Dissertation Title

Social Network Analysis of South Africa's Student Social Movement (2015-2016): A Case Study of the University of Kwa Zulu Natal

By

Adigun, Ajibola Owolabi

216073005

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Supervisor:

Dr. Khondlo Mtshali

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Declaration of Authorship

I Adigun Ajibola, declare that this dissertation titled: Social Network Analysis of South Africa's Student Social Movement (2015-2016): A Case Study of the University of KwaZulu- Natal is an outcome of my independent research work. This work has not been submitted to any other institution for a degree program or publication or examination. I maintain that all the information referenced, cited, derived from the works of others is clearly confirmed and acknowledged.

Signed……………………………Date………………………

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Dedication and Acknowledgements

This work is dedicated to my mentors: Krystal Strong, who awakened in me the interest in student movements and decoloniality; Emmanuel Remi Aiyede who encouraged my scholarship with his example; Dr. Khondlo Mtshali, my supervisor whose humble mien hides an incisive intelligence. I am grateful to the Mandela Rhodes Foundation for making a scholarship possible to come to South Africa.

To my brother Demola, my sister Olanrewaju and my unborn children Omolara, Iwalewa, Akindayo and Akinkunmi.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC: African National Congress

ANCYL: African National Congress Youth League

BAC: Black Academic Caucus

BSM:: Black Students' Movement

CGE Commission for Gender Equality

CPUT: Cape Peninsula University of Technology

DASO: Democratic Alliance Student Organisation

DHET: Department of Higher Education and Training

EFF: Economic Freedom Fighters

EFFSC: Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command

NEHAWU: National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union

NSFAS: National Student Financial Aid Scheme

PASMA: Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania

PMB: Pietermaritzburg

PYA: Progressive Youth Alliance

SASCO: South African Student Congress

SCA: Supreme Court of Appeal

SCO: Students' Christian Organisation

SERI: Socio-Economic Rights Institute

SETT: special executive task team

SRC: Student Representative Council

TRC: Truth and reconciliation commission

TVET: Technical and Vocational Education and Training

UKZN: University of KwaZulu-Natal

UWC: University of the Western Cape

Wits: University of the Witwatersrand

YCL: Young Communists League

Abstract

Rising tuition fees, government reduction of educational funding to match the increment in university enrolment, and perceived social exclusions in university spaces all contributed to the student social movement between 2015-2016 tagged as FeesMustFall on Social Media. The movement has welcomed historical, descriptive, and analytical lenses in deciphering the movement.

At the University of KwaZulu-Natal, where the disruptions turned violent and caused the university the most in damaged properties, and huge collateral damage to staff and students alike. This study investigates the impact and influences of social networks on the concerns, causes and consequences of the different modes of engagement as forms of extra-institutional governance in contrast to the formal, institutional modes of university governance.

The study applied a mixed method approach for a network analysis of participants. 100 questionnaires and 10 persons of interest were interviewed on the five campuses of the university with a purposive stratified sampling for the surveys and a purposive, snowballing for the interviews.

The findings reveal personal, associational, and racial influences on membership of student organizations and participation in the student movement. There was a strong correlation between organizational ties, personal identification from how the university experience has been and funding type to different modes of protests, participation, and perceptions of events.

It reveals the university as a microcosm of a society undergoing transformation and betrays the failure of cooptive governance that have been used to contain civil society agitations. Protests are thus seen as the creation of invented spaces for expansion of dialogue, a departure from politics and governance as consensus but instead as dissensus.

Social Network Analysis of South Africa's Student Social Movement (2015-2016): A Case Study of the University of Kwa Zulu Natal

Chapter One

Introduction

The 2015-2016 student fees protest in South Africa attracted global attention on social media and national interest. Tagged #FeesMustFall, it resulted in the temporary cessation of fee increment in South African tertiary institutions at the end of the 2015/2016 academic year and government increment of funding to match the increment of tuition fees in the subsequent year. In different universities, the campaign had local colorations embedded in them. At Rhodes University (or as the students call it, the University Currently Known as Rhodes, UCKAS), there was a call for more institutional responses to spatial alienation of black students in university culture and a more adequate response to allegations of rape culture on campus with the outing of alleged rapists through the circulation of a 'reference list' – a list containing alleged perpetrators of rape without adequate institutional responses. At the University of Cape Town where the Fallist campaign got its name from through the #RhodesMustFall campaign, there were complaints of marginalization of black students and an institutional culture that was insufficiently sensitive to the needs of black students. Such complaints included colonial structures on campus such as the Rhodes statue, inadequate housing facilities and an alienating university culture. At the University of Stellenbosch, the campaigns stressed the need to cater to non-Afrikaans speaking students through the review of the language policy. While the students' movements call ranged from the cessation of tuition increment and outright elimination, the different campuses added local flavour to the movement.

At the University of KwaZulu-Natal, located in the Kwa Zulu Natal province of South Africa, the different concerns of the movement at other universities found traction. The #RhodesMustFall campaign was matched with a local variant, #GeorgeMustFall. There was a renewed call for the faster implementation of the University's bilingual language policy and a commitment to the ending of outsourcing of workers.

The University of Kwa Zulu Natal, henceforth referred to as the University with all the constituent colleges or the name of a college when that is the focus of discussion, has as part of its culture an amalgam of different spatial dynamics that is unique. While universities of similar reputation in South Africa are historically white, the Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campus of the university, formerly colleges of the University of Natal only were. The Westville campus used to be a college for coloreds and Indians. There was also a medical school for African students. The University also occupies the double position of a university that is in the process of transforming and thus shed some of its attractions as a formerly white university to a black university in the media framing of the protests where scenes of violence took center stage and pacific attempts for resolutions were underplayed. There has also been a shift of reporting on the university when

students protests are seen as cries of righteous indignation to petulant acts of spoilt kids. There has been a resilience of how different university students are expected to display their disaffection with their institution and the state.

From the amalgamation of different university cultures, histories and traditions, the need to merge less resourced historically black colleges with more resourced historically white colleges led to the fraught merger of the University of Durban-Westville and the University of Natal in 2004. The University of Durban-Westville had been formed as a college for Indians and Coloreds. However, due to the Congress Alliances policy of boycotting apartheid institutions, there was low student enrollment until the 1980s when the policy changed to that of education under protest. The University of Natal at Pietermaritzburg had been established as an Agricultural school and a constituent college in Durban had been established to cater for more professional needs of white students until it became an autonomous university of its own.

The massification of education and the subsequent changing dynamics has made the university a microcosm of the rainbow experiment. For students of the University, the different complaints in other campuses had local colorations.

The World Economic Forum's Global Competitive Index 2016 ranks South Africa last in labor – employee relations in the 138 countries surveyed. Yet South Africa has the biggest economy in Africa. It has also consistently ranked in as one of the most unequal societies in the world. This has earned the country the notoriety of the protest capital of the world due to the tensions caused by economic and social inequalities, a consequence of a historical legacy and poor governance as the 2016 Ibrahim Index of Governance attests, recording the decline of governance in South Africa in the past decade.

In the first quarter of 2016 when the students' protests were ongoing, KwaZulu-Natal recorded the highest number of job losses[i]. While six of the nine provinces recorded increased levels of employment with the Western Cape leading the figures, the job numbers declined by 57,000 in KwaZulu-Natal (Statistics South Africa, 2016).

Rising tuition fees, government reduction of educational funding to match the increment of university enrolment and perceived social exclusions in university spaces all contributed to the student social movement in South Africa tagged #FeesMustFall on social media. These factors contributed to the South African student movement of 2015 – 2016.

The movement has welcomed different lenses of examination. From a historical descriptive lens, Heffernan and Nieftagodien (2016) offered the 1976 Soweto uprising as the ancestral kindred of its most recent iteration in the year of its 40th anniversary. Malcolm (2016) traced the trajectories of the protests to key figures from their personal struggles and the institutional dynamics of higher education in South Africa. Booysen, (2016) suggests the University of the Witwatersrand as the epicenter of the movement in an early edited volume that had contributions from scholars and activists that revealed a spatial dimension of the movement in the sense that the province and

institution attracts media attention while more trenchant protests have reduced significance for the media. While there have been allusions made to the role of social media, ideational motivations and organizational influences on the student movement, empirical studies have not yet linked how the factors of personal experiences, social relations and spatial dynamics of the movement shaped its manifestation on different campuses.

The national, non-hierarchical and the strengths of affiliations with party politics shaped the different trajectories of the movement. The initial compromises of a cessation of fee increment at the end of 2015 had the involvement of student political formations such as the African National Congress aligned Progressive Youth Alliance. However, when the terms of engagement changed from a freeze on fees to larger demands of institutional exclusion, decolonization, outsourcing of workers, etc., party political alliances became an albatross. Newer political formations such as the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC) and the Black First, Land First (BFLF) group, and individuals aligned to those associations filled the vacuum and were welcomed as organic leaders of the movement and necessary for negotiations, on their own terms.

The university as a site of struggle between students and the state, and as a repressive ideological tool has been proposed (Althusser, 2014). In Africa, university students were once seen as incipient elites as educational opportunities were limited in the colonial era. As educational opportunities expanded, there was a gradual massification with the universities acting as canaries in the mines of society. As universities became accessible to more people, there was a gradual shift in how students perceived themselves and their roles in society (Luescher-Mamashela, *et al*, 2011).

Students have played varying roles in the expansion of political possibilities in Africa and the world. In the anti-colonial struggle in Africa, students played a prominent part by challenging state institutions through local protests on their campuses. Soon their protests had national and even international focus, a departure from local concerns on campus such as welfare for better accommodation and concerns for syllabic changes.

In South Africa, with the enactment of the University Education Act of 1959 which segregated universities and colleges by race, students' organizations became more active and universities became a critical battle ground to fight these legislations. It was with this background that the South African Students' Organization (SASO) was established at the University of Natal in December 1968. The University of Natal, thus holds a historical importance in the study of student social movements in South Africa, especially with the election of Bantu Steve Biko, a student of the University of Natal as pioneer president of the association.

From the outset, the parallel creation of a race-based student organization which did not align with the extant National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), gave its mission a national outlook and expanded the focus of the association outside of the campuses where they were domiciled. Central to its ideology was Black Consciousness and a mission for 'assertion, manifestation, and

development of a sense of awareness politically, socially and economically among the black community' (Mission Statement, NUSAS).

The ideology of Black Consciousness has remained resilient and surfaced during the fees protests in the 2015-2016 iteration. This time, there was a subterranean concern of 'the Indian Question'. The student commencement address given by a past leader of the Student Representative Council (SRC) and SASO at the University of the North at Turfloop, Onkgopotse Tiro, did the rounds on social media and in pamphlets during the movement. He had criticized the Bantu system of education by exposing the contradictions of having a black university staffed and administered by white faculty members and administrators. Similar criticisms were directed towards the University of KwaZulu-Natal with some mutterings about a White vice-chancellor and Indian administrators, especially by student groups with Black Consciousness as part of the ideology such as the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC) and the Black First Land First (BFLF).

Rationale for Study

Social movements, as a form of (ir)rational collective behavior offers an avenue to interrogate the conceptions of civil society as welcome responses to the people at the sharp end of neo-liberal policies in the Global South. In the BRICS, student social movements in Brazil, India and South Africa have reacted to the cutting of public goods for the expansion of markets, for instance in the reduction of social spending on education and the introduction of economies of scale and the marketization of universities.

Defined as an action system comprised of mobilized networks, groups and organizations which, based on a shared collective identity are oriented towards change or conservation of society (Rucht, 1999), studies of social movements have vacillated between conceiving it as a study of the central contradictions and change of a society (for instance, The Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa and the Civil Rights Movement in America) and social movements which include easily identifiable actors with specific goals that often have organizational ties.

These smaller social movements, properly conceived fall in the cracks when Social Movements are studied with the bias for organizational structure and relative endurance. What is missing are how these smaller, disparate forms of protests snowball into larger social movements. Often, these smaller forms of social movements involving actors that may not have organizational ties at their inception snowball into bigger forms.

An empirical study of the 2015 – 2016 fees campaign offers a site to study how network ties influence social movements. This may have methodological bearing for the study of social movements, especially in the demarcation between *uncivil acts of uncivil societies* and social movements as core parts of civil society. The study also suggests the study of social movements as a continuum, with key actors often playing roles in other iterations.

This thesis studies how the socio-economic background of participants, their sense of belongingness on campus affect the student movement. It aims to study how their networks influenced their participation, the socio-economic dimensions of the protests and the various implications it had for their institutions and the movement. The study limits itself to the University of Kwa Zulu Natal, the university that was most affected by the financial costs of the student movement.

The University of Kwa Zulu Natal is a multi-campus, multi-college university formed from the merger of two constituent independent universities in 2004 as part of governments restructuring to reduce universities from 31 to 27 for more effective and efficient administration and service delivery of their core functions of research and training.

With an average population of 46,225 between 2014-2017 (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2017), the university is ranked as one of the top research universities in Africa and fourth in South Africa according to Times Higher Education (Survey, 2017). During the fees protests, it incurred the highest cost in damages by protesting students which included the burning of a law library at the Howard College campus, some residences and security posts, and a cafeteria popularly known as the 'White Cafeteria'.

Student protests are not unusual in South Africa as much as protests are part of the political scene. They have become a recurrent pattern in South Africa's academic calendar. As Booysen notes, these protests are consequences of the failure of managerial co-option of civil society since 2005 (Booysen, 2016). While there was an expansion of public participation of civil society in co-governance, the failures of these practices to transform into tangible results for citizens gave the room for the rise of bottom up demands in the forms of protests. This change from the optimism of co-governance to the impatience that leads to grassroot protests shows a gap between the demands and supply of governance. It also reveals the disregard for extra-institutional actors and processes until and unless they are in the open and formerly channeled.

Although the demands of the of the students during the movement were not unusual, the question as to the timing arises. Why then and why so long? Globally, at least as curated by social media algorithms, there was concern for racial justice through the Black Lives Matter campaign which fed into the rhetoric of race relations in South Africa and on campuses. The municipal elections also provided a time that was best to get government's attention.

At the University, as some other new universities that emerged from the mergers of other older universities there was a more acute effect of government reduction of funding as alternate sources of funding that had been reserved for constituent colleges now needed to be spread around. Also, the changing demographics imposed on these new universities new demands and costs. Cost-cutting measures such as the outsourcing of workers and the hiring of private security contractors to manage student unrests exposed an implicit contradiction of preparing for the changing demographics with different rules of engagement.

While the university has been applauded as one of the leading institutions of higher learning that is leading in transformation having more than 10 percent of its professors as South African born (City Press, 2014) and scoring high in its Equity Index (Govinder, *et al*, 2011*)*, there are concerns in resource allocations, huge differentials in student-professor racial demographics and spatial differences according to the historical configurations of the constituent colleges.

As a university with transformation as part of its mission, UKZN offers a readier semblance of the South African rainbow experiment with its marriage of strange bedfellows on its campuses.

Research Questions and Objectives

This study seeks answers to these specific questions:

1. How do personal experiences motivate participation in the Student Movement?
2. How do organizational affiliations affect different forms of participation in the Movement?
3. How did the institutional configuration shape the protests at the University?
4. What were the outcomes of various tactics adopted during the movement at the University?
5. What are the implications of these for civil society and social movements in South Africa?

The general objective of this study is to situate how actors of the students' movement have come to be influenced by their personal experiences, organizational ties, and the spatial differences of the student movement across South Africa, using the case study of the University of Kwa -Zulu Natal and its various campuses.

While Gibson (2011) suggests that the 'organic crisis' of the South African state may yet endure in the persistent struggles of the oppressed, his analysis, like several others offer to view only ex-post facto fallouts of protests that often are violent without considering what had come before the violent outbreaks and covert forms of protests that preceded these Fanonian practices. The study thus aims to empirically study how several forms of disenfranchisement of the actors are played out in the cathartic political moments that social movements offer.

Some commentaries during the heat of the protests have offered the lack of cohesion in demands and ideologies of the student protests especially when compared to their historical counterparts. This study will attempt a linkage of the disparate ideologies and methods to actors, organizations and spaces.

The first aim of this study is to investigate students' descriptions of their motivations for playing key roles in the student movement and how their personal experiences and network ties have influenced their participation. These are the answers the first two research problems seek to answer.

