutions –against the apartheid state and education system” (Jansen, 2003:11). Currently, student leaders are mandated by the rules, to focus on issues affecting the student body such as disciplinary matters (Jansen, 2003:11). In addition, student leaders usually have authorised control over numerous features of student life unlike during the apartheid government period (Love & Miller, 2003).

Sindi shares a thought about the legacy of student movements with regards to the matter of unity:

Sindi (*NASMO*): I think during apartheid race was a uniting factor which divided student community of that time. Look blacks were deprived of their basic right treated as second class or third class citizens. Now we are equal as human beings. Nevertheless, there is a long way to go to realize the equality practically. Currently, many students are motivated by political ambitions and destabilise the student academic programs. Student movements take orders from their mother bodies and they cannot defy those orders because they will reap the reward from

their masters. This was not the issues in the pre-democratic era student fought for justice and equal rights.

Surprisingly Sindi's movement is an affiliate of a political party, NFP, however she did not indicate whether the NFP influence NASMO members to fulfil their personal ambitions. The response supports the findings by Muya (2014) that there is an influence in university student politics by political parties. In his findings, Muya (2014) reports that political parties which are mother bodies control and influence decisions of their student movements affiliates sometimes for reasons which are not beneficial to the student communities.

A participant from the SCF said her movement carries on the legacy of its own predecessors and not combined legacies of other student movements:

Bonginkosi (*SCF*): Our movement had been in existence for many decades in South Africa and among all races. During apartheid years, I acknowledge that, the socio-political situation was not satisfactory to people of other races due to the racial and political designs of that period; however, our members were vocal about the atrocities and they called for viable solutions to all those problems. That is what we do even in the current situation here on campus.

The data analysed under this theme has revealed the views of political students' organisations on how they carry on legacies of the political student organisations which were active before democracy in South Africa. In addition, the similarities and differences of student movements' operations were detected in this theme. The factors common to student movements of both the apartheid period and those of today identified in this theme were frustrations, passion, and aggressiveness.

The section argues that current student protests, in fact, do not significantly vary from their protesting predecessors. Compared to the students of the apartheid era, former disadvantaged racial groups undeniably enjoy a higher standard of living and better economic opportunities as enshrined in the constitution (Seekings, at, al., 2005; Seekings, 2008). However, evidence shows

that they share similar characteristics of rationality as well as related grievances. Therefore, the persistence of protests since apartheid can be attributed to a persistence of the challenges which students continue to face of political grievances. If students' conditions remain largely unchanged, the factors for sparking student protests during the apartheid era will continue to spark more student protests in the democratic era.

5.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the research results show the variations and similarities in students' opinions and experiences of student protests and their identities. It is evident that lack of student funding is a major cause of student protests due to the socioeconomic backgrounds from which students originate. This provokes student movements to mobilise and use protests as a means to express their anger against the university authorities. This scenario indicates that if the situation fails to change; student movements will continue to use protest as an important tactical method to rally students and bring awareness to the student community about their environment and the need to fight for their fundamental rights.

CHAPTER 6

STUDENTS' MOBILISATION PROCESS, SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND, UNITY AND IDENTITY

6.1. Introduction

This chapter closely scrutinises a number of key issues involved in student mobilisation for protests at UKZN. After questioning the research participants about student mobilisation for protests, a number of areas appeared to be significant. These are, mobilisation strategies for student protest; the impact of social; political and economic backgrounds on student politics and social identities; and external and internal student movements' conditions and influences. This chapter deliberates and analyses these areas in details.

6.2. Mobilisation Strategies for Student Protest at UKZN

During student protests, student movement leaders are primarily responsible for the mobilisation of protest action. Student political movements are diverse although their challenges are similar on campus. I aimed to explore in this research the mechanisms used by the leaders of student political organisations and the SRC officials to mobilise students. In addition, the study also aims to examine the role of self-categorisation and social identification of students involved in protests at UKZN Howard College campus focusing on how student movements mobilise during the protests.

Research participants were asked how their movements go about mobilising students for protest action at Howard College campus. The purpose of asking the question was to probe whether the vision of students' organizations incorporates any unifying plan before and during student mobilisation for protests compared to the racially motivated student protest mobilisation of the apartheid period. This theme comprises views and experiences of students in mobilisation for protests, student mobilisation processes as well as the purpose of student mobilisation within the academic community.

After being asked the question on mobilisation methods for student protest, some research participants indicated the relevance of social network platforms on mobilising the student population for protests. Mobilisation may occur by initially gathering very few students to the open space of campus to start a protest.

For example:

Nkosinathi (*ANCYL*): We mobilise through social networks. We write those issues. Sometimes the students are the ones who take them to the streets and say let's fight about it. So it can be through social networks and can be through caucuses. We mobilise through communication we have a good and well-planned propaganda to communicate with our members and the entire student community. Those who are not willing to join our cause we welcome that but we can't allow student go and study while we are out fighting for our rights. We mobilise through singing and making our voice heard by all students in campus. The technology is simplifying things for us.

The response by Nkosinathi indicates that the role of social networks is of great importance in student mobilisation for protests. In the protest mobilisation process, discussions about politics within networks intensify efficiency and turn individual grievances into collective grievances and group-based wrath, which as a result, turns into protest involvement (Klandermans, 1997). During protests, some students especially those who choose to attend classes are co-opted through intimidation and interruptions. Meetings and caucuses do not occur to discuss race but the issues affecting the organization. Mobilisation in this regard promotes unity among people of diverse races in the university.

The *ANCYL* stressed the relevance of student movements' caucuses in mobilisation:

Sindi (*NASMO*): Our organisation is a matured organisation and we are popular in this university and all over the country. It is not difficult for us to mobilise students for protests. We have members in the SRC but we also have our own

caucuses to give a mandate to the SRC. This makes us influential in mobilising directly and indirectly through the SRC. We mobilise by agreeing in our caucuses the SRC plays a very critical role as it comprises the members from the diverse student movements. For strikes, we mobilise via putting notices on notice boards and face-to-face meeting with the student community.

However, in some situations, according to (Cele, 2008) student bodies drive student mobilisation at the SRC level on the ground and not necessarily the leadership of student movements through meetings and discussions. In addition, in mobilisation for protests, Cele (2008) argues that student protests be influenced by the nature of the connection between the student movement leadership and the student body. On some occasions, the student body starts and forces the student leadership into protest activities, occasionally, in contradiction of the very same resolutions taken with the consensus of student movement leadership.

Bongani further adds that it is vital for his movement to show its existence through mobilising masses for protests. However, he stated that his movement is always obstructed in terms of communicating with its membership by its perceived rival student movements, SASCO. He complained that other student movements make it difficult for them to use the noticeboards on the campus to communicate with its membership.

For example:

Bongani (*EFFSC*): We have a Facebook page, which we use to communicate and highlight critical issues affecting students on this campus as well as all other university campuses in the country. If any party is dedicated to the cause, which is determined to help students, then we join and expect others to join us if we embark on the protests, which are aimed at achieving the best for all students in this university. We don't constantly use notice boards which are allocated here on campus because we know [that] we have enemies here on campus who sometimes

remove our notices from notice boards.¹⁶ We even have difficulties sometimes in getting endorsement from the SASCO led SRC. We can't bother by going to the SRC and ask them to approve our adverts and notices. They don't represent students [the student body] they just represent themselves. The social network is the only useful platform for our movement members to communicate and share views. As student leaders we have to mobilise students for protest action here on campus just like at any other university. If we don't then students will mobilise themselves and that will render our existence irrelevant as student leaders as well as our existence as student organizations.

There are notice boards, which are commonly utilised as a platform for student communication at Howard College campus. All student communiques have to be officially be approved by the SRC by using the sign of a rubber stamp before they are displayed on the notice boards. It is crucial to notice the student body in advance through, for example the campus newspaper, the –ampus bloggers of note, the local newspaper, the local news station, local radios, and any other media” (McCobin, et al., 2009:5). When mobilising students for protests it is not just shouting your intentions onto deaf ears, students have to pay attention to the protest proposals and the mobiliser has to raise issues which are significant and applicable to them (McCobin, et al., 2009:2). In addition: The movement leaders through networks recruit students for protest; commitment is maintained by building a collective identity and continuing to encourage social interactions between discontent students groups.

The student movements might be united as a matter of agreement in their caucuses, however, the student body as a whole appears divided as some students attend classes while others are boycotting and disrupting them. It seems easier for student movements to mobilise angry and affected students than recruiting students who are not affected. In addition, members of student movements are aware of the perceived benefits of their mobilisation for collective protests.

Some student movements indicated that race was not a factor in making students unite or divide presently at UKZN, for example, Nomalanga stated:

¹⁶ Notice boards are designated places at the Howard College Campus used for publicising advertisements and posting notices after acquiring authorisation from the university SRC.

Nomalanga (*SASCO*): Now, post 1994 the issues of mobilisation in terms of race and the way it appears on campus is more difficult because the issues that affect the Indians and the issues that affect the white people are not the same as issues that affect the black people because of the issues of economic conditions.

This is a very important finding. This response suggests that the research participant during student protest views protest participants in terms of their socioeconomic conditions. This means that racial and social categorisation manifest during protest due to the intensified mobilisation. Therefore, socioeconomic condition creates the identity. The current student socioeconomic condition and that of the past construct an identity as Parker and Lynn (2002) suggest. The differences in the material circumstances on the university grounds during apartheid created another basis for collective black student identification and mobilisation (Badat, 2009). The conditions at black universities, therefore, contributed to the politicisation of black university students (Reddy, 2004:19).

Similar to Nomalanga's response, a participant belonging to NASMO emphasised that his movement does not consider race as an issue during mobilisation for protests:

Ndosi (*NASMO*): I think the whole issues behind the protest actions are issues that speak to the individuals who are affected at a particular point of time. Therefore, I would not associate this with the racial issue *per se*. It depends on the structure of the organisation as a whole. If the university comes up with something to the SRC the SRC will go back to its constituency to report the matter at hand. I don't know how SASCO does but I am responding in terms of NASMO that it is not the leadership that will decide because the deployed by the organization [to the UKZN SRC]. So to some extent sometimes we vote but it depends on the issue at hand we discuss all parties SASCO, NASMO, and all that, we receive the mandate from the ground. What happens we invite all the student body to report the issues and invite the way forward at that time we have exhausted and all that. That is how the protest action results.

Bheki indicated that his movements mobilise student masses for protests in terms of putting forward objectives to the students for discussions and deliberating on the way forward without discussing racial matters, for example:

Bheki (*SADESMO*): We mobilise protests through our meetings and by also physically going around and talk to other students about our aim and manifestos in education. We don't mobilise in terms of race no, we put our mission and objectives on the ground and we don't force any one as everyone has a right to be a member of any organization of his or her choice.

Bheki as well thinks that race is irrelevant in mobilisation for student protests and his movement does not consider race as an issue in mobilisation:

Bheki (*SADESMO*): Look now even some black students go and attend classes while others are protesting. What does that tells you. Race is not an issue. What matters is whether you are affected or not. Yes I am black my organisation is not defined in terms of colour. During the protest we take decision as a whole every member is obliged to follow the decisions taken by the organisation. The aim is not just to disrupt the classes but to let our students be in solidarity with us and boycott classes as we do.

The numerical strength of directly affected students determines the strength of the mobilised student masses. The research participants link the students who attend the classes to the middle class, the group, which it is almost impossible to mobilise for protests. However, it is difficult for student movements to persuade students who are financially unaffected during the mobilisation campaign to participate in collective action. It is interesting and important to note, some scholars attempt to address the question; why do some angry individuals become mobilised, while it is impossible to mobilise other aggrieved individuals. Sociologists and political scientists suggest accessibility to resources (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) and the availability of political opportunities (McAdam, 1982) as significant to protest mobilisation. Simon et al. (1998) and Stryker et al.

(2000) report that the more individuals categorise themselves with a particular collective group the more they are persuaded to protest on behalf of that collective group,

Bonginkosi argued that while race created conflict in the past, it should however be disregarded in students' mobilisation for protests presently. Explaining further that race based mobilisation historically was as a result of the policies of the day which made it so:

Bonginkosi (*SCF*): Yes, I agree with the fact that identity plays a role in every political movement but it should not make any member to be in different positions just because of colour or race. You see, the past generation was not united by the fact that they shared the same colour not. It was because the policies of the day grouped them in terms of race and they had to fight as a group. Imagine if the policies divided them in terms of geographical locations and not in terms of race. This thing of fighting as a racial group should not have happened.