Has the student movement received more than its fair share of attention because of the use of the internet as a vehicle of outrage? As the demands of the students suggest, their concerns are not only for student welfare but also inclusive of workers' welfare (protests against outsourcing are still ongoing in some universities at the time of writing this thesis in 2017). Universities as sites of contestations thus have larger implications for societal issues. In what ways do the selected study sites do these? These are the objectives of the third and fourth research questions.

It is hoped that this empirical study will contribute to the study of social movements in South Africa as a form of extra-institutional politics.

Areas for Further Research

The study limits itself to the University of Kwazulu-Natal. It deploys the theory of social movements, relative deprivation and political moments. Other studies should consider the various iterations on different campuses in other universities and deploy decoloniality as theory. Since this is an empirical study that relies on a mixed method approach, further studies may want to look at more qualitative analysis and a comparison between different universities, their roles as interest groups and political movements as opposed to social movements, and their relationships with other social movements.

Chapterization

This research is written in six chapters which include the introduction as the first chapter, the literature review of the study, a third chapter for the theoretical framework, a fourth chapter for the methodology, a fifth chapter for research findings and a sixth and final chapter for the summary and conclusion.

The first chapter contains the introduction and background of the study and the problem statement, justifying the location of the study at the University of KwaZulu-Natal as the university most affected in monetary terms in damages incurred, and a microcosm of South Africa with its different constituent colleges and campuses.

The second chapter traces the evolution of the concepts of civil society and social movements and their importance within the state, the contributions of students to civil society and social movements globally, in Africa and in South Africa.

The third chapter contains the theoretical framework of relative deprivation and political moments.

The fourth chapter contains the research approach, the methodology, description of research instruments and samples. A mixed method approach was used with the distribution of hundred questionnaires in the five campuses of the university.

The fifth chapter presents the research finding with graphical illustration of the surveys and a discussion of the interviews.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2. 0. Introduction

This chapter traces the evolution of the concepts of civil society and social movements and their importance within the state, the contributions of students to civil society and social movements globally, in Africa and in South Africa.

It starts with the epistemological archeology of the concept of civil society as a central question of political philosophy, its use in liberal democracies and their contradictions and their attendant criticisms, social movements as a key part of this tradition and how the students' movement in South Africa has contributed to the study of democracy and institutional governance in South Africa.

Civil society is an amorphous concept in the social sciences that waxes and wanes with other concepts (Hamilton, 2003). Indeed, it is hard to talk about a concept in politics and social science without its civil society appendage. The foremost concerns of politics, power, obligations, conventions, laws and how they affect the relationship between citizens and the state have attached to them civil society consideration. The concept of 'civil society' is used interchangeably and as a synonym for government itself (Dunn, 1996). Social contract theorists have made this a core lexicon as a legacy of their invocation. It has also thrown up with that the various contestations that arise with it.

However, while social contract theorists have described civil society as civilized government and an arrangement that replaces an anarchic, or pre-civil society arrangement, described as the state of nature, it can to others precede the state. Adam Ferguson in his essay *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) describes civil society as the condition whence the state is born. For the other Adam and member of the Scottish enlightenment Adam Smith, civil society birthed commercial relations, or divisions of labor that formed a new form of social relations that agrarian dependence in feudal societies couldn't. Civil society may replace the state after state collapse as champions of civil society say of Somalia and how it has carried on despite the failures of state institutions. Civil society may straddle the gap between the state and the community. Civil society may be used as an instrument of the state or in opposition to the state. In places where rebellion is expected such as China, the talk of the use of civil society as an ideological tool for control and the management of this sphere as potential danger. This Lockean idea of the civic space derived from inalienable rights has survived in the conception of civil society as a tool for liberation.

The chimerical qualities of the concept of civil society thus requires a working definition: Civil society is the sphere of uncoerced human association between the individual and the state, in which people undertake collective action for normative and substantive purposes, relatively independent

of government and the market (Walzers, 1998:123-14). For Diamond (1999) 'civil society is the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, autonomous of the state, and is bound by a legal order or a set of shared collective rules.' Emirbiyer and Sheller, (1999) describes civil society as 'self-organized citizenry.'

Between the forms, norms, spaces, and achievements of civil society lie different theoretical traditions that have been influenced by geographical and historical considerations. From the Tocqevellian tradition since the publication of *Democracy in America,* in 1840, different labels have been attached to conceptualizing civil society. To liberal theorists like Robert Putnam who saw the density of civic organizations as a way of building *social capital*, a necessary ingredient for the sustenance of democracies in the Tocquevellian tradition (Putnam, 1993; 2000), there was a need for a *mass society (*Arendt, 1948; Horkeimer, 1947) that allowed for the different aggregation of people with similar interests to be able to contest for the allocation of values from the state. This was referred to as *pluralism* (Truman, 1951; Lipset, *et al.,*1956). These contestations demand a space for civic engagement and Jurgen Habermas defined these spaces as the *public sphere* (Habermas, 1983; Calhoun, 1993). These spheres have also evolved from coffee shops to open squares. With the adoption of information technology, the public sphere is no longer encumbered by physicality and has transcended into digital spaces. The Arab spring was a culmination of these new form and space where the Tunisian Tahrir square and Twitter became one.

Implicit in these liberal traditions is a satisfaction with the institutional order and an acceptance of civil society as a force for gradual transformation of society if extant civic rules guide its forms, norms, and character. The radical tradition has been suspecting of the claims of civil society, especially in its norms, forms, and spaces. It has seen civil society as an avenue to offer bottom-up resistance to power. One form of this radical traditions are social movements. Social movements, as a form of (ir)rational collective behavior offers an avenue to interrogate the conceptions of civil society as welcome responses to the people at the sharp end of neo-liberal policies in the Global South. For example, In the BRICS, student social movements in Brazil, India and South Africa have reacted to the cutting of public goods for the expansion of markets, for instance in the reduction of social spending on education and the introduction of economies of scale and the marketization of universities. Social movements are defined as an action system comprised of mobilized networks, groups, and organizations which, based on a shared collective identity are oriented towards change or conservation of society (Rucht, 1999). Alfred Stepan locates social movements in his definition of civil society. He defines civil society as the 'arena where manifold social movements (such as neighborhood associations, women's groups, religious groupings, and international currents) and civic organizations from all classes (lawyers, journalists, trade unions, and entrepreneurs, among others) attempt to constitute themselves in an ensemble of arrangements so that they can express themselves and advance their interests'

The liberal tradition does not equate it been Western. With the same optimism which the French Alexis de Tocqueville viewed the associational life in America in his book *Democracy in America*, James Madison, one of the founding fathers of the American republic had concerns. The tyranny of the majority scared James Madison and informed his proposals of having bulwarks in the American presidential system of a bicameral legislature represented by different classes of people where if one class served as the whip on the chariot the state, the other served as the brake. The corrupting influence of associational life which did not build civic culture in the sense of citizens acting in the interest of the state but having more loyalty to the associations was not to be left unmanaged. As scholars have argued, civic culture or associations do not necessarily promote democracy (Berman, 1997; Kwon, 2004). Absent of a deliberate containment of civil society, it can encourage societal discord. The roles of civil society actors in the Rwandan genocide and the Holocaust in Germany are examples. More recently, Niall Ferguson reveals how associational ties such as the Freemasons' helped in contesting the hierarchical order in Europe during the enlightenment. This new insight offers a new lens to look at associational life that were underground and carried their affairs in secret and their influences on a polity (Ferguson, 2018).

2.1 Civil Society and Social Movements

Social movements as a form of collective action of organized networks, groups, and organizations, sharing a collective sense of identity and oriented towards change or the preservation of social order has benefited and sprung out from the study of civil society. Social movements as civil society has been influenced by its theories and methods. This explains the concomitant development of both concepts. As a feature of political transitions, those who conceived of civil society in the first instance, like Georg Hegel, saw civil society as a transitional phase, and social movements as agents of such transition. These developments and differences are like Munck's distinction of the European tradition of social movements as a form of social identity through a structural class analysis and the American tradition of social movements as a form of strategic collective behavior (Munck, 1995). Each tradition has its own exceptions, the European emphasis on actor formation has the Marxist analysis of strategic collective behavior through class consciousness and the actions of the vanguards of the proletariat and the American tradition of social movements as strategic collective behavior as a form of political action by actors constituted by social categories. While one centered action; the other, society.

The Hegelian conception of civil society is the middle phase of ethical transition from family to the state. While tracing the conceptual history of civil society, Cohen and Arato (1992) defined civil society as 'a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all the intimate sphere (especially the family), the sphere of associations (especially voluntary associations), social movements, and forms of public communication' and posit that Hegel's description of civil society as a mid-point between the actualization of the ethical idea as a necessary hindrance to the actualization of the state. Civil society was the state deformed.

While later day theorists of civil society celebrate its resurgence and its import to democratization, those who conceived it in the first instance like Adam Smith and Georg Hegel had different uses for civil society. For Smith, civil society was where *homo economicus* was birthed, where relational reciprocity developed society and the state merely intervened to maintain justice and the enforcement of contracts. As mentioned earlier, civil society was necessary for the culmination of society into the state. Earlier than these theorists, in the 15th century, North African scholar Ibn Khaldun had written about civil society as *Asabiyyah*, group solidarity or social cohesion (Ibn Khaldûn, Frank Rosenthal, & N.J. Dawood, 1967). This was necessary before the five-stage cyclic growth of dynasties Arabian dynasties.

While commerce was the driving force of the Smithian conception of civil society into a more perfect association, for Hegel it was war. Like Rousseau who saw civil society as an impediment to actualizing the general will, Hegel saw the state as an embodiment of the general will and war as a catalyst to drive this phase into a more ethical union.

Ferdinand Tonnies's idea of two types of associations, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesselschaft,* community and society has also an ancestry of the social evolution idea of different conglomerations in state formations. These sorts of associations create tensions between them. For instance, in the sorts of expectations required of these associations and the obligations of citizens. The idea of organic and mechanic solidarity in the different associational grouping also affects the sort of morality in these groupings.

 Peter Ekeh's *Theory of Two Publics*, who argues for the dichotomies of moralities of citizens, especially those in civic spaces, in post-colonial states, has the same trend of a central political philosophical question: to whom is obligation owed and how are these obligations formed and met. However, because of the ascriptive affiliations of such groupings in Africa such as kinship ties in ethnic social organizations instead of a voluntary based association offered in the West, this was a critical departure from that tradition. As Ekeh (1992) argues, 'the ideology of kinship imposes restrictions on the moral worth of individuals, with those from outside its domain being morally valued than the kinsfolk... the universalism of civil society helps to offer common moral empathy, whereas kinship is restrictive in its meaning of freedom (1992).

The idea that urbanization and civilization are immutable have influenced the conception of civil society. From the organic solidarity of the *gesselschaft* with ties that are woven around economic and social interests as opposed to the mechanic solidarity of the *gemeinschaft* which were based on patrimonial networks. The universalization of the idea of individuals as atomistic actors is a key distinction between the genealogy of civil society in the West and their iterations in Africa.

These conceptual ancestries have influenced the study of civil society and social movements till this day. Like Adam Smith, liberal democratic theorists celebrate the democratizing effects of globalization. Radical Historian Eric Hobsbawm, in *Globalization, Democracy and Terrorism* is more skeptical, while the global *gesselschaft* spreads across borders through the globalization of

capital and the adoption of technologies, it leaves the state no longer with the monopoly of the use of violence (Hobsbawm 1997).

These historical antecedents have a conceptual blindspot that Mahmood Mamdani suggests is caused by the universality of the concept of civil society by Africanist and Western scholars deriving from the myths of the evolutionary processes of the state and society on one hand, and the caricaturing of African states and civil society from their western prototypes (Mamdani, 1995). Ekeh had also warned of the dangers of importing conceptual categories devoid of their contexts (1992).

As della Porta (1999) noted, social movements as a political process in the modernization paradigm, as collective behavior of aggrieved citizens with demands from the state whose demands lead to rational actions through resource mobilization have dominated the theoretical approaches to the study of social movements. It is this tendency of universality that Mamdani comes against (Mamdani, 1995). The heterogeneity of these approaches is not just in the delineation of schools. These schools are mutually reinforcing. The different approaches are all the same school finally with different points of emphasis. For instance, the structural functionalist school that saw social movements as a form of collective behavior that it stresses (Smelser, 1962; Gurr, 1977), see the misalignment of society as the consequence of rapid social transformation, a way society calibrates and adjusts to the inability of extant political institutions to cope with those who have been left behind, or in some cases those who are further ahead. The Smelsian view as crisis behavior have their basis in psychological study of individuals and group dynamics seeking to adjust to new societal realities.

Although della Porta and Diani (2011: 68) argue that the social science literature seldom treats the concepts of civil society and social movements together despite their overlapping similarity owing perhaps to the pejorative connotation of social movement as a disruptive form of civil society. In conceptualizing social movements however, there has been a focus on three or more aspects: collective joint action, change oriented-goals or aims; some extra-institutional or non-institutional collective action, some degree of organization and some degree of temporal continuity (Snow, Soule and Kriesi, 2004:6). It is the non-institutional collective action of social movements that has brought it into some disrepute in civil society literature.

Tilly (1994) defines social movements as a 'sustained series of interactions between power-holders and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation, during which those persons make publicly visible demands for change in the distribution or exercise of power, and back those demands with public demonstrations of popular support.'

Social movement has also faced the same criticism meted out to civil society. Do all forms of transient collective action qualify as a movement and when does one become a movement? Social movements are a form of confrontational civil society. Tarrow, (2004) defines it as collective

challenges to elites, authorities, other groups, or cultural codes, with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, authorities, and other groups. It is no surprise then that social movements often accompany societal shifts. Tarrow (1989) described the explosion of social movements in the late 1980s as a movement society. With the popular adoption of Web.2.0 technologies such as Twitter and Facebook came another wave of social movements, the Arab spring. The arrival of the millennium has had its fair share of discontents too. From the global climate change movement to the different occupy movements.

Social movements have had different lenses of examination including organizational formations, strategies and tactics ranging from oppositional to supportive methods depending on the ends of the movement. More recently, the institutional targets of social movements have shifted from the state to non-state actors such as companies and international financial organizations. The Occupy movement was directed towards global financial institutions. While social movements have been seen to be part of the social sphere – civil society-, distinct from the political and the economic (Rubin, 2001).

There has been an acknowledgement of a split between the conception of social movement in continental Europe and in America (Rubin, 2001). This split can be traced to their epistemological forebears. From the Aristotelian demarcation between the *polis* and the *oikos*, this was where the Hegelian tradition of civil society as a transitory phase straddling between the state and the family originated. The American contemporary tradition is derived from the effects of the changing social structures have on political participation (Nie, *et a*l. 1969; Parsons, 1970). The European tradition emphasizes spheres and spaces, while the American tradition harps on organizations, actions, and resource mobilizations. The current literature has however fused these two traditions together. It is now nearly impossible to distinguish between the traditions despite their philosophical leanings to their tradition. As Rubin (2001) demonstrates, these two traditions have left out their legal dimensions owing to disciplinary demarcations between the social sciences and law though it seems to be a huge blind spot in social movement studies as what underlies the pejorative conceptions of social movements are often the tension they have against the legal order.

The causes of social movements and the variations of their actions have been enriched by interdisciplinarity. Taken from the Freudian aphorism 'where *id* is, there *ego* follows' in his *Civilization and its Discontents* lectures, the psychoanalytic explanations for explaining non-conventional civic actions such as violence and arson has enriched social movement studies (Smelser, 1962; Gurr, 1977). These writers argued for the battle between passions and rationality in civic behavior and how often political behavior is more shaped by emotions than rationality.

Social movements as form of episodic collective action of civil society has constantly received attention with each resurgence of social movement seen as a new one until the next one is new again. The Civil rights movement, the antiwar-movement and color movements may have different ends but the constant renewal of social movements, what is referred to as 'New Social Movements' is not new.

The Marxist analysis has treated social movements that are not class based and revolutionary as ephemeral. Because Marxist analysis expect collective social actions, the movements often fall short of their expectation to the transcendence of society. On the other hand, functionalist sociology with its complacence in the face of the globalization of industrial capitalism stare at social movements and call them new.

New Social Movements (NSMs) thus emerged to fill the gap of collective action that is not strictly class based. New social movement theory came by in the 1980s in Europe to discern the patterns of the different collective actions from the 1960s onward. These movements were different from the old class-based theory that was the major challenge to capitalism. New Social Movements were organized around gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, environmentalism, human rights, etc. New Social Movements represented the agent by which a non-instrumental rationality can be brought into public life. The rejection of the working class as a democratizing agent or the transcendental agent for more issue-based or more broad-based, non-productivist movements (Cohen, 1985; Habermas, 1987). Perhaps in retrospect one may note that what is considered new had only come into the sight of theorists that had willfully ignored them. In the *Souls of Black Folks,* DuBois (1903) had said that the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line. He had trenchantly argued for the inadequacy of class-based analysis and how they are also interwoven with other social descriptors.

While the willful vision of 'new' social movements gave birth to a resurgence of the study of social movements, it brought back the changing of a new Marxist analysis that saw social movements as collective action from below in contention with the institutional dominance of the orthodoxy, what is referred to as social movement from above (Barker et al, 2013). The Social Movement from above was, according to Raymond Williams the ruling class that produces a political and social order. The recognition of social movements from above is critical as it alerts us to be suspicious of social movements from below may in fact be instigated by social movements from above. As the Nobel Laurate Wole Soyinka said in a lecture at the School of Oriental Studies, the 1962 Writers conferences at Makarere that birthed the decolonization debate had been sponsored by the Central Intelligence Committee (CIA) as a money laundering scheme and with intentions that although might not be particularly clear now but would certainly not be contra the interests of America. This has been documented by Saunders (1999) and Wilford (2013). More recently, one of the leaders of the Fees Must Fall Movement, Mukhove Morris Masutha is reported has been in the employ of the State Secret service as a student leader (News24, 2017). Social movements from above has inveighed against laziness in the age of Victorian primitive accumulation in ideological campaigns, freemasonry of the eighteenth century and the think-tanks of the twentieth century (Ferguson, 2017; Barker, et al, 2013). Social movement from above is thus defined as the extension of hegemonic structures and positions of dominant social groups by the building of new skills based on the extension on a collective project of domination. These projects vary from crises management (Klein, 2007), to counterinsurgency operations (Pilger, 2003). The importance of the Marxist social movement is to see social movements as a continuum that dethroned Kings,

enlarged franchise and rights for previously disadvantaged groups and contested the orthodoxies of extant social orders.

As Tucker observed, the insensitivity to movements of the past, the so called 'old social movements' results in an incomplete understanding of the contemporary social movements as collective learning experiences structured by cultural traditions. He cites Habermas's neglect of the potential that labour might have in the democratization of western societies. Attempts to wrest control away from labour have further radicalized democratic demands in other spheres (Thompson, 1963; Sewell, 1980; Calhoun, 1982). Old social movements morphed as society moved. When extant social systems could not satisfy labour's demands, they coalesced into different identities to demand anew.

The concatenation of the Marxist analysis and the Parsonian structuralist examination of social movements are insightful despite their seeming contradictions. As Cohen (1982:79) argues, the conception of history as the objectification of knowledge processes on one hand and labour processes on the other, separating labour from thoughts leads to alienation. The classes that represent these two modes of being are universal and self-constituting, reproducing themselves in different forms as society progressed. Praxis is thus reduced to labour, self-formative processes to social groups, civil society to economic processes and politics to a function of the mode of production. The universalization of these distinction is useful in the Marxist analysis to reveal how movements morph but exaggerated in its universalization.

A constant critique of leftist analysis is the seeing of class divisions and productions everywhere. More precisely is the use of labour as instrumental action (Honneth, 1982). What Habermas and Cohen neglects are the emancipatory potentials of labour, the labour which does not necessarily involve alienation as that found within the capitalist division of labour, and the emancipatory trends that inheres within the social conditions that movements find themselves (Keane, 1975; Honneth, 1982). Movements, like water, will find its course.

The limitation of labour to just instrumental action blinds Cohen to labour as a participatory framework of social existence which is self-conscious by itself and through it self-development and productive engagement go hand in hand. Praxis is not separate from epistemology. Praxis is epistemology.

The inadequacies of Habermas and Cohen that critics point out (Keane, 1975; Honneth; 1982; Tucker, 1991), which a lot of leftist analysis of social movement fall under was addressed by Barker et al. (2013). In conceiving social movements as a contention between social movement from above and social movement from below and drawing the ancestry between the different iterations of movements that do not necessarily involve labour, they offer a coherent Marxist analysis of social movement which accommodates labour and other forms of structural differentiations as they morph across time and space. For instance, from a historical-comparative perspective, they see the Black International as a social movement wave as much as the caste and

class revolt in India in 1857. Having this broad conception of social movement as a process in which a particular social group develops a collective project of skilled activities centered on rationality – a particular way of making sense of and relating to the social world- that tries to change or maintain a dominant structure of entrenched needs and capacities, in part or in whole as opposed to the field-specific definition of social movements as forms of extra-institutional forms of political activity with specific institutional and organizational arrangements (Tilly, 2004).

Quotidian practices embedded in social formations in response to specific needs and aspirations which are grounded in social realities that are specific to a group when articulated in a local rationality draws sympathy and alliances with others become a movement. These processes are often in conflict with other groups in the same social formation.

The struggle over the direction of the development of a social organization between the movements from above, those with hegemonic facilities- and movements from below is what is referred to as a battle for historicity i.e. an organic crisis (Gramsci, 1998:210). How these struggles are resolved depends on path dependency, that is accommodative strategies available to both to resolve and transcend their impasse.

As Dianni and Bison (2004) have observed, the social movement processes with clear conflictual goals directed to specific opponents, a public expression of public conflict that survive preceding organizational coalitions with avenues for independent actions that go beyond organizational limitations is what qualifies social movement processes. Thus, social movements are not just a form of political participation which are found within organizational ambits. The cross-cutting affiliations of social movements processes and tactics make them different from other kinds of political participation.

The lack of a resilient organizational structure in social movements have led to the conclusion that they are not liable, or responsive to legal strictures as other forms of organizational political actors are. But akin the formalization of several spheres of life in Europe and America, the emphasis on formalization and organizational credibility has foreshadowed the studies of social movements in other parts of the world. During the global resurgence of third wave democratization, as Samuel Huntington (1991) puts it, the social movement's resilience came because of the flexibility of the groups and actors that strict formalization would not have allowed.

Aligned to this view of organizational affiliation as a form of credibility to social movement actors is the supposition that states, and citizens have reciprocal relationships that are entrenched in societies. In Africa and other post-colonial states, the relationships have been that of states without citizens (Ayoade, 1988). Instead it has been that of a relationship of bifurcation where most are subjects rather than citizens and only a few have the capacity of sustained resistance when they come against the state. In Nigeria, for instance, pro-democratic organizations that were registered, including media actors where proscribed. The same was the case in South Africa during the anti-apartheid movement where vocal organizations and actors with credentials of formalization where

proscribed in the name of riotous assembly and unlawful organization. Thus, the resilience of social movements has come because of their flexibility in the authoritarian regimes that they were forced to operate under, with it came the transforming of organizations into bodies that were fluid. However, with the arrival of democracies, these associations became effete as they were operating under a different dispensation that they were not accustomed to (Aiyede, 2003).

The Tocquevellian tradition of 'civility' and the formalization of 'organizations' has been exaggerated. It does not fit with the lived realities of real actors of democratization. Some organizations that have been crucial to the process of democratization do not possess the Tocquevellian qualities, thus the western idea of civil society and social movements may preclude very important actors (Kasfir, 1998). Ndegwa, thus suggests an enlargement and incorporation of social movement into discourses of civil society (1996). As McGill puts it," … actors do not play out their roles in a vacuum, but in a context consisting of the structures from the past and continuing into the present. They must deal with the legacy of what has gone before rather than create their own environment de novo" (2000). This point needs emphasizing as it shows the resilience of institutions on the behavior of actors because of the effects of the past. The argument has been made about the inability of liberation parties in Southern Africa to transform their internal characteristics because of historical institutionalism where old habits die hard.

Aside from the character and form of associations in social movements, there is a focus on social movement processes as a collective action of networking between different organizations. Their solidarity may be temporary for the sole aim of a specific action and may not survive past the resolution of their common partnership. At other times, their form may be the reason for partnership, not their goal. While the Black Panthers and the organization led by Martin Luther King, Junior - the Southern Christian Leadership Conference- were united by a common goal, they differed on methods.

As Steinberg observed of the 'civicness' of different organizations during the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, there was a trenchant anti-democratic and anti-liberal ethos among them to effectively deal with oppressive state apparatuses (2000). These organizations felt that the ballot box was a deformed form of political participation that even when acquired was merely necessary but not sufficient. When the transition to democracy arrived however, comrades became citizens. The plurality of the different camaraderie that united them during the apartheid movement are a test of the alliances of these associations in the new democratic dispensation. It did not also help that there had been a cooption of civil society organizations by the government in the new dispensation, which rerouted their purposes to the services of the developmental state under President Nelson Mandela. There was thus a semblance of sameness which would later unravel as the colour of the promised rainbow nation faded.

2.2. Civil Society and Social Movements in Africa

The resurgence of civil society in Africa is owed to social movements, at least in the eyes of Western scholars who see a thin civic sphere in Africa. Due to the 'third wave of democratization' scholars like Arato and Cohen (1992) who argue for the universalist claims of the import of a civic sphere for democratization and blame the failures of democracies in newly independent African countries on the lack of civil society, social movements were welcome replacement as evidence of an expanding civic sphere where little existed. They argued for a universalist conception of civil society for the entrenchment of human rights which transcended geography. Ekeh (1992) and Mamdani (1995) disagrees.

In a content analysis of the use of civil society in Africa, Ekeh found a thinness of the use of the concept in the 1950s till the 1980s, then a sudden explosion of the use of the concept in the 1980s (Ekeh, 1992). Arato and Cohen had suggested the incorporation of social movements with the conceptualization of civil society to overcome the antinomies of the West. Ekeh had noted the absence of civil society in Africa, at least in the ways by which it was conceived in the West, and proposed a two-fold distinction in the *Theory of Two Publics*. Because of the partial fragmentation of African states between spaces where the state had control and the spaces where the citizens made do all by themselves, there was a civic public realm and a primordial public realm. Thus, the invisibility of civil society that Cohen, Arato and Bratton had noticed were lurking outside of their view in the primordial public realm. Once this is noted, a richness of a civic space is revealed. Since the primordial public realm offers more opportunities for the satisfaction of the needs of the individual in a society, and the ties formed in the primordial public realm are the avenues by which the state is engaged, the civic public realm is ignored as it serves little purpose for the individual. Although they are referred to as primordial, these ties which include kinship ties that have ancient ancestry are modern social formations as they were brought about by new forces. The state has conceived in the West is omni-present in fact and is only constrained by legislation. In Africa, the state claims for itself capacities that it does not have. Thus, the primordial public realm plays a more important role.

Civil society in Africa thus offers a rejuvenation into the study of civil society as they transcend the model of historical origins of civil society in the West and incorporates social movements and the focus of civil society as not necessarily a cause for the creation of a bourgeois society but an enlargement in the relationships between states and citizens. Civil society was not then seen as a transient phase, or a precursor to new forms of democratization as those who sought to import 'democratic' practices suggested, instead, civil society existed in various forms that confounded Western lenses.

Mamdani (1995) exposes the parochialism of the distinctions between state and civil society in the West and has used in in Africanist writings. For him, it was not enough that these concepts were by themselves myths in that even the Western traditions offered contradictory claims. The Aristotelian conception of civil society as equivalent to the *polis*, 'a type of political association which placed its members under the influence of laws and ensured peaceful order and good government' (Keene, 1988; Seligman, 1992) and the romanticization of civil society as a 'natural condition of freedom' (Keene, 1988) and a bulwark against the encroachment of the state offered by Thomas Paine and the de Tocquevillian tradition. There was also the Hegelian tradition of civil society which equated civil society with the development of a bourgeois society. It was therefore easy to see how civil society became deformed under Western lenses as it had been held up against a Western myth. For one, the Aristotelian equivalence of civil society as the polis was not to be considered as most African states comprised omni-present but omni-potent states. The concatenation of the Hegelian tradition as a contradictory combination of the organization of struggles for state attention and power and the de Tocquevillian tradition of an emancipatory space thus led to a ahistoric conceptualization of civil society in Africa as in a stage of development.

As forms of participatory political arrangements however, civil society and social movements were thus linked and the definition expanded as 'the arena where manifold social movements such as neighborhood associations, women groups, religious groupings, international currents and civic organizations from all classes including lawyers, journalists, trade unions, entrepreneurs, etc. attempt to constitute themselves in an ensemble of arrangements in order to advance their interests (Stepan, 1988). Thus, the conception of civil society as social movement from below and social movement from above became incorporated into the study of civil society. To Haberson, Civil society referred to the point of agreement on what those working rules of the political game or structure of the state should be, whether in the struggle for human rights or democracy (1994:3-4). Groups in the civic public realm such as professional associations are part of civil society only to the extent by which they are willing to engage in defining or supporting changes in the rules of the political game of and for the authoritative allocation of values.

These definitions offer civil society in terms of its location, its functions its institutions and its politics. These definitions are thus apolitical because they emphasize the relevance of horizontal solidarities, the growing solidarity of civic associations, their autonomy and distance from the state. With its location between the state and the citizen and its politics as oppositional and sometimes in collaboration with the state, there was thus a fusion between the activist definitions and static definitions of civil society which Kunz (1994:181-187) suggests are complimentary and not necessarily at odds.

Civil society in formation, where the boundaries between state and civil society are still contested and mature civil society where there is relative demarcation between the state and civil society merely reflect different stages in the evolution of the public sphere.

Where ordinary citizens fight against despotism either through the mobilization of the Urban poor by the Islamist movement, the organization of women and the roles of intellectuals at universities, civil society in Africa is thus a praxeological endeavor.

As observed, the skepticism of African scholars on the use of civil society rests on empirical, theoretical, and ethical grounds. As the Madisonian caveats about the dangers of associational life, Diamond (1988) warns of the dangers of touting the expansion of the civic sphere where the state cannot control or see it. As he notes 'non-formal participation can be violent as well as peaceful and democratic, and the exclusion of the bulk of the people from the formal political arena cannot augur well for the inauguration of democracy. Unless reversed, it becomes a formula for regime delegitimation, political crisis and political decay. The distinction between state and society is a re-enactment of the state-society paradigm found in the West which Ekeh rejects. The liberal conception of civil society in Africa which sees the expansion of civil society as dangerous and the libertarian paradigm that applauds it all reiterate the state-society paradigm. For one, there is little correlation between the density of civil society and the strength of democracies in Africa. The point then is not the quantity but the quality. Since many of the primordial civic associations in Nigeria and Africa have restrictive concerns which are solely for the advancement of the welfare of their members, it stands in the face of the generalized libertarian conception of civil society as a force for the expansion of human liberty which transcends primordial boundaries.

The focus on purely internal determinants for the development of civil society neglect the effects that external forces such as shifts in international relations or international morality impact the roles and focus of civil society and social movements. Linked with the structural determinants and historical forces that exert their influences on the development of civil society, in Africa, civil society does play a more important role as miner's canary of African society. The lack or disappearance of a civic sphere is dangerous for democratization, when primordial ties trump civic ties, there is a withdrawal of participation which erodes legitimacy. Where civil society becomes a policy pronouncement, especially when they are coopted for governance as advocated by the World Bank, there is an assumption that the visible civil society that can be gathered around or seen in organizational life, represents civil society. Social movements thus catch observers by surprise.

Social movements as civil society in Africa are particularly important owing to the triple threat of colonialism, globalization, and neoliberalism. It is no surprise then that the bulk of these movements are in the Third World and in Africa (Sali, 2004). Due to the contradictions in global capitalism that preaches openness to markers but closures to labour opportunities, the contest in priorities between democratization and development, and the opening up of new human right opportunities that previously underserved groups discovered in the developing world (Horowitz and Schnabel, 2004), Social movements thus became an avenue to contest for these rights that have previously been denied them, or is been wrestled from them as new opportunities seen by the state forecloses them to those who had enjoyed them in the past. These groups include but are not limited to youth groups including students, refugees, illegal aliens and women. The new human

right doctrine emboldened them post the Cold War that they had rights to development. As social movement from below, they sought inclusive citizenship and more equitable power relations. This is the cause for the proliferation of social movements, or new grassroot stirrings in Africa (Cohen, 1985; Haynes, 1997). Thus, social movements soon came to be understood as 'collective challenges mounted by relatively marginal groups against powerful elites and dominant ideologies (Medearis, 2005:54).