In addition:

Bonginkosi (*SCF*): As a Christian movement, we don't hold mass meetings to disrupt academic activities; however, students who are members of our movements do hold their own mass meeting in their respective movements. We always encourage unity among students here on campus.

The research results and analysis focused on the current mobilisation strategies stressing the mass meetings, party caucuses and the use of media and social network platforms. These mobilisation methods make information go around much smoother and quicker. Consequently, student masses can be mobilised for a collective action efficiently and effectively on campus. The responses specify that students assign themselves to particular group. Students develop and convey their values through collaboration and disassociating themselves from other groups. Furthermore, students act toward the confronted problems on the basis not of their actual strength, but of the values, which matters for them. Because values develop through collaboration and interface, identity plays a dominant part (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Identities

locate students in social space by virtue of the relationships that these identities involve, and are, themselves, codes whose values differ across individuals and circumstances (Nuttbrock & Freudiger, 1991).

6.3. The Impact of Social, Political and Economic Backgrounds on Student Politics and Social Identities at Howard College Campus

I probed the research participants on the effects of the socio-political and socioeconomic circumstances on student politics identity and protests at Howard College campus. This category focuses on how the social, political, and economic disparities as well as experiences of the past impacts on social identities of students at UKZN Howard College campus. Students at UKZN come from diverse social, political and economic backgrounds and this makes it interesting to find out how this affects their interaction at university. The persistence of student strikes and protests after the end of apartheid deserves serious attention. Student identities are probed in their multifaceted political and economic contexts by considering the history of student politics and protests at UKZN. From the participants' responses in this category the following three themes emerged:

6.3.1. Student's Racial Background and Social Identities

It is crucial to note in this subtheme that racial or segregation practices existed and have been considered suitable during apartheid. Furthermore, they were safeguarded by the system of tradition and culture (Seekings, 2008; Koen et al., 2006). South Africa currently has no university specifically allocated for a particular race or ethnic group. Rather, universities provide for academic services to all South Africans and international students (Nzimande, 2014).

Nomalanga (*SASCO*): As SASCO, we can say that our members are not perfect but, at the end of the day, we want all students to unite: it is student interest that we want from time to time. So whenever there is a problem or there is an issue you find all students striking. You don't find only SASCO striking but you find all student formation coming together to strike and fight that issue. I think the oppression made us to unite with Asian [Indian] people [students]. Many people

wanted to come on board [during apartheid] to fight the apartheid regime. Regardless of whether you are an Indian [student] or not we had to come together to fight this thing. Black people are not so democratic [advantaged] in terms of economic background. It was good for us to unite and fight against them. I think it is more of an economic issue now than it was during the apartheid.

Due to the apartheid education system, a huge majority of students‘ presently enrolling at South Africa universities were from poor socioeconomic backgrounds and are students of a racial group at a very high risk of being victims of financial exclusions (Oxlund, 2010). The following statement which a NASMO participant gave, supports this finding:

Ndosi (*NASMO*): However it becomes a racial issue because if you can see now, most of the people who are affected now by the system are mostly those people from the historically disadvantage background. So they are always those groups of people who were affected during the apartheid period. If you can backtrack, you can see that they are those people who are affected by scars from apartheid. Generally, I would say it is not a racial issue but is an issue of who are affected in that particular point in time. Yes, we have inherited from the organisations, which were active during apartheid period. Just to add I think that is one of the challenges that we have the gap between the rich and the poor. It is a national issue. You can even see in our institution here where some [students] cannot manage to pay the institution whereas some can afford to pay for their own education. Those people who cannot afford fight very hard [it is] because those are not in the same position with those so it is very hard for them to fight for something that does not affect them. That is why you will sometimes find that students who are protesting go as far as disrupting the lectures and...so there is a very big gap between the rich and the poor so it is the challenge. So in the future, we may see the repeat of the same issue over and over again so it is difficult to get them to join or to be in the same tune.

Ndosi's response supports the arguments that people belonging to a disadvantaged socioeconomic groups can experience a diversity of consequences such as "less economic opportunity, lack of access to quality education" (Stummer & Simon, 2004:59). There is also a noticeable group of students in South African universities from the emerging black middle class who are not faced with huge financial problems of the sort that trigger most student protests and boycotts (Cele, 2009:73). Bonginkosi gave views and experiences on the impact of economic backgrounds on students' unity:

Bonginkosi (*SCF*): Yes as students, we come from different economic backgrounds and that affects the situation here on campus. What I have observed is that there is not enough sympathy from some well background [economic advantaged] students here on this campus. I'm not saying that students must disrupt whole attending classes, no, those who are financially advantaged should feel for those in need and help to come with a solution and show good part of them to the poor.

Bonginkosi's response suggests the notion that racial consciousness still exists among students at the university as this is linked to class. For example, there is an agreement that, although race played a critical role in uniting black students when fighting for democracy and equal treatment of all students from all races in the current dispensation, socioeconomic factors are the main issues which make students take collective action to strike.

Bongani shared a similar view:

Bongani (*EFFCS*): We are divided not by the mere fact that we are people of different races, no; it is because some students from particular races are economically advantaged, look at whites they enjoy everything here and focus on their on education without any stress.¹⁷

¹⁷ The view mentioned by the participant was later displayed on a defaced statue of King George at Howard College Campus in 2015, four months after the interview. A placard placed on the statue had the words 'stop white privilege' written on it (Niekerk, *City Press*. 26 March 2015).//www.citypress.co.za/news/end-white-privilege-say-students-who-defaced-statue-at-ukzn/. See Appendix B

In general, research participants emphasised in their views that there were differences between students resulting from students' poor socioeconomic backgrounds and the middle class backgrounds which led to barriers being built between students groups. The overall responses support the argument of Stinson (2009:62) that socio-economic realities are important determinants of individual identity because they are the most basic and insistent expressions of everyday personal existence. Socioeconomic realities "are the constant and ever-present factors of life upon which social relationships, mutual concerns, shared ideas and collective actions are based" (Stinson, 2009:62).

6.3.2. Socialism as a Solution to Student Protests

During the interviews, some research participants embraced socialism as a solution to the university problems because they believed that this could undoubtedly bring student affairs to normality. This study has identified a number of reasons raised by the interviewees on the benefits of socialism. However, this is the responsibility of government and it is beyond the control of universities. Economic deprivation among black students is debatably not only a result of capitalism but of historically economic segregation of blacks during apartheid which was built on the back of capitalism. There are economic factors which need to be addressed for better outcomes in the economic lives of many students.

The research participants from SASCO, EFFSC and the ANCYL recommended that the adoption of socialism could be a permanent solution to the persisting disturbances. They generally view capitalism as the enemy of the poor and causes the students socioeconomic situation to deteriorate further. The current economic system makes them feel abandoned by the government.

Xolisile stated that capitalism in South Africa hinders the possibility of free education:

Xolisile (*SASCO*): If people take education seriously these are the issues that should be discussed in parliament because the issue of free education will

determine where we are going because we have in this country capable people who can run this country and bring about change. If we have a free education this country people who are capable of change will be equipped with whatever things they will be equipped with. So the issue of free education is ... we are in capitalism once again. However, can we nationalise in a capitalist country. No, we can't. We are in a capitalist state so we can't nationalize, *akere* [can we]?

Bongani from EFFSC pushes for the adoption of socialism by the government as a solution to strikes and as a tool to be used as a unifier of the student community.

For example, the participant shared the following:

Bongani (*EFFSC*): Socialism in education is the future. In fact, the current system is not working for the poor students but favours few economically privileged students. Socialism and free education is the solution.

In addition:

Nkosinathi (*ANCYL*): All we want is socialism. It is capitalism, which is causing all this things. Look, we do pay tax why don't we get free education. The capitalist system cannot be justified. As long as you are privileged, you won't get concerned about capitalism.

Interestingly all research participants who gave views on ideology embrace socialism. This is not surprising since the opposite ideology; capitalism is regarded as an originator of socioeconomic inequities in societies (Schumpeter, 1976). Surprisingly, during the interviews, research participants did not regard the use of ideology to mobilise student community for protests. However, there was a common consensus among research participants that the current government should provide required resources in universities.

6.3.3. Impact of Students' Identities and Current Student Challenges on Student Unity

The data in this section reveals how students adopt the identity of the group they have regarded themselves as belonging to. Students who manage to pay tuition fees tend to go to classes when others are boycotting the classes. Therefore, if for example, a deprived student has categorised him/herself as a victim of financial exclusion, the chances are that the student will accept the identity of a victimised student and begin to join the protesting group. As a result, a student can act in the ways he/she believes affected students act and adapt to the norms of that particular group as Hogg et al. (1995) suggest.

Although some participants espoused their citizenship to South Africa and said that it was not relevant to use other identities such as ethnicity, some respondents were dismayed by the lack of support for any action by other students of different race groups at the university which undermined and deprived blacks of what is rightfully theirs such as education. For example, a SASCO participant said:

Nomalanga (*SASCO*): Our institution is multi-racial institution I think every student registered here is from a different race. Our leaders are elected to represent all students I think our politics is open for everyone regardless of whether you are black or Indian or whatever.

Nomalanga's response indicated that their organisations are non-racial and accept all students to be bona fide members. This would have been difficult during apartheid (Yarwood, 2005). It is therefore apparent that student movements at UKZN are committed to unite people of different races by not discriminating against students from other races to join the movements.

Bheki shared the following:

Bheki (*SADESMO*): Our movement is non-racial: we don't have races we have members. Colour or gender is not a serious matter in our organisation. During conflict, we approach that particular conflict in the name of our movement not as

a particular race. However if you ask my identity outside the movement, I will not identify myself in the name of the movements but, as my own race. It is crucial to identify yourself using organisational identity. The university is a multi-racial institution, so is our organisation. At organisational level, all of us are members and not black or white members. I am a South African, black, and I am Zulu but what is important is that I am a human being and a student.

Bheki's response can be analysed by using a research findings about identities in Cape Town noted by Seekings et al. (2005), which shows that the manner in which individuals categorise themselves. According to that research finding, only a small number of South Africans affirm the apartheid-era categories such as African or black, white, coloured and Indian. In other words, there is a close connection between endorsed apartheid-era racial categorisation, and post-apartheid self-categorisation by other individuals (Seekings et al., 2005). That is, when questioned on how South Africans primarily identify themselves, they frequently say they are South African (Grossberg et al., 2006). Increasingly, many people in South Africa are likely to identify themselves by their socioeconomic status such as working class, middle class, and under-privilege. Many use non-racial, ethnic as well as religious identities (Sikwebu, 2008).

Bongani, regarding student unity at UKZN, indicated that the relationship between the EFFSC and other student movements was rarely good. Furthermore, Bongani affirmed the EFFSC as the only genuine student organisation:

Bongani (*EFFSC*): Their student wings have serious differences. The relationship [between EFFSC and other student movements] is good sometimes but we differ in many things. SASCO is just a puppet of the ANC. All student movements are scared of us. We are the only radical and relevant political movement because we raise genuine issues here at this university and nationally. Honestly, the relationship between us and other student political organisations is not always smooth.

Bongani further stated that the idea of how he identified himself in intergroup contexts is not crucial to his own place in society. This is in line with the view that the tendency to view groups as different from ones own may lead to bad attitudes, stereotyping and discourage group cohesion with the ‘_out-group’ (Hogg, 2001; Turner, 1982). Jabulani also agreed that the relationship between itself and other student movements is healthy during student protests, but angrily complained about the treatment of DASO by other student movements.

Jabulani narrated the following:

Jabulani (*DASO*): Other people perceive the unity between us as DASO and other students during strikes as good, but it is not. We know as DASO that you cannot go on strike without a valid permission to do so. No, you cannot. That makes the strike illegal. Another thing is that you cannot go on strike while the negotiation is taking place. If you do that, it means you are negotiating in bad faith. Many strikes happened in this university had been illegal and largely fruitless because student movements in this institution do not understand student politics and they do not have strategies to convince the university management to agree to their demands. We cannot forge a relationship with organisations of shenanigans who do not listen to other student movements such as ours. We had been fighting for recognition here on campus for years, the university management rejected us, and the SASCO led SRC. The bottom line is our relationship with ANC aligned student organizations is sour. We don't have noteworthy problems with other organizations.

Jabulani acknowledged that many students are too poor to pay university fees. He further shared a view that this influences the character of interaction of students on campus:

Jabulani (*DASO*): Economy is still in the hands of the few, and majority of people is still poor. Look how many blacks do you see in this café¹⁸ only few.