Since struggles for rights have been collective pursuits instead of for individual rights (Ekeh, 1997), social movements in Africa allowed for the culmination of individual rights into group rights. For purposes of traction and visibility, individual rights expressed with group solidarity had a more impactful result. The privileging of communal rights where the interest of the nation-state or the ethnic community prevailed over the individual rights underline the group basis of conflicts in Africa. (Mahajan, 1998:63).

This emphasis on group rights and group interests with other factors such as the inequalities and competition between different groups and the hierarchies of citizenship, the lethargic responses of the state to respond to expressed grievances timeously and the use of state forces to repress those rights, has led to the preponderance of social movement in the civil society landscape in Africa (Osaghae, 2008).

This preponderance of social movements has also come in the wave of the resurgence of human rights from the establishment of the Human Rights Commission at the United Nations. This new resurgence of human rights mobilization enervated the social movements and has been crucial to their definition. For example, as Osaghae (2008) says, the Niger Delta movement and the environmental movement led by the Ken Saro-Wiwa-led Ogoni in Nigeria rode on the wave of the social movement-human rights nexus. But this connection between human rights and social movement is not enough, there is need for an understanding between the relationship between the state and social movement engagements, and a key ingredient in the success or otherwise of the social movements, the coherence and effectiveness of leadership (Tarrow, 1999; Ukeje and Adebanwi, 2008).

Tarrow (1999) offers the repertoire of collective action such as demonstrations, sit-ins, strikes, boycotts and other forms of modular collective action found in contemporary social movements as having a 200-year history, from the days of the French revolution, to the Anti-slavery movement and the non-violent civil action led Ghandi. The trajectories have been adopted over time and space and have evolved to include new actions that leverages the power of ordinary people in the face of fire. This has in turn caused leaders to adopt methods of social control that are subtler than the cavalry charge or the canonade (1999:42).

These new repertoires have also increasingly been more violent than those in the past, especially those with ethnic or religious motives behind them. As Tarrow suggests, as the non-violent social

movement repertoires were institutionalized, so will the violent methods that characterize newer social movements.

He suggests 'connective structures' to understand the dynamics of the complex relationships between more formal organizational hierarchies and the mobilization that different forms of organizations which emerge from a complex process of contestations in history and society. These contestations may emerge from 'framing contestations'. In the same way that the civil rights movement was framed as a debate between state's rights and federal government oversight. Tarrow suggests a middle ground between the symbolism of social movements in framing contestation or the rational choice, and found a 'middle space between the ungrounded formulations of rational choice and the all too grounded interpretations of culturalism' (Tarrow, 1999: 198).

As earlier noted (Aiyede,2017), the connective structures are not bound by Robert Michel's iron law of oligarchy. These movements adapt their own forms of structures depending on how the situation demands. These situations, especially those culturally bound also help in personal development of the participants. Therefore, social movements are not merely contentious, they are also vehicles for personal development. In linking different nodes together and expanding different parts of a movement sector, participants develop social capital, a key idea in civil society but ignored in social movement impacts on personal development.

Until recently, evocative mobilization in social movements have often been ignored in social movement research despite the important roles that emotions play in social movement mobilization (Goodwin, et al. 2004) due to the different entities that the concept is employed for. Emotions have started gaining attention in the study of social movements (Taylor, 1995; Goodwin, et al. 2001; Petersen 2002). Between the rationality of the first generation of researchers who sought to establish social movements as forms of mob actions within crowd psychology and those who sought to establish the rationality of the participants of social movements, the role of emotions have been largely debated, each employing it in their arsenal as they deem fit. Those who saw the irrationality in social movement within the crowd psychology paradigm took reflexive behavior as exemplars of all emotions. But as Goodwin et al says, strategic errors may arise from framing errors that are cognitive due to either missing information or cognitive errors (2004).

There is also the tendency to associate emotions solely to biology until a cultural turn in the social sciences. The tendency then to strategically use emotions for signaling in social movement operating under cultural norms that understand the language operate in different levels. This can be from the microlevel where bystanders become participants (Wood, 2001) to the organizational level by which emotions are managed (Baker-Bansfield, 1992) or the altering of emotions depending on the audience that participants have or the altering of the emotions of their publics Taylor, 2005). Indeed, social movement research and the employment of actions to sway emotions either through their different repertoires of fear (Terrorism) or understanding from the public to garner support.

The connection between social movement and their invocation as a form of extra-institutional form of politics has brought upon it the connection with terrorism. Since *Why Men Rebel*, the study of the use of emotions not as a cause for rebellion but as a tool of rebellion as gained prominence since the rise of terrorist movements and social movements correlating in Africa.

The use of emotions in social movements have often been studied as a cause of social movement. As Ekman, 1972, suggests, there are seven emotions that arise suddenly: fear, surprise, anger, disgust, joy, and sadness. These emotions are similar across cultures but do not necessarily suggest irrationality. While reflex emotions such as anger may cause regrettable actions later, some of them involve complex evaluative processes that help us focus and respond appropriately. The cognitive frames and cultural context of emotions in social movements in Africa also play a role that have not been adequately studied. The invocation of emotions through different repertoires of protests such as chanting, dancing and music have also not been adequately studied. As Olwage suggests, 'there has yet been little investigation of how political movements used music, either within the country or in exile. In addition, little detailed research has been conducted on freedom songs, the ubiquitous but largely informal and un-professionalised genre that was probably the dominant musical medium of popular political expression" (Olwage 2004).

The unique repertoires of social movements in South Africa such as the toyi-toyi and the singing of freedom songs are employed as evocative instruments for affective bonds and strategic tools. In *Amandla!: A Revolution in Four Part Harmony* a documentary that showed how different struggle songs were used to stir emotions and for call to different forms of action.

As a strategic tool for forming affective bonds among participants and dispelling fear in the face of the police, the toyi-toyi, where throngs of people march in concert while stomping and chanting political slogans, strikes fear in the heart of the police and help to dispel fear among the participants of the process who knew that moments after the protest there could be violent out lashes from the security forces.

2.3. Civil Society and Student Social Movements

The young, transitory, and relatively free status of students have allowed them a significant position in social movements and civil society. In major social and political transformations, students have played very crucial roles. These characteristics according to (Taylor and Van Dyke, 2007: 277), help in the emergence and re-emergence of student participation in social movements.

The term 'participatory democracy' is owed to the agitations of students. Coined by Arnold Kaufman to describe students in Germany and America demanding more involvement in university governance amidst the civil rights movement, the students sought to expand the spaces for civic participation. Students have had pivotal roles in the discourse and theory of social movements around the world and in Africa. They were at the forefront of agitations during the anti-colonial movements, the anti-apartheid movement, and participated in the third wave of democratization as incipient elites. The toppled governments in the colour revolutions of the Balkan region in the 2000s, resisted China's interference in the Umbrella movement of Hong Kong in 2014 and more recently demanded for a decolonized and free education in South Africa.

Skeptics of students' social movements have warned against the carelessness of youth desecrating the hallowed chambers of the academe, a concordant opinion with democratic elitism where citizens, these time incipient elites, had to be protected from themselves and from others. These criticisms have drawn parallels from the students' movement in the 1960s to the 2016-2017 Fallist movement: Students should direct themselves to political actors outside of campus and leave the business of running the university to the professoriate class and those who have the qualifications to run them. The rules of engagement were in tandem with the politics of liberal democracies, the primacy of the rule of extant laws and regulations, elections, and the centrality of the franchise as the core of citizenship.

Lipset (1972) argues that the first recorded student protest in America was at Harvard University in 1766 where students complained of rotten butter at the campus cafeteria. "Behold our butter stinketh and we cannot eat thereof" was the slogan. While it may be an exaggeration to say that they were cloistered on campuses, their concerns were constrained within quotidian expectations of those who had the future settled. They were expected to go 'sow their wild oats' and lived precariously with fraternal rivalries and associational life on campuses taking their time. In France, the *Association d' Etudiants* was founded in 1877. With the arrival of middle class students at universities before the thirty years preceding the First World War however, the concerns of the students changed. The new arrivals replaced the elitist model and its narrow concerns. With the introduction of free secondary education in 1930 and the calling up of university students to fight in the war, the transient nature of the university was soon to be burdened with concerns of the society.

The history of social movements and university enrolment reveals a pattern that shows a departure from restricted concerns at universities to larger societal concerns as the society impacts directly on the students at universities. As the Harvard students protested rotten butter so did the students at the University College, Ibadan protested smaller rations of chicken which led to the eventual killing of Kunle Adepeju with the invitation of the police on campus to quell the unrest (Ikime, 1973). University histories often follow a path-dependent pattern, and many university systems are idiosyncratic and influenced by local conditions (Altbach 1998; Clark 1996). So, do the histories of student social movements.

In exploring the novelty of 'new' social movements, Gunder Frank and Fuentes offer nine theses on social movements (1987). They argue that even if social movements have new features, they retain their classical heritage and resort to old and tried methods and concerns. Social movements adapt to new times but have common ways of individual mobilization through a sense of morality and (in)justice, and a social power that fought against social deprivation. The strength and importance of social movements is related to political, economic, and ideological cycles, Altbach's path-dependency (1998). Social movement waves, instead of cycles are offered as cycles suggest a pattern of predictability. When the movements have spent themselves either through accommodation or suppression, the movements soon disappear only to reappear after new opportunities present themselves. There is a class composition of social movements in general as they are in student social movements which are mostly middle class in the west, working class in the south and some of each in the East. Many social movements seek autonomy rather than state power, those who seek state power are no longer considered to be one. While most social movements are reactionary and transient, they are critical agents for social transformation. Social movements help in the re-interpretation of contemporary capitalism and transition to socialism. Some social movements are likely to overlap in membership with some having more qualities for coalitions. In the end, social movements write their own scripts and are once again, path dependent on the opportunities and constraints imposed by time and space.

An interrogation of these nine theses in literature will reveal how student social movements have contributed to the development of civil society and social movement.

The divestment student movement at Columbia University in 1985 where the students argued for the university to divest its investment from companies during the Apartheid regime in South Africa. The students exerted pressure on their university to exert pressure on a foreign country through divestments despite the distant cause of their concern (Hirsch, 1990). Hirsch discounted the rational cost/benefit analysis that had dominated the analysis of student movements and argued that it was better explained by political processes such as consciousness-formation in groups, collective empowerment, polarization, and collective decision-making. Since most protest movements are started by closely-knitted group of committed activists, they fly in the face of those who see protesters as confused and insecure individuals who ride on the wave of emotions to disrupt arrangements. Indeed, to see protests as viable sources of shaking institutional lethargy that is not solely premised on individual risk analysis is shown during the divestment movement at

Columbia by the different group dynamics that went into recruitment, resource mobilization and tactics. The longer a movement goes on for, the more the successes of its recruitment and conscientizing tactics. It could not be so otherwise.

The rational-choice theory of social movements and student social movements arose from the spread of the concerns of students outside of the campuses. That was an aberration as student protests were tolerated and sometimes expected and supported if it was on university grounds. Falling within the collective behavior tradition, social factors were used to explain the disorganization of students because of the larger social unrests due to broad social changes. (Smelser, 1962; Komhauser, 1959; Hoffer, 1951). One of the dominant theories to explain student social movement was the *emergent norm theory* (Turner and Killan, 1987). They emphasize that group action arose in disorganized social settings while they underplay the irrationality of such group behavior. They argue that those who have not been successfully institutionalized, those who do not see themselves as part of the larger group are best recruits for such collectivist behavior as they derive psychic benefits from being part of something that does not necessarily pertain to them, feelings that are not directly related to the goals of the actions that they are participants of. Arguing that the recruits 'feel insecure about their status in society.' (Turner and Killan, 1987: 32). But as Morris (1984) points out, the participants do not show any signs of these insecurities. Instead, they join because they believe in the cause and actions of the movement. Realizing that non-institutional methods may be the only way to get their points across because they might have witnessed the futility of institutional methods, they are often led by committed, knowledgeable, close-knitted activists.

The departure from the traditional breakdown theories that was prominent during the 1960s during the heydays of the civil rights movement and the anti-colonial movement was soon replaced by theories that emphasized the roles of organizations and interpersonal networks. Konhauser's Mass Society theory (1959), which had proposed that movements happened due to disorganized social unrests due to changes in society (Smelser, 1962) was criticized by Pinard (1971) and von Eschen, Kirk and Pinnard (1971). They deny that associational affiliation does not always discourage non-institutional methods and concerns. That associational life leading to more assured students and members of the society are exaggerated. Homogeneity and high density may lead to low mobilization potential. In essence, the level of organization does not always translate to the level of association, especially in protest movements. In fact, it may be the opposite as the conformist norms of organizational life may run contra to the demands for mobilization.

Obershchal (1971) expanded the reasons by which members of a protest movement may decide on a goal and mobilize for it because they do not drop their lives outside of the University gates even though a lot of Universities have gated communities to encourage that. However, communal concerns outside of the university and associational life on campus lead to resource mobilization strategies that the university may not be prepared for. This should not be confused with McCarthy and Zald's resource mobilization theory which suggests that the surplus of discretionary time and money led to the rise of the social movements in the 1960s. This form of resource mobilization

retains relevance today in autocratic states where the poorer the citizens are the less likely they are to rebel, any change in fortune makes them realize how deprived they have been in the past. These forms of relative deprivation theory are counter to the resource mobilization theory that suggests that students may have resources that allow them to mobilize in ways other groups do not have. I suggest that the relative deprivation theory and the resource mobilization theory in student movements are not necessarily mutually exclusive nor exhaustive, indeed they may be coterminous. While time and space may allow them to mobilize without aggravated collateral damage on campus, the same space of the university which encourages critical thinking and the questioning of authority may be used as a reason for mobilization.

This political process model (Oberschal, 1971; Tilly, 1978; McAdams, 1982;1986;1993) used the importance of black churches and black college groups in America during the civil rights movement to show how students mobilize through their ties off-campus. Despite their differences, a consensus emerged that organizations and pre-existing networks are necessary and important for mobilization during protest movements.

Campus ecology, and the spatial dynamics of different campuses are often glossed over associational ties. For instance, it is quite unusual for private universities to have the same sense of indignation on social matters as those in public institutions. As Zhao, (1998) shows during the Tiananmen square pro-democracy movement of 1989, the campus ecology, and the campus physical environment i.e. the architectural layout which determines the spatial activities of students and shape their passive encounters and active networking influences the reactions of students during social movements.

Heirich (1971:59-65) shows how the changes on the Berkeley campus from the 1950s made students more available for campus recruitment during the 1960s. In Russia, dining halls that had been built for students during the reign of Nicholas II to get affordable meals became a meeting point for students to exchange news, make contacts and hold assemblies (Kassow, 1989). The congested living conditions on Chinese campuses contributed to the early student activism in China (Chow, 1967; Wasserstrom, 1991).

Social networks are defined as finite nodes linked by social relations. The nodes are actors and the social relations may range from friendships to faculty mates (Wasserman and Faust, 1997). These forms of social networks that are facilitated by architectural designs underline the strength of weak ties. As Zhao shows, at Beijing university there were two forms of networks: One, that was dormitory based and the other activist-based. At the BSM movement they all came together by meeting at the Triangle, a public space where students passed to and from their daily activities. The campus ecology thus helped to bridge a social movement with the dormitory-based networks (Zhao, 1998). This study, which shows the ways by which the design of the Beijing universities, population density and the patterned spatial interaction of students had great influence on student social networks on campus, highlights Festinger et al (1950), a study that has been largely ignored by scholars of social networks for networks formed by other ties.

Social movements and student social movements are thus influenced by a myriad of factors that are ecology dependent, path dependent and are influenced by political processes and opportunities that the spatial arrangements where they find themselves afford them.

2.4. Civil Society and Student Movements in Africa

The history of a lot of African countries would be incomplete without the acknowledgement of the roles that students played in the anti-colonial and independence movement of their countries. While there has been a lot of coverage of the roles that other organizations such as the labor movement, religious movements and political parties, students and their movements in the popular press, students have often been written in the margins in academic literature. The leaders that became nationalist figures in the history of their respective countries had some of their trainings as student leaders.