¹⁸ UKZN café refers to a tuck shop/kiosk/coffee shop situated next to Malherbe Library at Howard College campus. A research participant refers to it during an interview: at that moment, different people who were interacting

Prior research by Pattman (2010:966) indicates that at UKZN Howard College Campus, the types of secondary schools students studied prior to university mainly influenced the key racial categorisation. Students socially categorised themselves not as black or white but in terms of schools and the type of home environment, township or rural schools they emanated from. Furthermore, in his findings Pattman (2010:966) reports that black and Indians students who had been to white schools were accused of trying to behave like white people as they are ‘more advanced’ than the township and rural blacks. He further notes the lack of integration between black and white students, and students in the formerly white schools at the University – and even notes the divisions between black students themselves. He surmises that at UKZN, on the Howard College Campus, these were represented characteristically and immensely in the division of the “Coconut¹⁹ and *S’khotheni*” (Pattman, 2010:966).

Sindi (*NASMO*): We do have relationship with other student organizations. Yes, we disagree in some of the issues but in some, we agree. Unless we have equal ownership and all receive free education and training we will always be divided and see each other as strangers.

A participant from SCF noted:

Bonginkosi (*SCF*): SCF does not categorizing people in terms of race. We do understand that a human being is just a human being. The fact that our movement is open to everyone says it all that we have a good social relationship with every student and every movement I do believe that people as social beings are different and unique. It is human nature to socialize with other people as long as he or she likes. I am a Christian and I do socialize with other people who are not Christians. I am not just a Christian but also a

amongst themselves in terms of racial group they belong to were using the café. Various racial groups thus populated the café, however black students seemed to be few although the majority in the university.

¹⁹ Coconut is a metaphoric euphemism that is derived from the external and internal appearances of the coconut fruit: which is white inside and brown outside. This refers to Black people who are seen to act like white people –or who prefer to speak in English. They are essentially – in the sense of this metaphor, whites inside brown skins (Yarwood, 2006; Pattman, 2010:966).

family member, student and a woman. I don't socialize in terms of race in fact when I socialise I see no colour. If I get along with you then we can socialize. Character I think matters more than race. The reason you see some people attend classes while others are unfairly excluded by the university; it is an indication of disparities in terms of family backgrounds.

Here, racial identities become particularly relevant. As others have pointed out, in many locations a person's identity often is constructed around and informed by his or her racial identity (Helms, 1993; Hogg, 1992). One explanation for this is that maintaining a strong group identity is an important response to the oppression that one faces simply by virtue of one's membership in that group (Fominaya, 2010; Hogg et al., 1995). Some individuals hold, for instance, that racial solidarity in the face of oppression can add necessary self-esteem as a result of seeing others overcoming obstacles. In this sense, the oppression itself justifies a feeling of connectedness and that it forms the basis for important political alliances (Hollyer et al., 2014).

See, for example, an EFFSC participant's view on this question:

Bongani (*EFFSC*): Yes, it is obvious if you are financially excluded you can't join the opposite group. If you are serious and reasonable person. Students will always unite in terms of their interests and their sympathy. There might be some privileged students, who support the cause of the poor students, here on campus. We only choose the side of the students to further their interest. If you ask me as a person if I do associate myself with people from a particular race I would say I am always of the side of the exploited whether blacks, whites or Indians. Yes, some students are privileged and this must change we need to be all equal and benefit from the wealth of our country.

Bongani's response indicates he believes that some students who are not affected by the exclusions do join the protests to sympathise with the protesting students. This opinion supports the argument by Stryker et al. (2000) that the more individuals identify with a collection of individuals the more they are inspired to protest on behalf of that group. Perceptions about

themselves and others are important in the formation and recognition of group identities. Furthermore, many individuals take racial membership to be itself an important part of their overall identities (Helms, 1993; Cross, 1995). Nevertheless, these identities are not stagnant; they frequently go through processes of reconsideration depending on the circumstances one finds him or herself in (Bornman, 2003: 26) as indicated in the comment by Bongani above.

According to Polletta and Jasper (2001: 285), individuals perceive a sense of identity by feeling a sense of association to other individuals who share the similar interests, ideologies or characters. Shared identity, principally the more politicised form of it, increases emotional state of effectiveness (Simon et al., 1998). Collective interests may inspire the formation of group identity; however, this does not automatically lead people to adopt a sense of collective identity originating from these influences (Polletta & Jasper, 2001: 298). On the other hand, the findings made by Franchi and Swart (2003) suggest that South African students do not identify themselves on a racial basis. They further concluded in their study that present-day youth have trouble in coming to terms with South Africa's history of racial identity.

Jabulani (*DASO*): Our organisation represents the interest of student body in general. It is an organisation of the people. Everyone is welcome regardless of colour or any other aspect. Majority of our members are blacks and we understand the reasons why. Blacks are the most affected by the university system, which treats them unfairly because they are poor. We don't define ourselves in terms of colour or race we are just students and members and that is all.

In addition:

Ndosi (*NASMO*): I think by the virtue of finding me here [inside SASCO's office] in this office, you can see. It is just politics, you know, it is not something personal, you know, it is politics but I think our main aim is to serve students.

Although student movements overlook race when recruiting students for mass action, they do believe that racial divisions still exist within the student community. They manifest not only during strikes but also during normal interactions on campus:

Nkosinathi (*ANCYL*): We have good relationship with other movements through the SRC. Although some students tend to comply with the university programmes and attend lectures during student strikes, our relationship remains intact during demonstration. Yes, the treatments from the university management make us to unite strongly as students and as movements. Although then financial exclusions and academic exclusion does not affect all it affects the majority of the students here on this campus. I am black and proud about that but I am not in this university to be a black person here I am a student and I am here to learn [and] that is the major priority.

A participant from the SCF explained how flexible her movement is concerning racial diversity. Bonginkosi indicated that the SCF movement does not prevent any member from other student movements at UKZN to join the movement and join the protesting group.

He stated:

Bonginkosi (*SCF*): We accept everyone in our movement. Our members, some of them, are members of other movements on campus. We have a duty to accept and unite all student community. As members of SCF, we don't officially associate ourselves with any political party. According to my own observation, especially during student protest here on campus, I do believe that it happens in other sectors of the societies. People who are divided can't cooperate even if they are fighting the similar fight against the similar enemy.

The responses of the research participants indicate that student movements at UKZN Howard college campus are unified during protest actions. However, they do have differences in other issues. Racial identity is perceived as a non-motivating element in unity within and between student movements. In contrast to this finding, Stryker and Burke (2000) suggest that there is stability in identities across time and situations. Such constancy is proved, for example, in a longitudinal study of new students who move from home to a university in a small city and

confirms that students experience changes in prior obligations by entering into new social relationships at university (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Consequently, these changes in obligations have effects on students' identities. Furthermore, the study shows that students pursued new connections by joining organisations that provide prospects to behave in accordance with highly noticeable identities held before university entrance (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

6.4. External and Internal Student Movements' Conditions and Influences

The researcher probed research participants on their views and experiences of any positive and/or negative factors that influence student politics at Howard College campus. They were asked to provide reasons for why they think that those factors are negative or positive. One of the aims of this study was to uncover the factors, which determine the political activities of student movements. One ANCYL participant identified the conflict between Israel and Palestine in the Middle East as one of the determinant of his movement's demonstrations and emphasised that his movement does not narrowly focus merely on student activities:

Nkosinathi (*ANCYL*): As ANCYL and other student movements such as SASCO and YCLSA,²⁰ we go beyond student affairs to focus on other issues such as human rights and colonialism. The happenings outside students' environment affect us in one way or the other. Look at Israel and Palestine situation. We are involved in fighting for the freedom of the Palestinians. Although the issues of other countries consume our time to focus on student affairs, we take strategic precautions to ensure that we are not derailed by other influential factors from representing our students. Although I view this as a negative influence, the response to this influence from us is positive and legitimate. We need to be always relevant to the broader society.

Party politics infiltrated and controlled university student organisations during apartheid (Badat, 1999, Reddy, 2004). The same happens in democratic periods in which students are lawfully

²⁰ The three student organisations, namely; SASCO, ANCYL and YCLSA at times contest SRC elections at UKZN and other universities under a coalition called the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA) (Cebekhulu et al., 2006).

allowed to form organizations only with backing and oversight of the political party (Muya, 2014). The student campus movements, for instance, in both dispensations organisations operate under the supervision of their sponsoring parties, and often party-controlled student groups stereotypically selected student leadership (Muya, 2014). Bergan (2003) notes the character of student organisations and whether student organisations can actually be interconnected with political parties. He later refers to student movements as political student organisations, and furthermore emphasises that politics is more about organising and governing societies, therefore modern societies cannot exist without politics (Bergan, 2003).

The following participant, in spite of not being able to identify aspects that influence student politics on campus, acknowledged that there are exogenous factors, which affect student movements.

For example:

Sindi (*NASMO*): Our actions are not influenced by the issues which unfold outside this campus. Although we don't directly involve ourselves as membership of NASMO, we do participate in our mother movement NFP (National Freedom Party).

A participant from DASO stated:

Jabulani (*DASO*): There are many factors which affect in the student politics arena. Our organisation at times is denied its basic right to organise meetings. The forces, which attempt to deter our activities and progress, come from other organisations, which do not want to see the student community successful. We are disrupted when we attempt to organise students not only here on campus but at other campuses all over the country. This is a very negative aspect, which we don't want it to continue. This does not affect our student movement but it deters the smooth running of student politics at UKZN.

The prohibition of student movement leaders by their rivals does occur. This was the case in 2009 when Julius Malema (the leader of ANCYL by the time) came to the University of Zululand (UNIZULU) to make a statement at SASCO on external politics. Leaders from the opposition group, SADESMO at UNIZULU tried to prevent him from entering the university premises (Muya, 2014:234).

A participant from the EFFSC acknowledged the existence of external issues which affect the affairs of students at UKZN. However, he emphasised the socioeconomic constructs of the society:

Bongani (*EFFSC*): The socioeconomic inequalities and the control of the capital in this country influence our mission and vision and our programme of actions. We understand that the issues affect the majority of young people in this country. Majority of students are young people and all hullabalooos that you see unfolding are the consequences of the social construct of our economy. It is our own understanding that of the youth especially the Economic Freedom Fighters and the and its Student Command [*EFFSC*].

The literature review in this study reveals the link between university student movements and political parties. For example, the ANC supports its student wings financially (Cebekhulu et al., 2006). Furthermore, Pityana (2012) notes the dominance of student university politics and governance by the ANCYL, SASCO and the YCLSA pact. This is an extension of the hegemony of their mother political body, the ANC (Pityana, 2012; Cebekhulu et al., 2006).

A research participant from SCF indicated that societal conditions are the only issues external which they are mostly concerned about:

Bonginkosi (*SCF*): The social ills of the society in the students' lives are alarming and this needs a combative intervention. I think our deeds are influenced by the ills morality and poverty. I think that as the SCF we are the only movement, which focus on all aspects of students' lives to understand the conditions of

students. I do believe that the students background socially, economically, psychologically as well as spiritually affect student politics and the entire student affairs in this university. The students at this university need to be taken care of by the university management and by the student movements. All student movements should focus on students and support them throughout their academic enrolment.

In addition, the political influence is non-existent:

Bonginkosi (*SCF*): We only have hope and tolerance. I am not saying that we are not concerned about all the events that happen frequently within the university environment including strike activities. As long as every student is happy and academically succeeding, then we are fine. SCF is not influenced by external politics; it is not a political movements. We don't have political motives and or selfish ambitions. We serve the common purpose of working with everyone here on campus. We participate in the SRC election and student governance to gain legitimate power to represent all student community on this campus. However, that does not make our movement politically inspired in terms of pushing the political ambitions of national political parties.

The members of student movements focused on various influences on student politics at UKZN. Many research participants acknowledged that students' unfavourable conditions are not by choice but by the design of social constructs. Interestingly research participants deliberated on the impact of the history of oppression in South Africa on the current socioeconomic conditions of students from different races. Consequently, the participants have classified the student body into categories by classifying them in terms of their socioeconomic identity as well as racial identity. The participants also acknowledged the impact of other conflicts outside the university environment on politics of student movements.

6.5. Conclusion

For a variety of reasons, according to the responses in this chapter, students cannot avoid the relevance of political and racial background of the student community. This means that many of the research participants often use temporary solution to the persisting problems. The importance of seeking permanent solution to the problems they continue to face is widely accepted by the research participants as being a crucial necessity, largely because of the perceived problematic long-term effects of the varying students' political and socioeconomic backgrounds. In addition, students will continue to use the race based categories to identify themselves socially as this has links to issues of class which, as this research revealed, is the main impetus (due to financial exclusions) for student protests. The next chapter sums up the research and provides recommendations based on the research findings.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Summary

The main focus of this study was on the politics of student movements and protests at UKZN. The student movements' politics at the institution has a rich history characterised by racial conflict and racial classification. The purpose of the study was therefore to investigate the impact of race on student politics using the manner in which the student movements mobilise support for demonstration during protests. Thus, it sought to probe the impact of self-categorisation and social identification on student politics and protests at Howard College campus, UKZN. It further investigated the legacy of historical identity politics inherited by the current students in dealing with the challenges of identity that exceeds the narrow designs of racial classification and the extent which the socio-political situations affect student politics at Howard College campus.

The literature review which focused on student movements, student politics and student protests backgrounded the nature of politics of student movements from various scholars' perspectives. The literature review has also provided the evidence that societies cannot avoid student movements, politics and protests. Furthermore, the literature indicated that student politics play a vital role in changing societies beyond university campuses and environments through mobilisation and protest methods – yet, as indicated in the literature review, students used their political strength as a strategic interaction against apartheid regime in South Africa in order to free the oppressed population.

This study has used prominent theories as frameworks to articulate the limits and considerations of the study in conjunction with references to the literature review, the data collected and the analysis conducted towards the presentation of findings. Theoretical approaches used in this study proved to be very essential in the study of protests and social movements. They laid a very

valuable premise in finding out about how student political organisations mobilise during protests at UKZN. Their relativeness and relevance made the analysis of the results simple. Furthermore, when evaluating racial and social identity of students, the study relied on individuals' own interpretation of identity. Nevertheless, social categorisation presently incorporates groups of people that do not display the same racial group.

The theoretical framework used in this study put emphasis on different factors including individual and group psychology, structural inequality, historical context and the ever-changing institutional power of movements. All of these factors, based on the research results of this study, are considered extremely important for explaining why and how people join movements; clarifying the development of movement politics; and detailing the role of identity in student mobilisation for protests. Furthermore, based on theory and existing empirical research, this study found that leaders and members of student movements are more concerned about the economic, political and racial disparities of the student community. Therefore, it was worthwhile to incorporate the historical and socioeconomic background contexts of various student groups.

The use of qualitative research methods in this study has been useful in obtaining the required data from the participants. The snowball sampling procedure was also beneficial since it was not possible to identify the sample population for the study by using any other sampling procedure. The interview schedule was prepared in advance and students responded openly. The overall intended objectives were achieved throughout the research process: therefore, the research methodology proved to be useful and relevant to the research purpose. It enabled the study to achieve its investigative aims and to acquire useful responses.

Generally, the dominant sentiment which had come out of the responses was that the members of student movements wanted their financial and academic state of affairs to be recognised and accepted in their own right: that needy students be seen as enthusiastic towards accomplishing their academic aspirations through studies without the associated uncertainties of financial exclusion. Although demonstrators do not experience counter-protests when disrupting academic activities, they see the protests as the way to achieve their demands. In their view, the status quo is one that induces categorisations due to socioeconomic circumstances among students, i.e.

those that are privileged and those that are financially needy. The frustrations of the students at UKZN create tension between them and the university authorities which often lead to the boycott of classes and disruptions.

During the protest mobilisation process, all mobilising student movements have to work hard to emerge victorious, if not, the members of the losing movements may be demotivated and in despair. It is counterproductive against their own academic pursuits for students to ignore challenges facing their academic lives. It thus appears that at present, student politics continue to be more concerned with matters which directly have impact on student movements. And as such, it is cannot be denied that methods of mass mobilisation such as rallies, pickets, protests are political commitments to acquire demands. This implies that the process of engagement, mobilisation and embarking on active demonstrations and racial categorisation will continue.

From the interview data, mass mobilisation was presented as both a fundamental aspect of student recruitment in the protest action and as a process. Students' mass mobilisation seems to be influenced by students' discontent – and this discontent may create a commitment among students to protest from time to time. Additionally, from the results in this theme, it is evident that mass mobilisation is vital in strengthening the protesters voice to achieve set objectives. Furthermore, if conducted successfully, it can assist the protester to systematically push any potential barriers in its way to reach their goals.

One of the research objectives was to conduct a systematic investigation into current student perceptions on the role of socioeconomic background in students' unity during student protests. Student politics has very slight changes over time in response to both shifting economic transformation and the nature of both national and university governance. Group conflict is the consequence of the socioeconomic disparities among the student population at UKZN. Practically the *status quo* is that the protesting students emerge as the powerful and the other group the powerless. This is particularly true in the case of the disruption of classes by the protesting groups which often is not successfully curbed.

Identities are strategic social creations shaped through collaboration with social and physical consequences. Thus, collective identities must be put on the agenda to become the instrument of

joint action. Normally, consciousness raising of identities originates with the consciousness of joint grievances. Those with great dissimilarities in lived socioeconomic realities do not have the basics which are needed for accepting communal beliefs and shared identities as the everyday difficulties and possible resolutions they come across are dissimilar. Without a common social stand for cooperative achievement, persons are incapable to create productive social relationships.

The research participants due to their socioeconomic conditions embrace their race as a token of identity. The finding here suggests that protesting students distinguish themselves from those students who comply with the academic programme and choose to attend classes during protests. They deny that those attending classes during protests are not members of their organisations. The grievances of the protesting students make them see the need to take collective action for themselves. They therefore see themselves as a deprived category.

According to the research findings self-categorisation and social identification has an impact on student politics and protests at Howard College campus. The data indicates that students embrace the social identity of the group they have considered themselves as socially belonging to. Students therefore join the protests groups and political activities of student movements which they perceive to be relevant to their interests as students at Howard College campus.

7.2. Recommendations

After taking the key arguments and conclusions of the study into consideration, it is possible to make the following recommendations:

- Government needs to concede and act strategically by reviewing the university student funding policies and admit that racial disparities and inequalities are real and extreme. These disparities are largely based on an enduring social process which needs to be totally eradicated. The university authorities should seriously consider the issue of economic inequalities.

- Student activism campaigns should emphasise social cohesion in order to unite and educate students about the dangers of racial identity markers. However, it should also be acknowledged that the use of racial identification as a marker is necessary for cultural and historical pride as well as unifying the population of a particular racial cluster. Members of student movements need intensive training and renewal strategies to improve the character and applicability of various forms of identification of which race is an integral part.
- The progressive nature of student politics should be maintained by creating an alternative student financial support system in order to effectively deal with all varieties of problems experienced by the university student community.
- More education is needed on democratic processes and especially with regards to respecting the rights of other students. It should be accepted that some students require solidarity in order to strengthen their support for pressurising the university and the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) during grievances. Suspending lectures during protests to accommodate students who are unable to get money on time can be a more constructive way of enabling this process as well.
- Mobilisation through lecture disruption affects the academic planning adversely. Continuing with lectures frustrate affected students while creating tensions in the academic environment. The university management should suspend lectures immediately the protests unfold to avoid clashes between protesting students and lecture-attending students. Classes may resume after all outstanding issues are satisfactory met.
- Communication between the university authorities and the student body appears ineffective. Research participants suggested that there is a need for improved channel of communication between the university authorities and the student body. It is reasonable to speculate that communication breakdown can unnecessarily provoke protests. The university authorities should convey crucial information to the student body on time to prevent confusion among the student body. Involving students in decision-making in the

crucial matters of university governance, such as financial and academic issues, is indispensably important towards promoting a constructive and progressive dialogue between the two parties.

All stakeholders at the university should assess the possibilities of strikes in order to consider the need of both the students and the university. The history of protests at UKZN dictates that the causes of the student protest are similar most of the time. Therefore, the university authorities should identify alternative strategies aimed at protest causes with a view to curtail their likelihood of occurrence.

7.3. Conclusion

In conclusion, this study can be a basis for a renewed interest in the role of student movements and politics in the academic and political sphere at UKZN which could be broadened to other universities in the country. The research has looked at the effects of self-categorisation and social-identification on student politics and protests on Howard College at UKZN as well as a legacy of identity politics left over for current university students. The findings of this study have contributed to providing a basis for an area of focus in studying how identities have power on students' unity and conflict. Additionally the study contributed by pointing towards how the broader socio-political situation affects student politics at the same campus. In addition, a comparison of the nature of student politics and mobilisation for protests from a racial perspective in two opposing eras in South Africa were briefly discussed.

As part of conducting this study, a number of issues have been learned, many of them from the interview responses of the research participants. After conducting, analysing, interpreting and reflecting on these interviews, capitalism seems to be the largest root cause of most problems in the view of the participants. In their opinion, such an economic ideology would never be capable of addressing students' financial difficulties. What is evident from this is that, ideological preferences indeed affect students' views and have a telling influence on students' unity.

7.4. Suggestions for further research

Further research could focus on areas such as;

- a. Looking into comparisons of student governance in the public and the private universities;
- b. The impact of student protests on academic performance; and finally
- c. Exploring whether socialism in the education system is a viable alternative and even a necessary condition for diminishing the problems facing the student body at higher education institutions in South Africa.

REFERENCES

- Abdi, A. A. (1999). Identity formations and deformations in South Africa: *A Historical and Contemporary Journal of Black Studies*, 30(2), 147-163.
- Adams, J. (2003). The bitter end: emotions at a movement's conclusion. *Sociological Inquiry*, 73(1), 84–113.
- African National Congress Youth League. *Home page*. Available at: < <http://www.ancyl.org.za> > [Accessed 28 February 2014].
- Aleman, J. (2005). Protest and democratic consolidation: *A Korean Perspective International Journal of Korean Studies*, 9(1), 71-86.
- Alexander, N. (2006). Racial identity, citizenship and nation building in post-apartheid South Africa, Edited version of a Lecture delivered at the East London Campus University of Fort Hare 25 March 2006. Unpublished.
- Allen, E., Hubain, B., Hunt, C., Lucero, S. and Stewart, S. (2012). Race matters implementing racial identity development theories into the Classroom. Diversity Summit, 04 May 2012. Available at: < http://racialequitytools.org/resourcefiles/Race%20Matters_%20Implementing%20Racial%20Identity%20Development%20Theories%20into%20the%20Classroom.pdf > [Accessed 13 May 2014].
- Altbach, G. P. (1984). Student politics in the Third World. *Higher Education*, 13(6), 635-655.
- Altbach, P. G. (1989). Perspectives on student political activism. In P. G. Altbach, *Student Political Activism*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Altbach, P.G. (1991). Student political activism. In international Higher Education: *An Encyclopedia*. (1). New York and London: Garland Publishing.
- Aminzade, R. and McAdam, D. (2001). Emotions and contentious politics. In R. Aminzade, A. J., Goldstone, D., McAdam, E. J., Perry, W. H. Sewell Jr., S. Tarrow and C. Tilly. *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Arquilla, J. and Ronfeldt, D. (2001). The advent of netwar (revisited). In Arquilla, J. and Berg, B. L. (2009). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. (7th edition). Boston MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Arundale, S. G. (1914). Pamphlets Indian students and politics. *Indian Students and politics*, (44). Adyar: Theosophical Publishing House. Available at <

http://www.theosophical.ca/adyar_pamphlets/AdyarPamphlet_No44.pdf > [Accessed 30 June 2014].

Asmail, J. (2014). Student activism is being sabotaged and this is why it matters, *opendemocracy* 12 September [online] Available at: < <https://www.opendemocracy.net/transformation/juman-asmal/student-activism-is-being-sabotaged-and-this-is-why-it-matters> > [Accessed 23 October 2014].

Babbie, E. (1990). *Survey research methods*. (2nd edition). Belmont, California: Wadsworth.

Babbie, E, and Mouton, J. (2001). *The practice of social research*. Cape Town: Oxford Press University.

Babbie, E. R. (1973). *Survey research methods*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth.

Badat, M. S. (1999). *Education and apartheid from SASO to SANSCO 1968- 1990*. Pretoria: HSRC Press.

Baines, G. (1998). *The rainbow nation? Identity and nation building in post-apartheid South-Africa*, 7.
Available at: < <http://motspluriels.arts.uwa.edu.au/MP798gb.html> > [Accessed 16 March 2014].

Banaji, M. R. and Prentice, D. A. (1994). The self in social Contexts. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 45, 297-332.

Batliwala, S. (2012). *Changing their world concepts and practices of women's movements*.
Available at: < <http://yfa.awid.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/Changing-Their-World.pdf> > [Accessed 23 March 2014].

Batliwala, S. and Brown, L. D. (2006). *Transnational civil society: An introduction*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.

Baumeister, R. F., Stillwell, A. M. and Heatherton, T. F. (1994). Guilt: An interpersonal approach. *Psychological Bulletin*, 115, 243–267.