Leaders like Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Modibo Keita, Hastings Banda and Nelson Mandela had their start in politics from student activism. Before the liberation movements, students had played significant roles in the anti-colonial movement in Africa at home and abroad. While local student groups concerned themselves with quotidian struggles on campus, the larger student bodies that were national in membership and global in focus grappled with issues that were the global concerns de jour. As UNESCO 1994 observed, until the 1960s, little attention was paid to the nexus between students and politics until the special issue of the *Deadalus* which dedicated an issue to the topic.

Student social movements in Africa waxed and waned according to the political institutions and their colonial experiences. In British colonies, as Colin (1968) observed, the availability of higher education was limited and provided for by missionaries, graduates of these institutions went on to Europe and America to acquire more skills. The first generation of student bodies were conservative. The British policy of indirect rule and the missionary schools provided more space for political activism by the students more than the French colonial practice did. The establishment of several student unions such as the West African Student Union (WASU), Union of African Descent and the Gold Coast Student Union established in 1917 and 1925 by students who were studying abroad. In Africa, students of Makarere college formed the African Welfare Society. Literature is scant on the study of social movements in West Africa before the publication of Gariuki's study of the West African Students Union in 1953 and the subsequent study of student's movement in Ghana by S. A. Amao titled University Students Political Action in Ghana in 1979. Writings in French colonies on student's movements was even less because there was a separation of politics from scholarship on the university campuses in French colonies. There were also fewer opportunities in Africa for students in the French colonies. The shortage of administrative, scientific, and technical manpower in the 1960s caused by the dominance of expatriates in the

senior ranks of the public service led to the concerted efforts to use higher education as a site for manpower training since they lacked the required personnel trained for their future development. For example, French Africa produced only four universities graduates in agriculture in the period 1952/1963 and British Africa about 150 (Yudelman 1975:356) Those who were fortunate to see the world on the platform of their associations saw themselves as emerging economic and political elites (Lipset 1960).

These trends however changed in the years after independence, more student groups played active roles in the neo-colonial policies, as the Union of Nigerian Students protested the Anglo-Nigerian defense pact. Since these years also brought about a lot of military incursions on the political landscape, students also served as collaborators and resistors of the anti-democratic autocratic sphere. UNESCO, 1994 has noticed how scant the contributions of students in the political movements of Egypt, Somalia and Sudan are despite their significant contributions.

As Bianchini (2014) has observed, there are three sequential periods of student politics in the second half of the twentieth century in which students have played significant roles. The periods are demarcated from the early 1950s to the early 1960s which he classified as the era of anti-colonialism, from the 1960s to the the early 1980s termed the age of anti-imperialism and the 1990s and beyond tagged the age on anti-SAP and pro-democracy struggles. We may add a fourth era which is the anti-globalization era from the arrival of the twenty-first century. These periods are offered as forms of political opportunity structures in line with the conception of student politics as forms of civil society in an institutional milieu.

The creation of the West African Student Union in 1925 preceded the creation of the *Federation des Etudiants d'Afrique noire en France* (FEANF) in 1950. Due to the different routes of creating the different universities in the different colonies, and the recommendations of the *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa 1955* and the University of London, there was a more agile political representation and activism from Anglophone universities in Africa due to the recommendation of different commissions of universities such as the Asquith and Elliot commission. With the arrangement of the University of London, the different colleges in Ibadan, Legon, Makerere, Khartoum and Nairobi allowed for the autonomy of student groups and this led to the emergence of student movements or unions in the newly created colleges such as the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) and the Tangayika African Wefare Society at Makerere. Ironically, the French student associations were more radicalized. Chilver (1957) noted that the colleges in the former British colonies took on the peculiarity of English Universities were students were allocated to residences with wardens that were responsible for their well-being and an active student council which encouraged student participation. As Adu notes, the differences between French student social movement and English student social movement in their colonies revolved around educational policies, national politics, and the politics of the colonial state.

The concerns on campus activism soon took on wider global concerns and focused on debates about the different trajectories of development for the new countries, foreign policy directions,

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liberation movements and support. In the shadows of the cold war, student ideology became increasingly affected by the Marxism-Leninism and leftist politics. Students of the University of Dar es Salam formed the University Students African Revolutionary Front (USARF), an internationalist group which called for reforms at the University to meet nationalist goals. They criticized the exclusion of socialist thought in the curriculum and kicked against the largely expatriate faculty. In Nigeria, the Nigerian Union of Students protested the ratification of the Anglo-Nigerian defense pact. The radicalization of students and their vociferous voices became a thorn in the flesh of the authorities that they shut them down the earliest chance they got. The USARF and its publication, *the Cheche* were proscribed by the Nyerere administration in 1970 just as the Nigerian Union of Students was proscribed after their trenchant criticism of the Sharpeville massacre and their call for South Africa to withdraw from the Commonwealth, a reason they opposed the Anglo-Nigerian defense pact. The radicalization of students in French colonies came in the wave of the impact of the Third International and the outrage that faced the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, and the alliance between the French Communist Party and student groups.

In the *Role of African students' movement in the political and social evolution from 1900 to 1974* published by UNESCO, the early days of student movements in Africa concerned themselves with more cultural and social issues than the political. Gastronomical concerns, like the students at Harvard, were the first issues that concerned students at Makarere and Ibadan (Byaruhanga, 1996). Later, they were concerned about more political issues. As Talton (2010) notes, there was a revolutionary fervor that arose with the revolutionary periods between 1935 and 1960 that led to the significant increase in the agitations of students after the second world war. Syetsemic boycotts and wide-ranging anti-colonial sentiments swept around African campuses alongside the ideological debates that came with the cold war. Student movements galvanized the political resistance against the after effects of colonialism. With their trenchant mobilization came a call for Africa solidarity which were advanced through writings and public engagements in debates and the invitation of Pan-African scholars and activists. This was a central concern for the West African Students Union in London which was a training ground for leaders like Kwame Nkrumah whose dedication for Pan-Africanism survived in his policies as the leader of Ghana and still retains some traction till today in the policies of Ghana, with the recent allowance of free entry for Africans.

While there has been a concession that North African states were more fertile for student agitations due to what Lombardi (2011:6) suggests was created by the nature and spread of higher education in the parts north of the Sahara due to more higher educational institutions. The correlation between the numbers of higher educational institutions and student movements in the different regions of Africa suggests a positive link between political consciousness and participation and the university as a site for the evocation of political consciousness. Student movements are thus the outcome of the interaction of a specifics student consciousness and the structural conditions which inhere in the functions of the higher education institutions (Burawoy, 1976:78).

That massification of higher education in newly independent African states while affording more people access to opportunities that had hitherto been denied them were still contained in institutions that had not transformed from the colonial prototypes that they were borrowed from which stalled the radical transformation of these institutions in French and English colonial universities (Caecinhas and Feijo, 2010: 31).

Since the new entrants of these universities still had a premonition of a high social prestige when they graduated, they were not wont to disrupt the system as they saw themselves as incipient elites who would go on to manage the affairs of the state. The elitism displayed in the post-independence movement were soon checked with the gradual decline of the higher education institutions with the steady decline of economic growth. This led to cut-backs in allocations to the educational sector and a brain drain of academics (Langa et al., 2016).

In this period, students became ventral actors. Students abandoned their elitism and comfort in the ivory towers for popular engagements. Campuses became political theatres and students saw themselves as playing a vanguard role in society and the conscience of a decaying social compact in Nigeria, Ghana, and Kenya and in Francophone countries such as Senegal and Cameroon (UNESCO, 2004).

Student revolts were rampant and trenchant. Between 1970 and 1979 major student protest occurred in some twenty-nine sub-Saharan countries which was three quarters of the African continents. The struggles spared no actor. Students protested the political elite, the police, the political parties, and even academic bodies that were their former allies as was the case in Makarere. As against the earlier protests of bread and butter issue that had gone on in the colonial era when they were indignant because of their elite status, the struggles were for survival and they were fighting for every concession that they could get from the state in the protests increment in tuition fees or student accommodation. They also sought the greater increment in institutional governance which had been eroded by the intrusion of the state in academic affairs. These protests were visited by more force by the state as they saw them as a direct confrontation between states and students using the universities as a battle ground. A lot of casualties were recorded as collateral damage as some associations were proscribed. In Nigeria, for instance these led to the radicalization of some student groups and the infiltration of some other in places where partisan politics and student politics were kept apart.

With the Structural Adjustment Program policies which cut funding for higher education in African states, there was a wave of continent wide protests these measures. The cutbacks in the SAP policies had several implications for higher education and student movements in Africa. As Mamadani (2005) records in *Scholars in the Market Place*, the conversion of education from a public good to a private good, and the commercialization of education with priorities set by external funders such as the World Bank with the collusion of local partners like the Museveni government in Uganda that sought some forms of revenue for their declining fortunes, student representation changed from being an institutional requirement to a burden. Representation was

used as a legitimizing veneer and the bifurcation between fee paying students and no tuition students watered down student agitation.

The transcendence from narrow educational concerns to larger societal concerns led to more violent demonstrations of students and the crackdown of state forces. Students then formed alliances with other social groups such as the labour unions and movements. In places where there was a partisan inclusion in state politics, as the Youth wing of the political parties in Mozambique and Tanzania, students became political actors were used as anchor points for electioneering and the conscientization of students. These were in countries were political parties had ideological bent. Student groups were coopted into the mainstream political fray. This had a delegitimizing effect on popular student struggles as their concerns were suspect since they were not non-aligned. In other places, the co-option came more from the infiltration of the student associations with the buying of support of the student leaders.

Student activism in this era are divided into three strands in form and content. Some authors like Federici et al. (2000) see it as mobilization for Pan-Africanism and against external economic and cultural interventions which had daily consequences for the citizens while others like Nkiyangi (1991) see it as a hybrid movement which collated social issues that affected the survival of citizens. The last see it as a for of the reconfiguration of the African proletariat and students serving as vanguards of the new forms of protests (Omari and Mihyo, 1991). With these different strands also came with different practices. Those who conceive of African student social movements of these era as forms of vanguardism would highlight the importance of proselytization and the inclusion of larger social concerns in their struggle. That came also with the hybrid movement but with more focus on alliances of partners for resource mobilization and effect. The Pan-Africanist strand had a more internationalist approach with mentoring figures in the civil rights movement and the black power movement.

The arrival of the millennium brought with it new challenges driven by two critical factors that had consequences for student movements. The first external factor was globalization and its attendant acolytes of privatization, and managerialism in the administration of universities. The second was the internal reconfiguration of African countries for multi-party democracy. With this opening was a networked society of a young intelligentsia that were not afraid to take the opportunities offered by the higher level of autonomy to broadcast their discontent when politics and policies were not delivering on for the students. The gap between the demands of students that arose from the managerial form of administration and the cutting back of overhead costs through outsourcing which made it harder to reach educational goals led to different protests (Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume, 2014). These protests claimed legitimacy from sister-struggles in a more networked society that had previously been available before to rally support behind causes (Castells and Gustavo, 2005).

With the millennium came a proliferation of private universities and public universities in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa and Zimbabwe. This has allowed for the containment of social movements in public institutions alone. It is rear to find students in private institutions involved in social movements. In Francophone Africa, there have been a spread of different provisions of educational systems with the provision of private higher education in Francophone Africa. This has attracted the call for the reformation of universities built around the French culture. Lusophone Africa retained the public provision of higher education in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. With globalization came an embrace of a more pluralistic approach to French colonial education in France and in her colonies. For instance, Rwanda, a former French colony has switched to English as its official language following the adoption of a more pluralistic model by French universities in the late 70s and 2010s. Burundi, Gabon and South Sudan have also followed in the same pattern of the assimilationist approach of the French. (Plonski, Teffara and Brady, 2013).

The use of social media has made it more difficult for authorities to clamp down on student protests. It has expanded the democratic space and has energized the tools of mobilization. This has fortified the global movements of students locally and has helped to form cross-border alliances using social media. It has also allowed for a digitized market place of ideas with, at the least, the pretense of open deliberation of matters of concern (Castells and Gustavo, 2005). This also allows for the dispersed yet deeply networked diaspora to form a powerful intelligentsia of contemplation, contestation, and confrontations in the public sphere.

With liberalization of opportunities in access came the issues of the equity of quality, financial inclusion, and gender representation. This has led to the decline of the quality of education in poorer universities and protests in countries like Cameroon, Madagascar, and Senegal because of the high poverty rate in these countries. The liberal changes in university governance in Anglophone countries has changed the dynamics of student representation and activism. Leaders of student movements appear briefly and have a shorter time span, there was also more diversity of representation and issues.

Communication strategies and the democratization of the deliberative space through social media has made it more difficult to police strategies or methods and to even curtail debates. Recent social movements in Zambia and South Africa for instance have been a sort of aggregation of concerns, plural concerns and strategies by different stake-holders depending on their demographics and the resources available to them. The FeesMustFall movement of South Africa retains elements of the new democratized student social movement with the hybridization of plural issues aggregated under a central concern, in this case, the reduction and cancellation of tuition fees in South African tertiary institutions.

2.5. Civil Society and Social Movements in South Africa

Habib (2003) notes that civil society in South Africa were largely dichotomized into two groups prior to democratization: The pro-apartheid and the anti-apartheid. These groups were either pro-business like the Institute of Race Relations and the National Union of South African Students or pro government like the Broederbond. The arms of the government however reduced other fringe civil society participants that were critical of government into the shadows. The cooption of civil society as part of the cooperative governance agenda (Booysen, 2015), however, with the arrival of multi-party democracy and the presidency of President Nelson Mandela had been preceded by the liberalization of the civil sphere by the regime of P.W. Botha. As Habib calls it, such is the quirk of history.

Student participation in civil society discourses from the demise of the National Union of South African Students have been subsumed in larger social movements in their analysis. The examination of South African student movement suggests it followed its own trajectory, which at different periods paralleled other African student movements. To take for example the National Union of South African Students which proclaimed a non-racial and non-sexist association for all students in South Africa. This was in the whole an association of the more liberal English Speaking universities due to the exodus of the Afrikaans speaking student association and the admission of the African students from the University of Fort-Hare. From its inception, student groups in South Africa have been concerned with larger political issues since they were also by themselves embedded in the larger political milieu. While other student movements were incremental in their demands, moving from culinary or cultural concerns with idealistic takes on issues before extending to larger political concerns that were immediate, the student movements in South Africa were from the beginning very political as they were conceived in a situation that was unique to the continent, a colonization of a peculiar kind which also affected the establishment of her universities.

From their very beginning, the establishment of three black universities in South Africa, the Universities of Fort-Hare, North and Zululand and four principal ethos of a university challenged: The right of admission to the universities students that fit their criteria, who to teach, of what to teach, and who to employ. This policy was broken in both White and Black universities. As the Mafeje affair shows - the employment discrimination visited on Archie Mafeje, a black academic at the whites only University of Cape-Town and the exclusion of white students from the Black universities – universities in South Africa were born in these organic contradictions which birthed her student social movements.

If we followed only historically-black only universities in South Africa, one would see an uncanny resemblance with other Anglophone universities in Africa. Only, the colonial arrangement was from within. The 1969 Universities Act which granted autonomy to the universities of Fort-Hare, North and Zulu-Land from the University of South Africa instituted an academic control that limited access to academic freedom through the dismissal of staff that were against government

policies. The appointment of Rectors and Vice-chancellors by the Minister for Bantu Education and university council members by the government from its outset impeded academic freedom and gave impetus to a lot of student agitation, especially when the speech of the student unions was policed. Challenges of autonomy marked the early years of the universities.