Benford, R. D. (1997). An insider's critique of the social movement framing perspective. *Sociological Inquiry*, 67, 409-430.

Berezin, M. (2001). Emotions and political identity. In Goodwin, J and Bergan, S. (2003) *Student participation in higher education governance*. Bologna seminar on student participation in higher education, Oslo 12-14 June 2003.

Bergan, S. (2003). *Student participation in higher education governance*. Available at : < http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/highereducation/Governance/SB_student_participation_EN.pdf > [Accessed 22 April 2014].

- Bergan, S. (2004). Higher education governance and democratic participation. In Bergan, S. (ed.), *The University as Res Publica: Higher Education Governance, Student Participation and the University as Site of Citizenship*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe publishing.
- Bermeo, N. (1992). Democracy and the lessons of dictatorship. *Comparative Politics*, 24, 273-291.
- Bermeo, N. (1997). Myths of moderation: Confrontation and conflict during democratic transitions. *Comparative Politics*, 29, 305-322.
- Bernard, H. R. and Ryan, G. (1998). Text analysis: Qualitative and quantitative methods. In Bernard, H. R. (ed.), *Handbook of methods in cultural anthropology*. California: AltaMira Press.
- Bimber, B. (2000). The study of information technology and civic engagement. *Political Communication*, 17(4), 329-33.
- Bloom, W. (1990). *Personal identity, national Identity, and international relations*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Boaduo, N. A. (2010). The rainbow nation: Conscience and self-adjudication for social justice, governance and development in the new South Africa. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 3(4), 56-70.
- Bobo, L. (1988). Group conflict, prejudice and the paradox of contemporary racial attitudes. In Katz P.A. and Taylor, D. A. (eds.), *Eliminating Racism: Profiles in Controversy*, 85-144.
- Bonchek, M. S. (1997). From broadcast to netcast: The internet and the flow of political information. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. Harvard University.
- Bond, P. and Mottiar, S. (2013). Social protest in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 31(2), 283-302.
- Bond, R. (2006). Belonging and becoming: National identity and exclusion. *Sociology*, 40(4), 609-626.
- Bornman, E. (2003). Struggles of identity in the age of globalisation. *Communication*, 29(1&2), 24-47.
- Boulding, K. E. (1965). Towards a theory of protest: A review of general semantics. *Management*, 24(1), 49-58.
- Bourdieu, P, and Wacquant, L. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Brink, H. I. L. (1993). Validity and reliability in qualitative research. Paper delivered at SA Society of Nurse Researchers' Workshop-RAU 19March1993. *Curationis*, 16(2), 35-38.

- Brooks, A. and Brickhill, J. (1980). *Whirlwind before the storm: The origins and development of the uprising in Soweto and the rest of South Africa from June to December 1976*. London: International Defence.
- Brown, J. (2010). SASO's reluctant embrace of public forms of protest, 1968–1972. *South African Historical Journal*, 62(4), 716-734.
- Brown, R. (1996). Tajfel's contribution to the reduction of intergroup conflict. In Robinson, W.P. (ed.), *Social Groups and Identities: developing the legacy of Henri Tajfel*. Butterworth-Heinemann: Oxford.
- Brown, R. (1999). Social identity theory: Past achievements, current problems and future challenges. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 29, 634-667.
- Brown, R. (2000). Social identity theory: Past achievements, current problems and future challenges. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 30, 745-778.
- Brown, R. J. and Turner, J. C. (1981). Interpersonal and intergroup behaviour. In Turner, J. C. and Giles, H. (eds.), *Intergroup Behaviour*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods*. (4th edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A. and Cassell, C. (2006). The researcher interview: A reflexive perspective. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: an international journal*, 1, 41-55.
- Buechler, S. M. (1990). *Women's Movements in the United States*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Buechler, S. M. (1993). Beyond resource mobilization? Emerging trends in social movement theory. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 34(2), 217-235.
- Bunting, I. (2006). The higher education landscape under apartheid. In Cloete, N., Maassen, P., Fehnel, R. and Moja, T (eds.), *Transformation in higher education: Global pressures and local realities*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Bunting, I., Sheppard, C., Cloete, N. and Belding, L. (2010). *Performance indicators in South African higher education 2000-2008*. Wynberg Mews: Centre for Higher Education Transformation.
- Burawoy, M. (1976). Consciousness and contradiction: a study of student protest in Zambia. *British journal of Sociology*, 27(1), 78-98.
- Butler E. A., Egloff, B., Wilhelm, F. H., Smith, N. C., Erickson, E. A., and Gross, J. J. (2003). The social consequences of expressive suppression. *Emotion*, 3, 48–67.

- Buus, N., Angel, S., Traynor, M. and Gonge, H. (2011). Psychiatric nursing staff members' reflections on participating in group-based clinical supervision: a semistructured interview study. *International Journal of Mental Health Nursing*, 20, 95–101.
- Calmore, J. O. (1992). Critical race theory, Archie Shepp, and firemusic: Securing an authentic intellectual life in a multicultural world. *Southern California Law Review*, 65, 2129-2230.
- Carspecken, P. F. and Cordeiro, P. A. (1995). Being, doing, and becoming: Textual interpretations of social identity and a case study. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1, 87-109.
- Cebekhulu, E., Mantzaris, E. and Nhlapho, M. (2006). The demise of student movement in higher education institution in South Africa: A case study of UKZN. *Alteration*, 13(1), 218-245.
- Cele, M. (2008). Analysis of the contradictory and Complementary Relationship between Student Constructive Engagement and Protest Strategies in South African Higher Education. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, 6(2), 77–106.
- Cele, M. (2009). Post-Apartheid Higher Education: The role and challenges facing student activists. *CORDESIA*, 35-78. Available at: < [http://www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/2- Cele.pdf](http://www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/2-Cele.pdf) > [Accessed 18 February 2013].
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chávez, A. F., Guido-DiBrito, F., and Mallory, S. (1996). Learning to value the ‘_other’: A model of diversity development.” Paper presented at the National Association of Personnel Administrators Conference, Atlanta, March 1996. Unpublished.
- Chomsky, N. (1982). *Towards a new cold war: Essays on the current crisis and how we got there*. London: Sinclair Browne.
- Chomsky, N. James Peck, J. (ed.). (1987). *The Chomsky reader*. New York: Pantheon.
- Chomsky, N. Otero, C. P. (ed.). (1988). *Language and politics*. Montreal: Black Rose.
- Chomsky, N. (1989). *Necessary illusions: Thought control in democratic societies*. Toronto: CBC Enterprises.
- Chomsky, N. and Herman, E. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon.
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., Ridge, R. D., Copeland, J. T., Stukas, A. A., Haugen, J. A., and Miene, P. K. (1998). Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: A functional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 1516–1530.

- Cloete, N. (2004). Equity and development in post-apartheid South African higher education. In Cloete, N., Pillay, P., Badat, P. and Moja, T. (eds.), *National policy and regional response in South African Higher Education. Partnership for Higher Education in Africa*. Oxford:James Currey.
- Cockburn, A. and Blackburn, R. (eds.). (1969) *Student power: Problems, diagnosis, action*. Middelsex: Penguin and New Left Review.
- Cohen, S. (1972). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the mods and rockers*. Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- Corbetta, P. (2003). *Social research: Theory, methods and techniques*. London: Sage Publications.
- Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Crane, T. G. (1994). Collective identity, symbolic mobilization, and student protest in Nanjing, China, 1988-1989. *Comparative Politics*, 26(4), 395-413.
- Creswell, J. W. (1994). *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. California: Sage.
- Cross, W. E. (1995). The psychology of Nigrescence: Revising the Cross model. In Ponterott, J. G., Casas, J. M., Suzuki, L. A. and Alexander. C. M. (eds.), *Handbook of Multicultural Counseling*. Thousand Oaks Calif: Sage.
- Curran, P. (2005). *Charest government weakened by Quebec student strike. (University Affairs)*. Available at: < <http://www.universityaffairs.ca>. > [Accessed: 2 May 2014].
- Dalton, R., Van Sickle, A. and Weldon, S. (2010). The individual–institutional nexus of protest behaviour. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40, 51–73.
- Dawson, D. (2002). *Practical research methods: A user-friendly guide to mastering research techniques and projects*. Oxford: How to books.
- Deamley, C. (2005). A reflection on the use of semi-structured interviews. *Nurse Researcher*, 13(1), 19-28.
- Deci, E. L., and Ryan, R. M. (2000). The “what” and “why” of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry*, 11, 227-268.
- Della Porta, D. and Mosca, L. (2005). Global-net for global movements? A network of networks for a movement of movements. *Journal of Public Policy*, 25(1), 165-190.

Democratic Alliance. *Home page*. Available at: < <http://www.dayouth.org.za/daso> > [Accessed 28 February 2014].

Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds.). (2005). *Handbook of qualitative research*. (3rd edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Department of Education. (2004). *A new funding framework: How government grants are allocated to public higher education institutions*. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Dey, I. (1993). *Qualitative data analysis: A user-friendly guide for social scientists*. New York: Routledge.

Dominguez-Whitehead, Y. (2011). Executive university managers' experiences of strike and protest activity: A qualitative case study of a South African university. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 25(7), 1228-1310.

Dr Sathasivan –Saths” Cooper. South African history online. *Home page*. Available at: < <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/dr-sathasivan-saths-cooper> > [Accessed 22 June 2014].

Drury, J, and Reicher, S. (2009). Collective psychological empowerment as a model of social change: Researching crowds and power. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65, 707 – 725.

Eagleton, T. (1991). *Ideology: An introduction*. London: Verso.

Eaton, T. (2013). Internet activism and the Egyptian uprisings: Transforming online dissent into the offline world. In Taki, M. and Coretti, L. (eds.), *The role of social media in the Arab uprisings – past and present*. *Westminster Papers in communication and Culture*, 9(2), 3-24. Available at: < http://www.westminster.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0004/220675/WPCC-vol9-issue2.pdf > [Accessed 29 May 2014].

Edwards, D., Gane, M., Middleton, D, and Radley, A. (1998). *Ideological dilemmas: A Social psychology of everyday thinking*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Eisner, E. W. (1991). *The enlightened eye: Qualitative inquiry and the enhancement of educational practice*. New York: Macmillan.

Eltantawy, N. and Wiest, J. B. (2011). Social media in the Egyptian revolution. *International Journal of Communication*, 5, 1207–1224.

Fatton, R. (1986). *Black Consciousness in South Africa: The dialectics of ideological resistance in white supremacy*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Fink, A. (1995). *How to sample in surveys*. London: Sage.

Foley, J. R. (2003). Mobilization and change in a trade union setting: Environment, structures and action. *Work, Employment & Society*, 17, 247 – 268.

- Foley, M. (ed.). (1994) *Ideas that shape politics*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Fominaya, C. F. (2010). Collective identity in social movements: *Central Concepts and Debates Sociology Compass*, 4(6), 393–404.
- Fossey, E., Harvey, C., McDermott, F. and Davidson L. (2002). Understanding and evaluating qualitative research. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 36, 717–732.
- Foster, M. D. and Matheson, K. (1999). Perceiving and responding to the personal/group discrimination discrepancy. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25, 1319-1329.
- Franchi, V. and Swart, T. M. (2003). From apartheid to affirmative action: the use of ‘racial’ markers in past, present and future articulations of identity among South African students. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27, 209–236
- Freeden, M. (1996). *Ideologies and political theory: A conceptual approach*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Frey, L R., Carl, H. B, and Gary, L. K. (2000). *Investigating communication: An introduction to research methods*. (2nd edition). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Frijda, N. H., Kuipers, P., and Shure, E. (1989). Relations among emotion, appraisal, and emotional action readiness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 212–228.
- Fuchs, C. (2006). The self-organization of social movements. *Systemic Practice and Action Research*, 19(1), 101-137.
- Gamson, W. A. (1990). *Strategy of social protest*. (2nd edition). Dorsey Press.
- Gamson, W.A. (1992). The social psychology of collective action. In Morris A and Meuller, C.M. (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Garrett, R. K. (2006). Protest in an information society. A review of literature on social movements and new ICTs. *Information, Communication & Society*, 9(2), 202-224.
- Gerhart, G. (1978). *Black power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gibson N. (2004). *Black consciousness 1977-1987; The Dialectics of Liberation in South Africa*. Research Report no:18, Durban: Centre for Civil Society.
- Giguère, B. and Lalonde, R. N. (2006). Change in public policy as a group threat: The case of Quebec’s 2005 student strike. Paper presented at the annual convention of the Canadian Psychological Association, Calgary, Alberta. Unpublished.

Giguère, B. and Lalonde, R. N. (2010). Why do students strike? Direct and indirect determinants of collective action participation. *Political Psychology*, 31(20), 227-248.

Giguère, B. and Lalonde R. N. (2012). *The context of black universities: The view from a UK student activist student activism, Why do students mobilize and strike?* Available at: < <https://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2012/05/18/why-do-student-mobilize-and-strike/> > [Accessed 22 June 2014].

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.

Glasgow, J. (2006). A Third way in the race debate. *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 14(2), 163–185.

Goduka, I. N. (1990). Social problem. *Ethics and politics of research in South Africa*, 37(3), 329-340.

Goodman, L. A. (1961). Snowball sampling. *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, 32,148-70.

Goodwin, J. and Pfaff, S. (2001). Emotion work in high-risk social movements. In Goodwin, J., Jasper, J. and Polletta, F. (eds.), *Passionate Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Gordijn, E. H., Wigboldus D. and Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2001). Emotional consequences of categorizing victims of negative outgroup behavior as ingroup or outgroup. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 4, 317–326.

Gounden, V. (2010). Reflections on identity conflicts and nation building in contemporary South Africa. Peace Prints: *South Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, 2(3): 1-5. Available from: < <http://wiscomp.org/peaceprints.html> > [Accessed 18 January 2014].

Gray, D. E. (2004). *Doing Research in the real world*. (1st edition). London: Sage.

Greaves, D. (1987). Richard Turner and the politics of emancipation. *Theoria*, 70, 31-40.

Greene, S. (2004). Social identity theory and party identification. *Social Science Quarterly*, 85(1), 137-153.

Gross, J. J. (1998). Antecedent- and response-focused emotion regulation: Divergent consequences for experience, expression, and physiology. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 224–237.

Grossberg, A., Struwig, J., and Pillay U. (2006). Multicultural national identity and pride. In Pillay, U., Roberts, B. and Rule, S. (eds), *South African Social Attitudes: Changing Times, Diverse Voices*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Gumbi, H. (2013). *DASO still banned at UKZN Howard College*. Available at: <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page72308?oid=419435&sn=Marketingweb+detail&pid=90389> > [Accessed 22 June 2014].

Gunew, S. (1998). The universities and cultural literacy: multiculturalism and multi-nationalism. *Australian Universities' Review*, 41(2), 23- 27.

Gurr, T.R. (1970). *Why men rebel*. Princeton. NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gwala, N. (1988). State control, student politics and the crisis in black universities. In Cobbett. and Cohen, R. (eds.), *Popular struggles in South Africa*. Trenton, NJ: African world press

Habig, C., Bernd, S., Loewy, M., Stürmer, S., Weber, U., Freytag, P., Kampmeier, C. and Spahlinger, P. (1998). Collective identification and Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans Protest social movement participation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(3), 646–658.

Halebsky, S. (1976). *Mass society and political conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hamilton, W. L. (1968). Venezuela. In Emmerson D. K. (ed.), *Students and politics in developing nations*. London: Pall Mall.

Hand, H. (2003). The mentor's tale: a reflexive account of semi-structured interviews. *Nurse Researcher*, 10(3), 15-27.

Harris, C. R. (2001). Cardiovascular responses of embarrassment and effects of emotional suppression in a social setting. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 886–897.

Heckathorn, D. (1997). Respondent-driven sampling: A new approach to the study of hidden populations. *Social Problems*, 44, 174-99.

Helms, J. E. (1993). Introduction: Review of racial identity terminology. In Helms J, E. (ed.), *Black and white racial identity: Theory, Research and Practice*. Westport, Conn: Praeger.

Helms, J. E. (1995). An Update of Helms' white and people of color racial identity models. In Ponterott, J. G., Casas, J. M., Suzuki L. A. and Alexander C. M. (eds.), *Handbook of Multicultural Counseling*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.

Henning, E. (2004). *Finding your way in qualitative research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Henry, G. T. (1990). *Practical sampling*. London: Sage.

Hercus, C. (1999). Identity, emotion, and feminist collective action. Gender and society, special issue: *Gender and Social Movements, Part 2*, 13(1), 34–55.

Hetherington, K. (1998). *Expressions of identity*. London: Sage.

Heywood A, (2003). *Political ideologies: An introduction*. (3rd edition). Palgrave: Macmillan.

Higley, J. and Gunther, R. (eds.). (1992). *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hirschman, A. O. (1970). *Exit, voice, and loyalty: Response to decline in firms, organizations, and states*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hogg, M. A. (1992). *The social psychology of group cohesiveness: From attraction to social identity*. London: Harvester/Wheatsheaf.

Hogg, M. A. (1993). Group cohesiveness: A critical review and some new directions. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 4, 85-111.

Hogg, M. A. (2001). A social identity theory of leadership. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 5(3), 184–200.

Hogg, M. A. and Abrams, D. (1988). *Social identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. London: Routledge.

Hogg, M. A. and McGarty C. (1990). Self- categorization and social identity. In Abrams, D. and Hogg, M. A. (eds.), *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances*, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Hogg, M. A., Terry, D. J. and White, K. M. (1995). A tale of two theories: A critical comparison of identity theory with social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 58(4), 255-269.

Holloway, I. and Wheeler, S. (2002). *Qualitative Research in Nursing*. (2nd edition.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Holloway, I. and Wheeler, S. (2010). *Qualitative Research in Nursing and Healthcare*. (3rd edition.). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hollyer, J. R, Rosendorf, B. P. and Vreeland, J. R. (2014). Transparency, protest and democratic stability. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(4), 1–28.

Hornsey, M. J. (2008). Social identity theory and self-categorization theory: A historical review. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2(1), 204–222.

Hunt, S. and Benford , R. (2004). Collective identity, solidarity, and commitment. In Snow, D., Soule, S. and Kriesi, H. (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Ingalsbee, T. (1993). Resource and action mobilization theories: The new social-psychological research agenda. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 38, 139-155.

Inkatha Freedom Party. *Home page*. Available at: < <http://www.ifp.org.za/sadesmoonline> > [Accessed 28 February 2014].

Iyer, A. and Ryan, M. K. (2009). Why do men and women challenge gender discrimination in the workplace? The role of group status and ingroup identification in predicting pathways to collective action, *Journal of Social Issues*, 65, 791 – 814.

Jackson, W. (1995). *Doing social research*. London: Prentice Hall.

Jansen, J. D. (2003). On the state of South African universities. *South African Journal of Higher education*, 17(3), 9-12.

Jasper, J. (1997). *The art of moral protest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jenkins, J. C. (1983). Resource mobilization theory and the study of social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9, 527-553.

Jenkins, R. (2004). *Social identity*. London: Routledge.

Kavanaugh, A. L., Reese, D. D., Carroll, J. M. and Rosson, M. B. (2005). Weak ties in networked communities, *Information Society*, 21(2), 119-131.

Kegan, P. and Larrain, J. (1983). *Marxism and ideology*. London: Macmillan.

Keniston, K. (1967). The sources of student dissent. *Journal of Social Issues*, 13(3), 108–137.

Keniston, K. (1970). Youth: A "new" stage of life. *The American Scholar*, 39(4), 631-654.

Kenston, W. H. (2010). Richard Turner's contribution to socialist political culture in South Africa 1968-1978. Unpublished dissertation (Masters). University of the Western Cape.

Kerbo, H. R. (1982). Movements of "crisis" and movements of "affluence": A critique of deprivation and resource mobilization theories. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 26(4), 645-663.

Kgware, W. (1977). The role of black universities in South Africa. In Van der Merwe, H. and Welsh, D. (eds.), *The future of the university in South Africa*, Claremont: David Philip.

Khumalo, V. (2014). *NFP leader laments plight of poor tertiary students*. Sunday 27 July 2014. SABC News [online] Available at: < <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/f2e2108044e238c9b36cb7637588af07/NFP-leader-laments-plight-of-poor-tertiary-students-20142707> > [Accessed 18 August 2014].

Kiely, R., Bechhofer, F., Stewart, R. and McCrone, D. (2001). The markers and rules of Scottish national identity. *The Sociological Review*, 49(1), 33-55.

Klandermans, B. (1984). Mobilisation and participation: Social-psychological expansion of resource mobilization theory. *American Sociological Review*, (49), 583-600.

Klandermans, B (1997). *The social psychology of protest*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Klandermans, B., and Oegema, D. (1987). Potentials, networks, motivations, and barriers: Steps towards participation in social movements. *American Sociological Review*, 52, 519 – 531.

Klein, N., Desai, A., and Lewis, A. (2008). Interview with Strini Moodley. In Mngxitama, A., Alexander, A. and Gibson, N, C. (eds.), *Biko Lives! Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Koen, C., Cele, M. and Libhaber, A. (2006). Student activism and student exclusions in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 26, 404–414.

Kowalewski, D. (1980). The protest uses of symbolic politics: the mobilization functions of protester symbolic resources. *Social Science Quarterly*, 61, 95-113.

Lalonde, R. N., Janelle, M. Jones, J. M. and Stroink, L. M.. (2008). Racial identity, racial attitudes, and race socialization among black Canadian parents. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 40(3), 129–139.

Lalonde, R. N., and Cameron, J. E. (1993). Behavioral responses to discrimination: The focus on action. In Zanna M. P and J. M. Olson J. M. (eds.), *The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario symposium*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

Lappegard, H. A. (2007). Identity and place: a critical comparison of three identity theories. *Architectural Science Review*, 1-15

Available at: < <http://www.highbeam.com/DocPrint.aspx?DocId=1G1:160922464> 10/07/2015 > [Accessed 22 June 2014].

Last, J. (ed.). (2001). *International epidemiological association: A dictionary of epidemiology*. (4th edition). New York: Oxford University Press.

Leach, R. (1996). *British political ideologies*. (2nd edition). London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Leary, M. (2004). The sociometer, self-esteem, and the regulation of interpersonal behavior. In Baumeister, R. F. and Vohs, K.D. (eds.), *Handbook of self-regulation: Research, theory, and applications*. New York: Guilford Press.

Leininger, M. (1991). *Culture care, diversity and universality: A theory of nursing*. New York: N.L.N.

- Leizerov, S. (2000). Privacy advocacy groups versus Intel: a case study of how social movements are tactically using the Internet to fight corporations', *Social Science Protest in an information society Press. Computer Review*, 18 (4), 46-83.
- Levenson, R. W. (1994). Human emotions: A functional view. In Eckman, P. and R. J. Davidson, R. J. (eds.), *The nature of emotion: Fundamental questions*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lincoln, Y. and Guba, G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Lipschutz, R. D. (2005). Networks of knowledge and practice: global civil society and global communications. In De Jong, W., Shaw, M. and Stammers, N. (eds.), *Global Activism Global Media*. London: Pluto Press.
- Lipset, S. M. (1965). University students and politics in underdeveloped countries. Reprint No. 255. *Institute of International Studies and Institute of Industrial Relations*. Berkley: University of California,
- Lipset, S. M. (1971). *Rebellion in the university*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Lohmann, S. (1993). A signalling model of informative and manipulative political action. *American Political Science Review*, (87), 319 – 333.
- Lohr, S. L. (1999). *Sampling: Design and analysis*. Albany: Duxbury Press.
- Long, S. E. (2002). *The new student politics: The wingspread statement on student civic engagement*. (2nd edition). Brown University: Campus Compact.
- Louis, W. R. (2009). Collective action—and then what? *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(4), 727 – 748.
- Louis, W. R., Taylor, D. M., and Douglas, R. L. (2005). Normative influence and rational conflict decisions: Group norms and cost-benefit analyses for intergroup, behavior. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 8(4), 355 – 374.
- Love, R. and Miller, M. (2003). Increasing student participation in self-governance: A comparison of graduate and Undergraduates Perception. *College Student Journal*, 37, 532-544.
- Luescher, T. M. (2008). Student governance in transition: University democratisation and managerialism a governance approach to the study of student politics and the case of the University of Cape Town. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Luescher-Mamashela, T M. (2011). *Student involvement in university decision-making: Good reasons, a new lens*. ILJE Emerging Scholar Manuscript Competition – Finalist Award Paper.
- MacGregor, K. (2014). *The massification of higher education in South Africa*, 21 June 2014

Available at: < <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=2014062015083621> > [Accessed 22 August 2014].

MacNealy, M. S. (1999). *Strategies for empirical research in writing*. New York: Longman.

Macqueen, I. (2009). Black consciousness in dialogue: Steve Biko, Richard Turner and the 'Durban Moment' in South Africa, 1970 – 1974. Paper presented at Southern African Seminar, SOAS University of Sussex 4 December 2009. Unpublished.