As Nkomo (1984) suggests, student social movements in South Africa cannot be separated from its Althussian organic whole. The establishment of the African Students' Association came in the wake of the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1961, the banning of the African National Congress in 1960 and the extension of the racist education policy to the university with the Extension of University Education Act. On the same day that the military wing of the African National Congress Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was launched, the African Students' Association was also launched on December 16, 1961. The first president Ernest Galo was from the University of Natal (Black Section). They aligned themselves with the ANC and stressed the need for a system of education free from indoctrination and based on universal standards. The student movement in South Africa has thus an acknowledgment of the university as an Althussian ideological apparatus. Student movements were thus political from the very beginning as they were creations, The African Students Association at least, of political parties. The ASA was the creation of the ANC and its Youth League to mobilize oppressed South African students. The death of Ernest Galo, and the assumption of the leadership of the ASA by Thabo Mbeki, a student of the University of Fort-Hare and later to be president, shows student associations and student movements in South Africa as a training ground and a place for political recruitment. As Mbeki was quoted in Ndlovu (2016:9):

"We met Mandela at a secret venue in Mayfair (Johannesburg) where he conveyed his best wishes to the group and issued his las instruction before our departure. As part of his final instruction, he made two important points to us. The first was that we were ambassadors of South Africa abroad and that we behave properly. Secondly, he said that when the struggle for Apartheid was over we would be expected to play a leading role in the process of reconstruction of post-apartheid South Africa."

Student associations thus created a recruiting field for their future political engagements. The expatriate years gave the later-to be leaders of South Africa like Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki a global Pan-African and global network and solidarity. While Strong (2017) suggests that the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL) in America has not incorporated a global network of solidarity which was prevalent during the anti-colonial, civil rights movement and apartheid movement, students' movement in South Africa embraced these aspirations by the virtue of their necessity for global sympathy against the Apartheid system. A historic network of the different student movements informs these solidarities, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) which was majority white and had branches in Europe and America that helped with the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and the South African Students' Association which later went into exile after its formation after their leaders had gone to the UK to study.

The South African Students Organization, according to Badat (2016) was the first national black higher education student organization that was able to survive the authoritarian regime and recorded significant successes. It stopped the co-option of student by the apartheid regime and proposed a radical liberation project by advocating a Black Consciousness agenda, fueled by the successes of liberation regimes in Mozambique and Angola, educated and mobilized student organizations in secondary schools through marches and boycotts. It gave a new lease of life to the ANC. It emphasized racial politics and rejected guarantees for minority rights because it saw it implied a difference in status before the law and rejected the 'non-white' label for 'black' which all those who by law had been economically and socially excluded as a group in South Africa. As Clark and Trow notes, the history of a university is necessary for understanding its institutional culture (1966). So is the history of universities and their student groups in South Africa. These trajectories affect their character in the present. For example, the more violent prone activism of black universities is related to their forms of activism since their creation. Since the 1967 exclusion of black delegates by the authorities from the National Union of South African Students, the futility of integrating with white student groups and the embrace of the Black Power movement and black consciousness became imperative. This also marked the critical departure from the alliance with white liberal groups and their hold on black political thinking. The exclusive membership of black to form the South African Students Organization was a strategy, not a principle, to allow for the forging of solidarity between black student groups (Badat, 2016:101).

However, after the mid-1970s, there emerged an ideological shift where the rise of a black middle class which was sympathetic of the capitalist system brought in class analysis to the debate. As the SASO president Diliza Miji said, the struggle had to be viewed not only in terms of colour interests but also in terms of class interests. The Apartheid system, he averred, was part of a global system of capitalism. Without a clear strategy of who the enemy was, students could themselves fall into the group of the oppressors. He emphasized a stronger alliance with the workers and with the strike of black Natal workers in 1973 which showed that workers held more important roles than students in the struggle, he encouraged more collaboration with the workers and the Communist Party. This led to the accusations that SASO was turning red. On 19 October 1977, SASO and other Black Consciousness organizations were banned.

The banning of SASO led to the formation of other student groups according to their ideological and strategic alliances. There were those who continued to support the Black Consciousness movement such as the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), the National Forum, and the Azanian Manifesto, and those who supported the ANC and the Congress movement, the United Democratic Front, and the Freedom Charter. These differences were however not cast in stone as the organizations straddled the political divide. It was only later that the shifts became more pronounced which led to the clashes between the different organizations. Badat (2016) cites the anti-Republic Day movement as a turning point between the Azanian Students Organization (AZASO) which shared a platform with the white radicals and NUSAS, the white aligned student group, which had come under a radical leadership in the late 1970s.

Between 1982-83, the government introduced constitutional changes to co-opt Indians and coloureds into becoming junior partners. This led to the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), a non-racial, multi-class alliance. According to Lodge (1988) the UDF marked a creation of the shift in the balance of power between the government and the black opposition. The insurrectionary movement it inspired was unprecedented in its geographical spread and was profoundly popular. It also had a class-conscious ideology which made it a more radical movement than any that preceded it.

The exclusion of students for study as a distinct category in the study of social movements despite the substantive work done on social movements that played more premium to political organizations, religious groups, professional association and labour movements (Carter, 1963; Ndebele, 1989; Haddard, 2004; Ballard et al, 2005) in the literature becomes obvious. Their concerns from their inception were linked with other bodies. The Fallist movement, however, does not fall into the same category. While other movements co-opted students into their struggles, the Fallist movement co-opted others.

2.6. Fallist Movement in South Africa

The fortieth anniversary of the Soweto uprising, which was a turning point in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, also marks another significant turning point in the political development of South Africa by students as critical political actors. While Heffernen and Nieftagodien (2016) suggests students as holding a special place in the collective memory of South Africa because of the Soweto uprising, it was not until now with the achievement of different concessions from the government that they have won a place for themselves in contemporary imagination. To however rate the Fallist movement on only its successes as a call for a moratorium on fee increment and later the call for free university education is to ignore according to Brown (2015), that FMF had transformed "a relatively niche cause—halting a rise in tuition—into a national moral imperative," a source of political legitimacy, a powerful touchstone for widespread anger on the slow pace of social transformation in South Africa.

While there has been the involvement of students in the public sphere and political terrain since the resumption of democratic rule in South Africa, particularly in historically black universities and at institutions which were merged during the restructuring of higher education, the Fees Must Fall Movement of 2015-2016 was distinctive in its breadth and depth of its mobilization, the targets of opposition and the nature of its demands (Badat, 2016). It is suggested as a manifestation of the organic crisis of South African higher education which serves as a reminder of the slow pace and limited transformation taking place, and the widening disconnect between higher education and society on one hand, and different social groups on the other.

Abbink (2005) while comparing the millennial generation of African youths to their 1960s and 1970 cohorts, decried their marginality with limited legal position while they constitute the bulk of the population. Excluded from playing significant roles in the social, economic, and political arena, their transitioning into adulthood was prolonged as their capacity had been stunted. They were described as a 'lost generation' by O'Brien (1996:56). In South Africa, the 'Born Frees' those who were born after the inception of democratic rule and who are now in their youth were also decried as contributing to a crisis of the youth and their corrosive effect on the political culture due to the recurring images of burning tires, blockades, and riots (Hweshe, 2012; Bauer, 2011). The moral panic of the perceived apathy of youths in institutional political processes like elections and their involvement in more extra-institutional political actions like protests and strikes and the 'lost generation thesis has been debunked by an Afrobarometer study of South Africa's youth and their political participation from 1994 to 2014 (Mattes and Richmond, 2014) which found that there is relatively no significant difference in the age profile of different groups and their political behavior in South Africa, nor are they anymore apathetic than their global peers.

The grim picture of youths painted by the advocates of the 'lost generation' thesis has been criticized for overgeneralization and the underestimation of young people's agency (Bray, 2010:294). The application of the same brush stroke to a whole generation of people from a small minority and ignoring the inventiveness of the youth in their agency has been suggested as a

shortcoming of the 'lost generation thesis'. Slabbert et al debunked the myth that there was a crisis of the youth with large scale research which had mistook the range of problems that youths face for a youth crisis (1994: 26). The elision of the inventiveness of youths, as the most energetic and active population group has contributed to this moral panic. According to Iwilade (2013: 5), the youth are inclined to create innovative ways to 'resist, subvert and manipulate' their exclusion and manipulation. Their political involvement straddled the allocative and generative forms of politics (Jeffery and Dyson, 2014).

The Fees Must Fall Movement, which got its hashtag from #RhodesMustFall, a decolonial demonstration against vestiges of colonialism in university structures led by Chumani Maxwele, a student of the University of Cape Town (UCT), kicked off in October 2015 with the announcement of the increment in tuition fees by 6 % by the Minister of Education Blade Nzimande. Although there was a moratorium of the increment for the 2016 academic session, another 8% increment was announced in September 2016. This was followed by another round of national protest that eventually led to the pronouncement of free university education by the president in December 2017 by President Jacob Zuma at the ANC national elective conference.

The repertoires of the movement transformed campuses into "burned-out war zones" as the campuses became a battling ground between the police, hired security operatives and demonstrating students (Falkof, 2016). Strong (2017) compares the images to the Ferguson uprising in 2014 because of the specter of violence unleashed on students with the use of stun grenades, water cannons and rubber bullets.

Harold Wolpe had observed that the core structural conditions of Apartheid would continue to place a burden on any program by the new regime over a long period of time since the economic resources to redress the social inequalities of the former times were not available (Wolpe, 1991). This 'organic crisis' due to the existence of incurable social contradictions, Badat observes, has economic, ideological, and political dimensions (2015). Citing the inadequacy of state funding of higher education at 0.72 percent of GDP, inequality in income between races when a white person earns six times as much as a black person (Laing, 2012) and the increment of university tuition beyond the median annual income of workers in South Africa, the economic dimension of the crisis was evident.

The ideological impasse between neoliberalism and the new-managerialism of South African universities contrasted with the tensions of the arrival of previously excluded groups into formerly white universities in South Africa who decry their confrontation with 'colonial epistemologies' (Walker, 2015) has led to an impediment of black students academic performance due to psychosocial stressors related to the racial climate and the economic conditions leading to an attrition rate of 85 % (Letseka and Maile, 2008), where out of 40,000 students who begin a degree at a tertiary institution in South Africa less than 20 percent graduate with a degree (DHET)[1].

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[1] Statistics on Post-School Education and Training in South Africa: 2013," available at http://www.dhet.gov.za/

The transformation of higher education from a public good into a private good driven by market forces and the integration of the sector into a global value chain driven by finance has led to a shift in the broader intellectual interests into narrower vocational interests (Nayyar, 2008:7, Duderstadt et al, 2008:275).

Harping on the significance of the fortieth anniversary of the Soweto uprising, the students evoked images of the 1976 uprisings in Soweto and called the FMF a "1976 redux" (Brown, 2015). The movement extended just beyond the concerns for students and included the call for the welfare of workers by the ending of outsourcing. The movement also differed from other contemporary student movement in Africa with the composition of its leadership by women (Ukeje, 2004). Social media was central to the movement like other movements elsewhere that involved youth mobilization (Akor, 2014). While the movement has drawn from the strategy of a non-aligned, no formal leadership, and mobilization through social media, like Castells description of new forms of social movement, it also came under criticism as the lack of a leader or an organization led to the outbreak of violence and arson that caused the country an estimated US$75 million in damages.

Like their forbears who led the formation of South African Students Organization (SASO)in historically black universities in South Africa who were enticed with the goal of being the emerging middle class of the separate administrative Bantustans of the apartheid regime, the students soon realized the fatality of the reduced options that the separate opportunities limited them to. It was the same realization that confronted black students whose reasons for acquiring higher education became out of reach. The expansion of public imagination by the 1976 cohort and the FMF movement, where the former reignited the anti-apartheid movement that had ebbed, and the latter - the goals for social transformation of the South African society by the call for the transformation of the university which holds a promise of opportunity and an inspiration of dreams but is crushed by debt (Hall, 2015).

As part of a broad, youth led revolt due to the consequences of neoliberalism, who have since 2005 waged more than 100 popular uprisings in 40 countries[2], and brought to the fore fundamental critiques of global capitalism, institutionalized racial oppression, liberal democracy, and white supremacy, Strong (2017) situates the Fees Must Fall movement as part of a larger global movement called the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL). Owing to the material conditions of African youths and the social realities that shut them out of reaching their potentials due to their precariat positioning in their polities, these youth-led movement are irreverent of older traditions of respectable protests of their parents' generation as they hold them culpable for their social conditions.

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2 This number continues to grow. Zachariah Mampilly maintains a database of popular protests in Africa, one of few existing resources with continent-level data, accessible at http://pages.vassar.edu/mampilly/publications/

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework

Political Moments and Relative Deprivation

3.0 Introduction

This chapter uses the lenses of Ranciere's political moments with Gurr's theory of relative deprivation to interrogate the students' social movement in South Africa. It's point of departure from the prevailing 'organic crisis' lens suggests that while organic crisis may be used to explain the boundaries and milieu of social movements in their explanatory capacity, it is no incisive enough and does little to explain movements themselves as a political condition situated in time and space, specifically as it relates to students. While there are antagonistic conditions as elaborated with Gramsci's 'organic crisis in the literature review to situate the ideological, political, and economic conditions of the South African state, it does little for case-study analysis.

Social movements as a form of extra-institutional politics have welcomed lenses that focus more on the causes and resolution of political tensions. Theories that have tried to explain social movements as forms of irrational political behavior have given way to the character of social movements. How and when can they be termed to be successful? The resource mobilization theory, the theory of social capital and the political process theories offer different explanatory lenses on how social movements arise, capacitate, and mutate through space and time. New Social Movements have sought to use the rise of new categories of people with new rights and capacities from new tools such as the social media to negotiate with power structures.

This research uses the relative deprivation theory and the political moment theory to problematize the FMF movement and ask: Why now?

This chapter presents the theoretical foundations of *political moments* and *relative deprivation* of the FMF movement as both a political phenomenon and a psychological one. Both as a collective political behavior. To concatenate both theories is to ask the question of capturing a frame in the political process and ask what it has to say for protests and social movements as a political condition that is not a bug, but a feature of the democratic process.

It presents these frameworks, their meanings and how various writers have enunciated these arguments to explain, on one hand, the use of violent means as a political strategy and the emphasis placed on dissensus, a key feature of the agnostic theory of democracy as opposed to the consensus building of the liberal-democratic theory, and a psycho-social rationale that motivates the forms of adversarial politics found in social movements as displayed in the FMF movement.

Theories, according to Grant and Onsanloo (2014: 12) are the foundations around which all is constructed. It provides the guiding analytical patterns that make up the rationale or arguments of a study. It helps to identify the problems and direct the key questions of the study. I follow Ball's (2007) admonition that the gap between political theory which I class Ranciere's political moment in, and relative deprivation, a political science descriptor, that there need be no irreconcilable difference between political theory and political science.

Traditional political theory had been accused of focusing too much on the past while political science rode the wave of positivism into the future. The later sought not only to explain the present *in situ*, it also sought to predict. Theories, by themselves, are comprehensive explanations of some aspect of nature that is supported by a body of evidence. The study of politics has thus been waged between the historical-philosophical approach - to explain the relationships between citizens and states, between and among states and between and among state institutions – and the empirical-behavioral approach. While the former relies largely on the logic of induction, or in the case of political theory normative prescriptions and predictions, the later relies on the logic of deduction, the building of theories and predictions from observable phenomenon systematically analyzed. The study of politics can thus stake any, some, or all of these forms.

Ted Gurr in *Why Men Rebel* (1971) explains the need for hypotheses and concepts that delineate the psychological and social factors that influence people to commit political violence. This method of analysis is of the empirical-behavioral school. Thus, theories seek to explain the motives for people's political attitudes and behavior. Therefore, engaging a theory in political science helps to establish a link between concepts of political life and how can be generalized into laws for use in prediction. Theories thus aims to link concepts together and simplify key assumptions in the authoritative allocation of values in a state or society.

While network analysis is used as methodological theory, the substantive theories of this study of the student movement is Gurr's (1971) relative deprivation and Jacque Ranciere's political moments (Ranciere, 1969; 1999). While conventional politics is often analyzed as a game, with different parties anchoring for power or resources from a superior body, in most cases the state, Ranciere says that this is the shadow of politics, not the essence. The essence of politics, he insists, is the anarchic power of anyone.

Politics, since Aristotle, has been a contestation of who holds power and in whose interest. The investigation for who owns what and to what degree, or the Eastonian authoritative allocation of value was not enough to convey what politics is. This obvious manifestation of where power lies and in whose interest, it was deployed was mere policing. "Politics is that activity which turns on equality as its principle. And the principle of equality is transformed by the distribution of community shares as defined by a quandary: when is there and when is there not equality in things between who and who else? What are these "things" and who are these whos? How does equality come to consist of equality and inequality? (Ranceiere 1999: IX)

If inequality, as the cliché goes, is a fact of life how are those at the end of the stick to participate when although they shout for attention their voices are heard but ignored because of the helpless state of the world that all must accept as a matter of fact? It is this form of entrenched inequality in one of the world's most unequal societies that make the theory of relative deprivation, which seeks to conceptualize the dissatisfaction that motivates collective violent political behavior to recalibrate, albeit momentarily, the terms of engagement of a body polik.

Ranciere's Political Moments

Ranciere has been placed as an agonostic democratic theorist because of his iteration of disagreement and dissensus. While liberal conceptions of politics define it as the struggle for the legitimate use of power and the exercise thereof. To Ranciere, politics is found especially in negation, when the rules of the superintendent normative protocol is suspended. This dissensus defies logic in that it does not play in roles as ascribed to it in institutions which seeks to accommodate it. It seeks to disrupt to innovate.

The role of political moments is to seize an opportunity to disagreeably disagree in such ways that the terms of engagement are redrawn consequently. To understand Ranciere's dissensus, it is necessary to understand how he conceives of how quotidian politics work. The emphasis is on order, respectability, norms, justice, rights, laws, etc., all to maintain consensus.

This consensus is for the maintenance of law and order and the idea of the proper where each one knows his place and the status quo is maintained. Engrained in this propriety are the inherent contradictions of inequality, a zero-sum game for power where abundance demands its counter, want. This form of consensus is the other of things. This is politics *du jour*.

Disagreement or dissensus on the other hand requires a deliberate form of impropriety that defies logic such as the burning of books by scholars or the burning of residences by their occupants. This form of agonistic theory of democracy is different from others in that while others emphasize difference and conflict as necessary as essentials of democracies, as in the form different colours blending to find a common hue, dissensus emphasizes moments of departure where there are no compromises to be had because the order and hierarchy of things are displaced.

He is quick to reject the banality of the political. If everything is political, then nothing is.

His point of departure from the idea the of a consensual liberal democracy is based on the two premises on which consensual democracy is premised on. A reduction of the people as political subject of the population, in Madisonian terms the tyranny of the majority, a democracy properly called in Aristotelian terms. Second is the outsourcing of the affairs of the state to politicians, bureaucrats and other public officials who though may fit into any of the four different kinds of representation that American political scientists classify: the anticipatory, the gyroscopic, the promissory and the surrogate forms of representation (Mansbridge, 2003). They do not count as the participation of the people because they are mere representations. Ranciere has not given up

on insisting that if a *general will* gotten from the equal participation of citizens cannot be found, any form of representation is dubious. Ranciere has a type of his politics the Greek demos and the Workers movement in East Germany.

Relative Deprivation Theory

Relative deprivation theory came with the wave of the civil rights movement and the anti-war movement in America to explain why people were taking up arms and protesting the state in manners that had not hitherto been witnessed before. It was used to countervail the prevailing theory of the protestors at that time as irrational actors. Instead, political violence was a rational outlet for political disenfranchisement, economic inequities, juridical double-standards, and frustrating social conditions. Theorists of relative deprivation define it as a tension that arises between normative societal expectations and a shortfall in what a collective obtains as compared to other groups (Dzuverovic, 2013). … 'the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the ought and is of collective value satisfaction, and this disposes men to violence' (Gurr, 1971:23).

Inherent in these definitions are a value of collective self-worth in relation to others. The socio-economic conditions of students at the UKZN allowed for different comparisons to be made particularly among racial groups and economic classes. There was also a difference between what they perceived that they deserved (value expectations) and what they think they can get (value capabilities).

From a condition of consensual democracy which saw little and took little notice of these differences in value allocation and value expectations, especially in how they played out in spatial interactions, often hidden from official records and sights, the theory of relative deprivation thus explains the forms of political violence at the University as outlets for these forms of frustration, and a Rancerian political moment to displace the order of things.

Intimately linked with the Relative-Deprivation theory is the frustration-aggression hypothesis that links aggressive behavior, in the case of the FMF movement, violent political behavior to frustration. The hypothesis was further finetuned by Dollard et al. (1939), who argued that frustration is a precursor to violence. Frustration, happens when an individual or a collective is unable to achieve their goal despite numerous attempts to either by the activities of another or a lack of capacity. This results in a heightened psychological state that can be released by aggression towards the immediate cause of the frustration if available or towards another. Berkowitz (1972) further refined the hypothesis to allow that the relationship is not immediate but merely puts one at readiness for aggression as soon as an opportunity and a target presents itself.

Gurr highlights three patterns of deprivation which vary between the discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities. These are: decremental deprivation, aspirational deprivation, and progressive deprivation (Gurr, 1970).

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Decremental deprivation occurs when the economic conditions and the expectations of a group remain constant for s significantly long time while their value capabilities are reduced. These forms of deprivation arise from the group's tendency to compare their better past with the present. The forms of violence this sort of frustration brings is the use of scapegoats, like immigrants, who are seen to be the cause of the dwindling fortunes.

Aspirational deprivation, the failure to obtain value expectations that have been increased due to either the achievement of a new status, but with no commensurate increment in the value capabilities to meet those expectations. This form of deprivation best describes the FMF movement in general. The value expectations were on many forms, the acquisition of university education no longer guaranteed employment, the university structures discriminated, and government subsidies were no longer sufficient for the universities nor for the students. These forms of aspirational deprivation was even more trenchant to those who had been born with the promise of the 'rainbow' that was expected to continue the upward trajectory of inclusive growth and development.

Progressive deprivation arises from fundamental societal shifts due to the prolonged increment in both value expectation and value capabilities. Any decline in value capabilities causes progressive deprivation. These is the form of deprivation that occurs after a major uptake in an economy where expectations for the future are bright and suddenly a crash occurs in the economy.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology, Study Area and Design of Study

Introduction

Network analysis has often shed light on the recruitment processes of social movements, as opposed to the social psychological or motivational dimension of movement action. Network analysis thus aims to draw inferences from the influences of group behaviour on social movements. Network analysis also enables the researcher to investigate less obvious factors in social movements which are not in hidden view partly because of the extra-institutional dimension of protest movement and obfuscation several determinants of participants in their own action as they attribute unitary intentions to themselves (Tilly, 2005:61). Scholars like Diani (2005) have put network analysis at the centre of the study of social movements as they describe social movements as networks of activists or social movement organizations which implies a level of coordination between actors that can only be achieved through sustained interaction and thus through networks. Network analysis yields itself to varied methodologies. From the more formalistic quantitative methods which relies on the sophisticated analysis of computer programs to a qualitative method that relies less on the formal tools of network analysis but nevertheless emphasises the importance of structures and patterns that draw from the theories of resource mobilization, political process, and framing.

Social science research has two major methodologies, the qualitative and the quantitative. When both methods are combined in the same study, the methodology is known as the mixed method. The study employs a flexible research method which allowed for the systemic collection and collation of data while at the same time allowing for adaptability that comes with engaging with human subjects. Thus, the research adopted a mixed-methods approach. This is a far-ranging approach which allows the collection and analysis of data to be done using both quantitative and qualitative approach. This approach was chosen for its in-depth reality of understanding human behaviour, multiple meaning structures and holistic approaches (Maxwell, 1996). A semi-structured interview guide provided an effective way of collecting data required by the researcher to address the aims and objectives of the thesis and for data analysis and interpretation, primarily achieved through ten interviews of key respondents that were specifically chosen for their key roles in the 2015-2016 student fee movement at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. The population of the university was stratified according to gender and race in the different campuses and 100 questionnaires were distributed to reflect the demographics. Therefore, the chapter will first describe the study area and give a brief history. Further, it discusses the research approach and

methods used in the study with discussions about the different research instruments, the collection and collation methods, and the sampling methods.

Brief History of the University of KwaZulu-Natal

The University of Kwa Zulu Natal is a multi-campus, multi-college university formed from the merger of two constituent independent universities in 2004 as part of government's restructuring to reduce universities from 31 to 27 for more effective and efficient administration and service delivery of their core functions of research and training.

With an average population of 46,225 between 2014-2017 (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2017), the university is ranked as one of the top research universities in Africa and fourth in South Africa according to Times Higher Education (Survey, 2017).

The amalgamation of the universities of Durban-Westville and Natal on January 1, 2004 formed the new university now called the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The merger brought together the rich and distinct histories of both institutions, and that of the Edgewood college of education.

Established in 1961 as the university college for Indians and Coloreds in the Durban bay, the University of Durban-Westville recorded low student numbers at the formative years in the 1960s due to the Congress Alliances' policy of boycotting apartheid structures. The number of students increased in the 1970s as the college was granted university status. In the 1980s, the strategy allowed for 'education under protests' where students were encouraged to try to change the structures from within and turn the universities into sites of struggle. It wasn't until in 1984 that the University of Durban-Westville opened its doors to all races (UKZN, 2017).

The University of Natal was established in 1910 as the Natal University College in Pietermaritzburg. The rapid growth of its faculty, students and achievements soon won it independent status as a university in 1949. It had already become a multi-campus university with the Howard college campus in Durban opening after the 1WW with the generous donation by Mr. T B Davis who had lost his son Howard Davis at the Battle of Somme. A medical school was opened for Africans, Indians, and Colored students in Durban in 1947.

Sequel to the cabinet decision of December 2002 to merge and reduce the number of higher education institutions in South Africa from 36 to 21 for better performance, the two Natal universities became the University of KwaZulu-Natal. This came from an exhaustive consultative process on the restructuring of the Higher Education sector that had begun in the 1990s.

Research Methods

Research methodology refers to the systemic way of answering research questions. It refers to how a research is to be carried out (Neuman, 2013). There are two major methodologies in social science research, qualitative and quantitative. The mixed method is a combination of both. The definition of quantitative and qualitative research would include the way of thinking about the social phenomena, the design and methods used and the kind of data and ways of processing and expressing them as information (Neuman, 2013).

Qualitative research is empirical research whose data are expressed in the form of numbers while qualitative research is empirical research whose data is expressed in the form of words. Qualitative research is an inductive (Mugenda, 1999). Qualitative methodology develops explanations through intimate familiarity of subjects that are philosophically driven (Mugenda, 1999; Charmaz, 2007) while Quantitative research relies on the objective collection of data and the mathematical and statistical manipulation of data. It is often expressed in numerical and graphical terms (Dimitrov, 2008).

This study employs the mixed method which consists of combining the intimate familiarity of the human subjects with the objective and statistical analysis of numerical information about them. The mixed method approach, as Cresswell and Clark (2007: 5) says, combines the philosophically driven methods of the qualitative research process and the objective method of enquiry of the quantitative process in a single study. The combination of both allows for a better understanding of the research problems than any one approach.

Thus, the mixed methods research approach combines thematic exploration with numerical validation. The intimate familiarity of the subject was tested against collected data. This allowed for an effective exploration of the issues and structures of the networks of students' movement at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

The use of mixed-methods approach helped to provide a more complete picture of the issues. Initially the researcher had intended to distribute questionnaires only and employing a strictly quantitative approach to the study, but the lack of access to data that would allow for the merging of the information of the respondents with their responses was not available. The mixed method was thus resorted to for cross-verification of responses. The questionnaires contained open and close ended questions primarily for primary data gathering. The first part of the questionnaire was to gather background information peculiar to each respondent in the sample. The second part asks questions to determine if they were involved in student organizations and the fees movement. The third part asks about their level of involvement and their disposition to different kinds of activism and the actions of different parties. The semi-structured interview administered to the 10 key informants, two from each campus, are structured in like manner.

Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches

Qualitative research involves intimate familiarity with subjects often gotten by interactive and participatory methods of data collection. It emphasizes the relationship between researcher and subject to build rapport and to inform detailed analysis. Due to its capability to give detailed analysis of the subject matter, this research approach has been combined with the qualitative approach which lacks as much depth. This research strategy has been chosen because of its capability to offer a detailed analysis of the case at hand (Cresswell 2003: 182; Neuman, 2013).

The qualitative method is valued for smaller samples and investigates the what, where and when of the subject. It allows for flexibility in conducting social science research (Bryman 2004:101). The benefits include the identification of new and untouched phenomena, allows for the gathering of information through surveys and interviews which may be converted to themes and numerical forms in discussions. However, qualitative research method is harder to do for larger sample sizes because of the time to achieve intimate familiarity as it cannot generalize to the general population.

Qualitative research relies n small but purposively chosen groups. It focuses on social interactions and studies the whole instead of variables. This is usually collected from fieldnotes, interviews, surveys, and questionnaires. Bryman (2004) sees the strength of qualitative research methods as providing conceptual understanding of a subject by pooling anecdotal evidence from many participants belonging to the same groups. It enables the questionnaire to tease out information that may be hidden from view in predetermined surveys. It is often descriptive and relies on verbal and graphical data collection. The subjects are usually studied in their natural habitat and the researcher must make allowances for such convenience.

Qualitative research is particularly inductive as it seeks a means for explaining how subjects view social problems. Qualitative research favors the nuances of social settings and the importance of individual meanings, thus there is a flexibility to the findings due to the researcher's subjective interpretation of the data building from patterns to general themes (Creswell, 2014). Considering that the participants of the research are students who have opinions on student social movements in South Africa, either through active participation or indirectly, the study uses the qualitative method along with the quantitative research approach.

Quantitative Research Approach

Quantitative research is a means for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. These variables in turn, can be measured typically on instruments, so that numbered data can be analyzed using statistical procedures. The final written report has a set structure consisting of introduction. literature and theory, methods. results, and discussion (Creswell. 2008). Like qualitative researchers, those who engage in this form of inquiry have assumptions about testing theories deductively, building in protections against bias, controlling for alternative explanations, and being able to generalize and replicate the findings.

The quantitative approach rests on the testing of hypotheses from the collection and analysis of numerical data. The instruments used have pre-determined responses that measure attitudes and opinions. The theories are narrowed into simple categories allowing for the testing of pre-determined conclusions.

Cresswell (2014) suggests the reach of the quantitative method as one of its benefits. Many participants can be compared, and a snapshot can be used to generalize from the population. Bryman (2012) suggests the factors that differentiate quantitative research from qualitative research. While quantitative research has predictive value and are often posed in impersonal statements to show the distance between the investigator and the subject. Quantitative research thus allows evidence-based conclusions that are numerically presented. This sort of information allows for the easy comparison between and among groups. The use of pre-determined responses which helps cut short the time respondents spend on the study is also an advantage as it allows for more participants. However, quantitative methods are very prone to let slide hunches that are not immediately obvious to measurable variables.

Research Design

A research design provides a schedule of a study and highlights milestones and methods to reach them. Research designs help to properly situate the type of study with the relevant and appropriate type of data-gathering method in the most logical manner (Gorard, 2013). The research design for this study uses the mixed method research since it combines the descriptive lens of a case-study with the predictive intents of a quantitative research. Thus, while the case-study of the University of KwaZulu-Natal allows for value-based judgements as a participant observer, the network influences are put into discrete variables that can be measured and analysed through statistical methods.

Since the study will employ the use of surveys and interviews, the descriptive case-study method helps to utilize different methods of enquiry. This flexibility allows for the accommodation of nuances especially as the study is about social influences that may be covert or hidden from reporting, but a combination of methods allows for the cross-verification of data.

Case study approach

Case study research allows for the close examination of data in a particular time and geographic location. The case study method is an empirical enquiry of a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly eveident and multiple evidences are used. (Yin, 2017). The case study of the University of KwaZulu-Natal helped to explore the nuances of its institutional culture and provides insights into the political behaviour of the students from the university and how they differ from other universities. While there is a tendency to generalize based on participants who get airplay or hits in the media, the case

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study method allows for nuances and how institutional qualities shape political behaviour of participants. This is because each area is unique, and the way events play out differ on different campuses.

The use of a case study approach enabled the setting of boundaries which is key in network analysis. It also allowed for testing the hypothesis of the strength of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973). The varying attributes of different respondents allowed for a better interpretation of their networks more than self-reporting which may yield redundant information. Social network analysis from its grounding as an established line of enquiry of communities and their ties, became front burner in the study of revolution and movements with the publications of Castells's *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movement in the Internet Age* (Castells, 2012). Social network analysis has several typologies that it investigates It investigates the similarities of people in the same spatial and temporal space, which informed the demarcation of the area of study into sub-parts to see the similarities of members in the same location and how they differ from others. Membership of different organizations, and discipline are also investigated for their similarities. For instance, how relevant is Altbach's assertion that students in the humanities are more likely to actively participate in student politics? The similarity of attributes like gender, age-class, race is also studied to find the strength of their ties on political behaviour. The affective and cognitive attributes of social relations such as how respondents felt about different events during the fees movement and their knowledge of events are also investigated. The central question that social network analysis asks is not to only see individuals as rational, atomistic actors but as products of their relationships, spatial or relationship wise.