Mageau, G. A., Vallerand, R. J., Charest, J., Salvy, S., Lacaille, N. and Bouffard, T. (2009). On the development of harmonious and obsessive passion: The role of autonomy support, activity valuation, and identity processes. *Journal of Personality*, 77, 601–645.

Magwaza, N. (2009). Blind student hurt as protest turns ugly. *The Mercury*, 24 March [online] Available at: < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Controversies_at_the_University_of_KwaZulu-NatalThe_Mercury > [Accesses 20 July 2014].

Maimela, D. (2010) *Students are not apolitical*
Available at: < http://www.sasco.org.za/show?include=docs/discussion/no_political.html > [Accessed 15 February 2014].

Mannheim, K. (1960). *Ideology and utopia*. London: Routledge

Manning, D. (1976). *Liberalism*. London: Dent.

Maseko, S. S. (1994). Student power, action and problems: A case study of UWC SRC, 1981-92. *Transformation*, 24, 70-90.

Masondo T. (2010). *A Marxist-Leninist organisation? The debate revisited, Let us put the media in the 'judgement seat of reason'*
Available at: < <http://www.sasco.org.za/show.php?include=pubs/moithuti/2013/issue07.html> > [Accessed 17 August 2014].

Mathieu, J. (1996). Reflections on two African universities. *A Journal of Opinion*, 25(1), 24-28.

Mbalane, N. (2013) UKZN students protest at Howard College. 17 September. *East coast radio*. [online] Available at: < <http://m.ecr.co.za/post/ukzn-students-protest-at-howard-college/> > [Accessed 17 February 2014].

Mbonambi, G. (2010). March disrupts lectures on KZN campus. *The Mercury*. 9 March [online] Available at: < <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/march-disrupts-lectures-on-kzn-campus-1.475804#.VVRY4I6qqko>> [Accessed 26 August 2014].

McAdam, D. (1982). *Political process and the development of black insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- McCarthy, J. D. and Zaid, M N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(6), 1212-1241.
- McClurg, S.D. (2003). Social networks and political participation: The role of social interaction in explaining political participation. *Political Research Quarterly*, 56, 448–464.
- McCobin, A., Fuller, J. and Bureaucrash, L. D. (2009). *Students for liberty's student protests handbook*. (1st edition).
 Available at: < www.studentsforliberty.org/college/groups/protests/ > [Accessed 20 June 2014].
- McGarty, C., Bliuc, A. M., Thomas, E. F. and Bongiorno, R. (2009). Collective action as the material expression of opinion-based group membership. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65, 839 – 857.
- McGrath, E. J. (1970). *Should students share power?* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- McLellan, D. (1995). *Ideology*. (2nd edition). Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Melucci, A. (1995). The process of collective identity. In Johnston, H. and Klandermans, B. (eds.), *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Memela, M. (2011). NFP faces 'split' over coalition. *Sowetan*. 03 June [online] Available at: <<http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2011/06/03/nfp-faces-split-over-coalition>> [Accessed 14 January 2014].
- Menon. M. E. (2005). Students View Regarding their participation in university governance: Implication for distributed leadership in higher education. *Tertiary Education and Management*, 11, 167-182.
- Meyer, D.S. and Tarrow, S. (1998). The role of social media in mobilizing political protest Anita Breuer Evidence from the Tunisian revolution, Bonn 2012 Discussion Paper. Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik.
- Meyer, R. P. and Wagner, R. F. (2006). *College students and politics: A literature review*. Available at: < <http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/WorkingPapers/WP46LongoMeyer.pdf>. > [Accessed 24 March 2014]
- Mngxitama, A., Alexander, A. and Gibson, N. C. (2008). *Biko lives! contesting the legacy of Steve Biko*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moja, T. and Hayward. F.M. (2005). The changing face of redress in South African higher education (1990–2005). *Boston College & Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa*, 3(3), 31–56.
- Moodley, K. (1991). The continued impact of black consciousness. In Pityana, B. Ramphela, M., Mpumlwana, M. and Wilson, L. *Bounds of possibility: The legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness*. Cape Town: David Philip..

- Moradi, F. (2010). Colour-line: The petrification of racialization and alterity at the University of Stellenbosch. *Journal for Higher Education in Africa*, 8(2), 1–21.
- Morlan, G. (1970). The student revolt against racism in South Africa. *Africa Today*, 17(3), 12–20.
- Morrell, R. (1991). Power and Politics at a non-racial, ethnic University: A study of the University of Durban-Westville. *Critical Arts*, 5(4), 49-77.
- Morris, A. D. (1984). *The origins of the civil rights movement*. New York: The Free.
- Morrow, W. (1998) Stakeholders and senates: the governance of higher education institutions in South Africa. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 28, 385-405.
- Mouton, J. (1996). *Understanding Social Research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Mouton, N., Louw, G. B. and Strydom, G. L. (2013). Present-day dilemmas and challenges of the South African tertiary system. *International Business & Economics Research Journal*, 12(3), 285- 300.
- Mummendey, A., Kessler, T., Klink, A., and Mielke, R. (1999). Strategies to cope with negative social identity: Predictions by social identity theory and relative deprivation theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76, 229 – 245.
- Muya, D. (2014). The nexus between national and student politics: Managing student conflict in four African Universities in an era of democratic transition. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. Kwadlangezwa: University of Zululand.
- Myers, D.J. (1994). Communication technology and social movements: contributions of computer networks to activism. *Social Science Computer Review*, 12, 251-60.
- Myers, D. J. (2000). The diffusion of collective violence. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106, 173-208.
- Ndebele, N. S. (1997). Creative instability: The case of the South African higher education system. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 66(4), 443–448.
- Ndlovu, S. and Khan, J. (2011). Campus turns into battlefield, *The Mercury*, 31 March [online] Available at: < <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/kwazulu-natal/campus-turns-into-battlefield-1.105012526>> [Accessed 22 August 2014].
- Ndlovu, S. M. (2011). The Soweto uprising PART 1: Soweto. *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, 2(23), 17-368.

- Neale, P., Thapa, S. and Boyce, C. (2006). *Monitoring and evaluation. Preparing a case study: A Guide for designing and conducting a case study for evaluation Input-1*. Pathfinder International tool Series: Pathfinder International.
- Ngonyani, D. (2000). Tools of deception: Media coverage of student protests in Tanzania. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 9(2), 22-48.
- Ngwane T. (2011). Ideology and agency in protest politics: Service delivery struggles in post-apartheid South Africa. Unpublished Masters dissertation. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Nhlapho, M. M. (2006). The Demise of student movement in higher education institutions in South Africa: a case study of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Unpublished Masters dissertation. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Nkomo, M. (1983). Student culture in black South African Universities: Some factors contributing to student activism, 1960-1980. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. Michigan: University of Massachusetts.
- Nkomo, M. O. (1984). *Student Culture and Activism in Black South African Universities*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Nkwi, P., Nyamongo, I. and Ryan, G. (2001). *Field research into socio-cultural issues: Methodological guidelines*. Yaounde: International Center for Applied Social Sciences, Research, and Training.
- Nuttbrock, L. and Freudiger, P. (1991). Identity salience and motherhood: A test of Stryker's theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 54, 146-57.
- Nzimande, B. E. (2014). Department of Higher Education and Training 2014/2015 Budget Speech presented at the National Assembly, Republic of South Africa, Cape Town, 22 July.
- Obiero, N. A. (2012). The involvement of student leaders in the governance of university: An implication of shared leadership. Unpublished Master dissertation. University of Oslo.
- O'Hearn, C. C. (1998). *Half and half: writers growing up biracial and bicultural*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Olsen, J. P. (2007). The institutional dynamics of the European university. In Maassen, P. and Olsen, J. P. (eds.), *University Dynamics and European Integration*, .25-53.
- Olson, M. (1977). *The logic of collective action. Public goods and the theory of groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Olzak, S. and Koopmans, R. (2004). Discursive opportunities and the evolution of right-wing violence in Germany. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110, 198–230.

- Oxlund, B. (2008). Masculinities in student politics: Gendered discourses of struggle and liberation at the University of Limpopo, *Psychology in Society*, 36, 60-76.
- Oxlund, B. (2010). Responding to university reform in South Africa: Student activism at the University of Limpopo. *Social Anthropology*, 18(1), 30–42.
- Paletz, D. (2002). *The media in American politics: Contents and consequences*. New York: Longman.
- Palmer, T. G. (ed.). (2011). *The morality of capitalism: What your professors won't tell you*. Illinois: Jameson Books.
- Parham, T. A. (1989). Cycles of psychological nigrescence. *The Counselling Psychologist*, 17, 187-226.
- Parker, L. and Lynn, M. (2002). What's race got to do with it? CRT's conflicts with and connections to qualitative research methodology and epistemology. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8, 7-22.
- Patel, T. (2004). Trans-racial adoption: A Study of race, identity and policy. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. South Yorkshire: University of Sheffield.
- Pattman, R. (2010). Investigating 'race' and social cohesion at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, *South African Journal for Higher Education*, 24(6), 953–971.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. (3rd edition.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Peters, D. (2012). A survey of energy-related behaviour and perceptions in South Africa: The residential Sector, Department of energy document. Available at <http://www.energy.gov.za/files/media/Pub/Survey%20of%20Energy%20related%20behaviour%20and%20perception%20in%20SA%20-%20Residential%20Sector%20-%202012.pdf> [Accessed 23 January 2014].
- Pityana, N. B. (2006). A student union for a new South Africa, –Advancing towards a single coordinated national union of students in South Africa”. Paper delivered at the launch of the South African Union of Students, University of Stellenbosch, Cape, 31 March – 1 April 2006. Unpublished.
- Pityana, N. B. (2012). Black consciousness, black theology, student activism, and shaping of the new South Africa. Paper presented at The inaugural Steve Biko memorial lecture, London School of Economics and Political Science London, 9 October 2012. Unpublished.
- Poindexter, C. C. (2002) Meaning from methods: Re-presenting narratives of an HIV-affected caregiver. *Qualitative Social Work*, 1 (1), 59-78.

Polletta, F. and Jasper, J M. (2001). Collective identity and social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 283-305.

Postmes, T. and Brunsting, S. (2002). Collective action in the age of the internet mass communication and online mobilization. *Social Science Computer Review*, 20(3), 290-301.

Powell, D., O'Donovan, M. and De Visser, J. (2015). *Civic protests barometer 2007- 2014*. Cape town: MLGI. Available at <<http://www.mlgi.org.za/talking-good-governance/20150219%20Civic%20Protest%20Barometer%20published%20%20DP.pdf>> [Accessed 28 June 2015].

Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the market: Political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Raven, B. H. (1990). Political Applications of the Psychology of Interpersonal Influence and Social Power. *Political Psychology*, 11(3), 493-520.

Reddy, T. (2004). *Higher education and social transformation South Africa Case Study Report A* paper by the Council on Higher Education (CHE) Available at: <http://www.che.ac.za/sites/default/files/publications/HEandSocialTransformationReport_25Feb2004.pdf> [Accessed 22 June 2014].

Rojas, F. (2006). Social movement tactics, organisational change and the spread of African-American studies. *Social Forces*, 84(4), 2148-2166.

Rootes, C. A. (1990) Theory of Social Movements: Theory for Social Movements? *Philosophy and Social Action*, 16(4) 5-17.

Roseman, I. J., Wiest, C. and Swartz, T. S. (1994). Phenomenology, behaviors, and goals differentiate discrete emotions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 206–221.

Ross, M. H. (1997). Culture and identity in comparative political analysis. In Lichbach, M.I. and Zuckerman, A.S. (eds.), *Comparative Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Roucek, J. S. (1967). The political role of students in underdeveloped countries. *Comparative Education*, 3(2), 115-121.

Roulston, K. (2010). Considering quality in qualitative interviewing. *Qualitative Research*, 10(2), 199-228.

Rugganan, S. (2010). Race Classification at the University of KwaZulu-Natal: Purposes, Sites and Practices. *Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity*. Available at:<http://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10413/1671/Rugganan_Shaun_2010.

[pdf;jsessionid=2F6B89F66F13A2726856A1FC7C36F635?sequence=1](#)> [Accessed 25 March 2014].

Ryan, F., Coughlan, M. and Cronin, P. (2007). Step-by-step guide to critiquing research. Part 2: Qualitative research. *British Journal of Nursing*, 16(12), 738-744.

Sandel, M. (1982). *Liberalism and the limits of justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sanders, M. (2002). *Complicities: the Intellectual and Apartheid*. Durham; London: Duke University Press.

Sargent, L. T. (2009). *Contemporary political ideologies: A comparative analysis* (14th edition). Cengage Learning, Inc.

Schumaker, W. R. (1978). The scope of political conflict and the effectiveness of constraints in contemporary urban protest. *Sociological Quarterly*, 19, 168-84.

Schumpeter, J. (1976). *Capitalism, socialism and democracy*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Schwarzmantel, J. (1991). *Socialism and the idea of the nation*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Scott, B. R. (2006). *The political economy of capitalism*. Harvard Business School Working Paper, No. 07-037, December 2006.

Scott, I. (2007). Addressing diversity and development in South Africa: Challenges for educational expertise and scholarship. Cape Town: Council on Higher Education for the Improving Teaching and Learning for Success project. Unpublished.

Seale, C. (1999). Quality in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 5(4), 465-478.

Seekings, J. (2008). The continuing salience of race: Discrimination and diversity in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 26(1), 1-25.

Seekings, J., Jooste, T., Langer, M. and Maughan-Brown, B. (2005). Inequality and diversity in Cape Town: An introduction and user's guide to the 2005 Cape Area Study. CSSR Working Paper 124, University of Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research

Seekings, J., and Nattrass, N. (2005). *Class, race and inequality in South Africa*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Seekoei, K. and Macfarlane, D. (2010). UKZN privatisation dispute rolls on. Mail and Guardian 17 September. [online] Available at: < <http://mg.co.za/article/2010-09-17-ukzn-privatisation-dispute-rolls-on> > [Accessed 22 May 2014].

Seliger, M. (1976). *Politics and ideology*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Seliger, H. W. and Shohamy, E. (1989). *Second language research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. J., Chavous, T. M. and Smith, M. A. (1998). The Relationship Between Racial Identity and Self-Esteem in African American College and High School Students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(3), 715-724.

Shenton, A, K. (2004) Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, 22, 63–75.

Shivambu, N. F. (2006). SASCO Ideological Debates Revisited: A brief overview of Marxism-Leninism as SASCO's guide to action and tools of analysis. [online] Available at: < <http://amadlandawonye.wikispaces.com/SASCO+ideological+character+revisited,+Nyiko+Floyd+Shivambu> > [Accessed 22 May 2014].

Sikwebu, D. (2008). A Search for Post-apartheid Collective Identities: Ethnic Student Organisations at a South African University, *JHEA/RESA* 6(2&3), 107–133.

Simon, B., Loewy, M., Sturmer, S., Weber, U., Freytag, P. and Bunting, I. (2006). The higher education landscape under apartheid. In Cloete, N., Maassen, P., Fehnel, R and Moja, T. (eds.), *Transformation in higher education: Global pressures and local realities*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Singh, A. (2014). UKZN protests. *Rising sun Overport*, 21 February, [online] Available at < <http://risingsunoverport.co.za/6597/ukzn-protests/> > [Accessed 29 February 2014].

Sjoberg, G. (1967). *Ethics, politics and social research*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Smith, E. R. (1993). Social identity and social emotions: Toward new conceptualizations of prejudice. In Mackie, D, M and D. L. Hamilton, D. L (eds.), *Affect, cognition, and stereotyping: Interactive processes in group perception*, 297–315. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P. and Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, Method and Research.*, London: Sag.

Sniderman, P. M., Hagendoorn, L. and Prior, M. (2004). Predisposing factors and situational triggers: Exclusionary reactions to immigrant minorities. *American Political Science Review*, 98(1), 35–49.

Sono, T. (1993). *Reflections on the origins of black consciousness in South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC press.

South African Student Congress. *Home page*. Available at: < <http://www.sasco.org.za> > [Accessed 28 February 2014].

- Speller, G., Lyons, E., and Twigger-Ross, C. (2002). A community in transition: The relationship between spatial change and identity processes. *Social Psychological Review*, 4(2), 39-58.
- Spickard, P. R. (1992). The illogic of American racial categories. In Root, M. P. P. (ed.), *Racially Mixed People in America*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Steele, C. M., Spencer, S. J., and Aronson, J. (2002). Contending with group image: The psychology of stereotype and social identity threat. In Zanna, M. P. (ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*, (34), 379–440). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Stenbacka, C. (2001). Qualitative research requires quality concepts of its own. *Management Decision*, 39(7), 551-555.
- Stevens, G. and Lockhat, R. (1997). Coca-cola kids —Reflections on black adolescent identity development in post-apartheid South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 27(4), 250–255.
- Stinson, A. D. (2009). National identity and nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa. Unpublished Masters dissertation. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.
- Storck, M. (2011). The role of social media in political mobilisation: A case Study of the January 2011 Egyptian Uprising. Unpublished Masters dissertation. Scotland: University of St Andrews.
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research*. California: Sage.
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, A. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research*. (2nd edition.). TO: Sage.
- Stryker, S. and Burke, P. J. (2000). The past, present, and future of an identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(4), 284-297.
- Stryker S, Owens, T. J. and White, R. W. (eds.). (2000). *Self, identity, and social movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Stubbs, A. (ed.) (1987) *I write what I like: Steve Biko. A selection of his writings*. Oxford: Heinemann.
- Sturmer, S. and Simon, B. (2004). Collective action: Towards a dual-pathway model. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 15, 59–99.
- Sturmer, S. and Simon, B. (2009). Pathways to collective protest: Calculation, identification or emotion? A critical analysis of the role of group-based anger in social movement participation. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65, 681 – 705.
- Tabane, O. J. J. (ed.) Bonakele, T., Mxenge, T. and Thabakgale, S. (2003). Student representative councils: A guide to developing a constitution support material for student leadership development programme, *Centre for Higher Education Transformation*.

Available at: < <http://chet.org.za/download/file/fid/187> > [Accessed 22 June 2014].

Tajfel, H. (1972). Social categorization. English manuscript of 'La catégorisation sociale.' In Moscovici, S. (ed.), *Introduction à la Psychologie Sociale*, 1, 272–302. Paris: Larousse.

Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In Austin, W. G. and Worchel, S. (eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations*. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Tajfel, H, and Turner, C. J. (1986). The Social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In Worchel, S. and Austin, W.G (eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations*. Chicago, Ill.: Nelson-Hall.

Taylor, V. and Whittier N. E. (1992). Collective identity in social movement communities: Lesbian feminist mobilization. In: Morris A, Mueller C (eds.), *Frontiers of Social Movement Theory*, 104–129. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press,.

The University of KwaZulu-Natal SRC Constitution Available at: < http://src.ukzn.ac.za/Libraries/SRC_Documents/SRC_Constitution.sflb.ashx > [Accessed 17 February 2014].

Thobakgale, S. (2001). *Report of a Workshop on Launching the Student Federation*. Sunnyside: Centre for Higher Education Transformation.

Thompson, L. (1990). *A history of South Africa*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tucker, K. H. (1989) Ideology and Social Movements: The Contributions of Habermas. *Sociological Inquiry*, 59 (1), 30-47.

Turner, J. C. (1982). Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group. In Tajfel, H. (ed.), *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, 15-40. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Turner, J. C. (1985). Social categorization and the self- concept: A Social Cognitive Theory of Group Behaviour. In Lawler, E.J. (ed.) *Advances in Group Processes: Theory and Research*, (2), 77-122 Greenwich, CT: JAI.

Turner, J. C. (1991). *Social Influence*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Turner, J. C., and Brown, R. J. (1978). Social status, cognitive alternatives and intergroup relations. In Tajfel, H. (ed.), *Differentiation between Social Groups*. London: Academic Press.

Turner, J. C, Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D. and Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Twigger-Ross, C.L., Bonaiuto, M., and Breakwell, G. (2003). Identity theories and environmental psychology. In Bonnes, M., Lee, T. and Bonaiuto, M. (eds.), *Psychological Theories for Environmental Issues*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.

University of Kwazulu-Natal Annual Report, 2013

Available at: < <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/publications/AnnualReport2013.pdf> > [Accessed 13 February 2014].

Vallerand, R. J. (2008). On the psychology of passion: In search of what makes people's lives most worth living. *Canadian Psychology*, 49, 1–13.

Vallerand, R. J. (2010). On passion for life activities: The dualistic model of passion. In Zanna, M. P. (ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*, (42), 97–193. New York: Academic Press.

Van de Donk, W. and Foederer, B. (2001). E-movements or emotions? ICTs and social movements: some preliminary results. In Prins, J. (ed.), *Ambitions and Limits on the Crossroad of Technological Innovation and Institutional Change*, Boston.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multi-disciplinary approach*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Politics, ideology, and discourse Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona: Elsevier.

Van Niekerk, G. (2015). End white privilege' say students who defaced statue at UKZN. *City Press*, 26 March [online] Available at < <http://www.citypress.co.za/news/end-white-privilege-say-students-who-defaced-statue-at-ukzn/> > [Accessed 30 March 2015].

Van Stekelenburg, J. and Klandermans, B. (2010). The social psychology of protest. *Sociopedia.isa*, 1 -13

Van Stekelenburg, J., Klandermans B. and Van Dijk, W.W. (2009). Context matters: Explaining why and how mobilizing context influences motivational dynamics. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(4), 815–838.

Van Zomeren, M. (2009). Introduction to the social and psychological dynamics of collective action. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(4), 645—660.

Van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., Fischer, A. H. and Leach, C. W. (2004). Put your money where your mouth is: Explaining collective action tendencies through group-based anger and group efficacy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87, 649–664.

Vegh, S. (2003). Classifying forms of online activism: The case of cyberprotest against the World Bank. In McCaughey, M. and Ayers, M. D. (eds.), *Cyberactivism: online activism in theory and practice*. New York: Routledge.

- Verba, S., Nie., N. H. and Kim, J. O. (1978). *Participation and political equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Veriava, A. and Naidoo, P. (2008). Remembering Biko for the here and now. In Mngxitama, A. Alexander, A. and Gibson.N. C. (eds.), *Biko Lives! Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko*. 233-252 New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Vincent, A. (1995). *Modern political ideologies*. (2nd edition.). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Vishnevsky, T. and Beanlands, H. (2004). Qualitative research. *Nephrology Nursing Journal*, 31(2), 234–238.
- Wagner, P. (2011). A new concept of European Federalism LSE ‘Europe in Question’. Discussion Paper Series The democratic crisis of capitalism: Reflections on political and economic modernity in Europe. LEQS Paper No. 44/2011. December 201. London School of Economics and Political Science. Unpublished.
- Walgrave, S. and Verhulst, J. (2006). The first time is the hardest: A cross-national and cross-issue comparison of first-time protest participants. Paper presented at the Annual APSA meeting, August 31 - September 3, Philadelphia. Unpublished.
- Walters S. (1993). *Continuity and change in community organisations, trends in grater Cape Town from 1989 to 1991*. Cape Town: CACE Publications:
- Walwyn, D. (2008). An analysis of the performance management of South African higher education institutions. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 22(3), 708-724.
- Weinberg, I. and Walker, K. N. (1969). Political parties’ involvements student politics and political systems: Toward a Typology. *American Journal of Sociology*, 75(1), 77-96.
- Weiner, R. (1981). *Cultural Marxism and political sociology*. Beverly Hills and London: Sage.
- White, C. L. & Burke. P. J. (1987). Ethnic role identity among black and white college students. *Sociological Perspectives*, 30, 310-33.
- White, T. (2006). *Principles of good research & research proposal guide*. London: Borhough.
- Wright, A. (1996). *Socialisms: Theories and practices*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wright, E. O. (1978). *Class, crisis and the state*. New York: Schocken.
- Wright, S. C. and Taylor, D. M. (1998). Responding to tokenism: individual action in the face of collective injustice. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28, 647-667.

Yang, G. (2000). Achieving emotions in collective Action: Emotional processes and movement mobilization in the 1989 Chinese Student Movement. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 41(4), 593–614.

Yap, S. C. Y., Settles, I. H. and Pratt-Hyatt, J. S. (2011). Mediators of the relationship between racial identity and life satisfaction in a community sample of African American women and men. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 17, 89-97.

Yarwood, J. (2006). Deterritorialized Blackness: (Re)making coloured identities in South Africa. *Postamble*, 2(1), 46-58.

Yin, R K. (1984). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Belonging and the politics of belonging, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 40(3), 197-214.

Yzerbyt, V., Dumont, M., Wigboldus, D. and Gordijn, E. (2003). I feel for us: The impact of categorization and identification on emotions and action tendencies. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 42(4), 533–549.

Acts of Parliament

South Africa (Republic): *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 108 of 1996.

South Africa (Republic): *Higher Education*, 101 of 1997.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: The defaced statue of King George V at Howard college campus draped in a blanket written, “~~end~~ white privilege”.