Social Network Analysis thus aims to investigate

- How the similarities in location, membership of student organizations and financial conditions affect students' behaviour in the fees movement

- How a diverse campus environment of the University with each having its own peculiar culture and challenges sustained the fees movement at the university, and how the composition of staff that was not commensurate with the student population demographics availed the protesters of ready targets.

Network analysis of a case study that avails itself of studying the strength of weak ties, such as the University of KwaZulu-Natal with its five campuses provides a clear understanding of how the case study method enabled the use of other tools in engaging in-depth inquiry of the research study.

Descriptive approach

The case study approach can be classified into three: exploratory, explanatory, or descriptive. The descriptive approach of a case-study research design combines the exploration and explanation of behaviour, causes and events and allows for the interpretation or relationships (Yin, 2017). The descriptive case-study design allows for the drawing up of hypotheses which may resonate beyond the immediate geographical locations if the variables elsewhere are similar. By obtaining indepth information from the context of the phenomenon under investigation, a snapshot in time allows for the drawing of conclusions. By adopting a descriptive case study method, the questions of what, how, when and where are answered along with perceptions, opinions, attitudes that are held by different groups, and the influences of those views on their political behaviour. It also relates how this fits into a trend or departs from it and how events have impacted the student social movement on one hand, and the student social movement impacted the environment.

The descriptive method also has the advantage of allowing the investigator to determine the limitation of his methods before commencing the research and was conducive to having the respondents in their natural environment which may have had an effect on their responses otherwise. A descriptive approach thus allowed for the effective analysis of both qualitative and quantitative instruments for investigating the spatial and cognitive ties on the participation of respondents in the movement.

Data Collection

Primary research refers to research that relies on original data collected by the researcher from his own direct observation or through the deployment of research instruments like surveys, interviews, or experiments (Chinnathambi et al, 2013). By directly participating in some activities and taking field notes and other ethnographic methods also qualify as primary data collection sources as this affords first-hand insights. Other primary sources include field-reports, memoirs, archival records such as diaries, letters, and memoirs. For this research I relied on the information gathered through the deployment of surveys, the notes taken from participant observations and interviews. These surveys had both close-ended and open-ended questions. They were combined with the transcripts of interviews. Direct observation was done as a student during the 2016/2017 session and preliminary notes had been taken to record events as they unfolded.

Secondary data sources

Secondary data relies on the information provided by other people in their research. It is improbable in social research to not rely on previous studies done, however, case-studies provide primary data sources while contextualizing other secondary data sources. Secondary data are information collected by other researchers on similar themes. Sources of secondary data may range from published statistics of reports, scholarly publications such as journals, books, and dissertations, print publications such as newspapers and magazines. The advantage of secondary data sources is that they are easier and quicker to come by, especially with the advent of the internet. The literature review also relied on secondary sources of data to investigate the history of student social movement and other studies done on the political behaviour of students. Secondary sources are found in already published works that have analysed and discussed primary sources.

Secondary sources describe, discuss, interpret, comment upon, analyze, evaluate, summarize, and process primary sources. Secondary source materials can be articles in newspapers or popular magazines, book or movie reviews, or articles found in scholarly journals that discuss or evaluate someone else's original research. The research relied on previous studies done on the history of student activism and a plethora of recent publications on the Fee movement in South Africa.

Data Collection Methods

Sampling

A sample is a representation of a population. It is the fraction of individuals, things, events, or items used to represent a larger group understudy. Samples must have the same qualities as the population of the subject under study. Sampling is guided by the transparency, consistency, and diversity (Neuman, 2014). The study spells out how the participants will be recruited to allow for adequate representation of all the demographic constituents of the population. A stratified random sampling which combined the relative homogeneity of the parameter of the population, students, and the diversity among them allowing for the adequate capture among the different types of students at the university. The stratified sampling method thus allowed every group to be as represented as they are in the population and every person stood a chance to be recruited for the survey. A stratified sampling based on gender and race was used in the selection process to try to give a representation of both males and females of different of different races a representation of the whole population in the five campuses. The potential participant was approached, bearing in mind their stratification, given an information sheet and a consent form, a verbal explanation of the study followed by a request for them to participate, and this is how I managed to ensure equal representation of a fair representation of the population by their gender and race on the different campuses for the study. For key informants, a snowballing technique was used to recruit participants, starting from a known participant who had volunteered to be a part of the study. Each participant was given a consent form to sign. Further clarification was given when needed, only to assist the participant and not influence or direct the participant's response. The participants were

then given the questionnaire or interviewed depending on which informant was been solicited for information. The researcher administered the questionnaire and the respondents answered by filling the questions out in the presence of the researcher to provide guidance to the respondents.

The research instruments, the questionnaire and the interview guide were designed to triangulate each other. What the questionnaire lacked in depth but had in its reach, the interview guide made up for in depth. They were designed to elicit information on the influences of the alters, that is the influences of their social relations and conditions, on their political behaviour at university and during the fees movement. The questionnaire was administered to 100 randomly selected respondents following the stratified samples of the population according to race and gender in the various campuses, with each campus having 20 respondents. Table 4.6 shows how the questionnaires were distributed to represent the population according to its demographics.

There was a semi-structured interview guide designed for 10 key participants who played major roles during the fees movement. They were purposively selected from Howard College were the researcher is based and were he observed the protests from. The respondents were then told to recommend someone that they knew from other campuses who had similar profiles. The participants were approached over emails and phone calls to schedule an interview, most of which held during the questionnaire distribution in the different campuses. Since the respondents had been intimated over the phone prior to the appointment, they were given a consent form to participate. The respondents were first given a chance to go over the questions in the interview guide to intimate them on the direction of the interview. Further clarification was given when needed, only to assist the participant and not influence or direct the participant's response.

The questionnaires were administered during school hours when students had a break to prepare for examinations. Each interview took approximately 30 to 40 minutes, and all the participants consented. When a participant divulged information that they perceived as incriminating to them personally or to another person, the information was struck from the record and the question was asked again without the incriminating information. The researcher administered all surveys to maintain same treatment among all participants.

Sample Size

One hundred (100) participants distributed among the five campuses according to their proportion of the population were randomly selected and administered questionnaires. Two key informants were purposively selected on the five campuses making a total of ten respondents for the interviews. While several efforts were made to balance the gender representation of key informants across the campuses, four female key informants were selected despite their representation in higher numbers in the population. This, however revealed how self-reporting plays an important role in the records of student activism.

Interviews

Interviews involve the gathering of data through the verbal/written exchange of questions and answers between a researcher and respondents. The different forms of interviews include face-to-face interviews between respondent and researcher, individual interviews mediated by an electronic medium of telephone or Skype and group interviews popularly known as Focus Group Discussions. Interviews are usually prepared for and come in different forms of preparations and flexibility. Structured interviews have written scripts that are followed closely while semi-structured interviews allow for more flexibility while following a script. An unstructured interview follows the tempo of the respondents. The study made use of a semi-structured interview with some set of questions that guided the conversation. The interviews included open-ended and close-ended questions. The close-ended questions often preceded the open-ended questions to allow for better time management. If the close-ended question suggests there was no further need to probe for more information, the research moved on to the next question. While the interviews are ongoing, observations of behavioural patterns, facial cues and body expressions are also used to see if they express any information on the questions asked.

Participant Observation

Observation is described as the systematic process of the description of an event, behaviour, and phenomenon in a natural setting through active exposure to the participants during routine and daily engagements of the study (Reinharz, 2017). Observation allows for the cross-validation of data though the use of the five senses. It allows for serendipitous discoveries that other forms of data collection method do not as the researcher is engaged with the participants in their environment. Ethnographic practices such as participant observation allows for the immersion of researchers to discover the cultures and the deep structures embedded in organizations and movements as they can come as close to stepping into the shoes of participants (Atkinson, 2017). This allowed me to have information on key actors of the movement and informed my choice of key informants in the interview process. It also helped to correct exaggerations, misrepresentations and allowed for cross validation of information gathered.

Questionnaire Design

Questionnaires are data-gathering instruments with structured questions in a form to elicit information from respondents. Questionnaire design is critical to the data-gathering method as it must not be too lengthy and complex. It must be clear, concise, and straight to the point. Unnecessary questions must be avoided. The questionnaire must be designed to allow for coherent and logical flow of the responses in other to make a tight narrative. It must include a cover specifying the aims and objectives of the study and a declaration of voluntary participation.

The research made use of structured questionnaires to elicit the perception and participation of participants in student organizations, and the student movement of 2016/2017. The questionnaire started with details about the participants which included their age, race, year of study, sponsor

and gender. This research made use of structured questionnaires. The researcher divided the questionnaire into three sections to give a sequential and clear inquiry of information that made it easy to understand. The questionnaire was divided into three sections that contained respectively personal information; organizational affiliation and level of involvement in campus politics and FMF, attitudes and dispositions to different forms of activism.

a) Personal information

This section was designed to elicit demographic information of respondents. Namely, sex, age, years of study, college, campus, and a summary of the university experience. Such personal questions not only describe the participants demographically but are important in data analysis to establish a link between the participant's political behaviour, network ties and their social, economic, and demographic characteristics.

b) Networks and Ties

This section was designed to elicit information on the associational life of respondents and their level of participation in different activities and the FMF movement. This is to uncover the networks of the respondents and the strength of their ties.

c) Network Impact

This section contained 8 questions which sought information on how networks ties and the demographics of respondents are correlated with their attitudes towards different forms of activism by students and other parties. Information about their attitudes towards different forms of behaviour of various actors were asked. This information was very important as it formed the basis of the dependent variable during the statistical analysis of the responses. Additionally, the responses revealed the network impact of the respondents.

The questionnaires and interview guide contained both open-ended questions and close-ended questions. Open ended questions provide qualitative, subjective, and narrative information while close ended questions provide options for the respondents to choose from. This may be a subject of valuation in degree or the suggestions of new information by the respondents. The research instruments of the questionnaire made use of both set of questions.

A mix of both open-ended and close-ended questions are the basis for analysis in this study. Whilst, closed ended questions are the basis for quantitative analysis in this study. The questionnaire has three parts with 28 questions. The first part of the questionnaire consists of 6 close-ended questions only. Question two to four consisted of both open-ended and closed-ended questions. The second part of the questionnaire has 14 questions with two open ended questions (Qs. 19 and 20) asking respondents to list methods they support or disagreed with. The third section contains 6 close-ended questions and 2 open-ended questions.

The interview guide contains 10 questions arranged in the same fashion the questionnaires were designed, the first set of questions were biographical and descriptive of the respondent, the second part of the questions elicited information about their alter in organizations and location, the other questions was interested in the network influence of the alters on the respondents.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data gathered from the research instruments follow the data gathering part. The tools for analysis must be able to analyse the information gathered as this is the most important part of the research process. The tools must be relevant to answering the research questions (Blaikie, 2003: 28).

Since the mixed method was used, tools for analysing quantitative and qualitative data will be used. This will involve the coding of all the information through SPSS for the quantitative data and NVivo for the qualitative data gathered during the interviews.

Rigour of Research

The rigour of the research process confers upon the study credibility. Cresswell (2013) posits that although 'reliability' and 'validity' are used to describe the rigour of qualitative research still, those terms apply more to quantitative research. The reliability and validity of quantitative research is mostly related to quantitative research as qualitative researchers see the research process as fraught with biases and impossible to attain 100 percent objectivity in the social sciences. They instead prefer inter-subjectivity which is to keep biases to a minimum by taking different standpoints and views while studying a social phenomenon.

To determine the rigour of a research Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest four questions the researcher should ask themselves. Are the findings credible? How do you know if the findings are true? Is the finding dependable? Are the instruments used consistent and stable and can they be relied upon again if such study is to be carried out? Can the findings be confirmed by other data sources and can the findings be transferable?

To achieve the rigour of the research instruments, suggestions on the feedback from the research instrument for the proposal was taken into consideration and was tested on some friends to test for ambiguity of language and coherence. The interview guide was also tested on a participant, who was not a key-informant, to see if there were questions that they would not be inclined to answer.

In this case study, the same questionnaire was answered by 100 participants from the designated study in the different campuses of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Reliability was guaranteed by the fact that all these participants were selected at random from the specific area thus reducing sources of measurement error such as data collector bias. The researcher also informed the respondents of the confidentiality of their responses and informed them of their rights to desist at any point of the interview to ensure confidentiality and privacy of the respondents. In addition to

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that, the psychological and physical environment where the study was conducted for data collection was made comfortable by ensuring confidentiality and privacy. The questionnaires were administered privately in a public setting to ensure there was no group effect in the responses. Interviews were conducted in a more secluded area to allow for the comfort and confidentiality of the respondents.

To maintain external validity which Edmonds and Kennedy (2013) defines as the extent to which the results of a study can be generalized when treated with the same measurements and instruments. First year students were excluded from participating in the study as they may have a confounding effect on the results. Fitting statistical methods such as the measures significant difference between groups and which of the factors have a more telling effect on other responses were also employed. The questionnaires which were administered by the researcher himself personally to all participants were framed in simple language for easy understanding and clarity, clear instructions and guidelines were given to the participants and all the questionnaires were completed by respondents in the view of the researcher. This was done to avoid participants giving other people the form to answer the questionnaire on their behalf or to not fill out the questions completely.

Ethical Considerations

Participants were duly informed of their voluntary contribution to the study. Gate-keeper's letter was obtained from the registrar of the university and every participant was told to sign a consent form after they had been informed of the aims of the study and were told they could withdraw from the study at any time. The interviews were all conducted in English and the names and respondents were coded to provide anonymity because of their legal ramifications. Names of respondents would be omitted with the exclusion of all unique attributes of individual respondents and in discussions and presentations

Limitations of the Study

No research plan goes according to plan exactly. By the virtue of time and unforeseen circumstances, some events can impact the research design and output. James (2004, 66) describes them as the constrictions on the generalizability of research, applications to practice and/ or utility of findings used to establish research rigour while planning the research. These factors, which may have confounded some of the findings of the study were outside of the control of the researcher.

Although the researcher was carefully prepared. There were certain limitations to the study:

Limited prior research: While there has been extensive research done on the FMF movement and the political behaviour of youth in South Africa, little attention has been paid to the differences in their social conditions and how they affect their political behaviour since 1994. The study was also limited by access to information that could be used to corroborate the veracity of the respondents. There is little research done on the influences of networks. Citing prior research studies is

important for a literature review and helps lay a foundation for understanding the research problem you are investigating. This was mitigated by doing extensive research on related topics such as youth activism, youth participation and student governance.

Time constraints: One of the key limitations of the study was the fact that the data collection could had to be carried out at a shorter duration than as proposed because of a delay in obtaining ethical clearance to conduct the study.

Demographic constraint: There was also a difficulty of accessing some members of a racial group, especially when they are in the minority in the different campuses. Thus, where Caucasians where not available, coloureds were interviewed in their stead. This is a significant constraint that could not be overcome due to the times of the distribution of the questionnaires. Future studies with similar methodology will be wise to make room for more time to access all racial groups. presence.

Access: Part of this study depended on having access to three key informants known to the researcher. This may have influenced a selection bias in the key informants because of the snow-balling technique where key informants are more likely to volunteer names of people that they have some ties with. This limitation was overcome by asking each respondent for two names each, those who were interviewed were those who were available at the time of the visit to the campuses or those who responded on time.

Questionnaire bias: While the researcher has tried to cross-verify claims of self-reported events by asking other participants who were privy to the same information, one is forced to take some reports at face-value as they cannot be independently verified.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has described the approaches, methods, and ways of gathering the data to answer the research questions. It briefly described the site of study, the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and its constituent colleges. It also described the types of research instruments and ways by which the validity of the results is determined through the rigour of the instruments. Thus, it has been flexible in combining the advantages of the two research methods into one adaptable mixed method for a comprehensive, descriptive study with empirical data from primary sources. The subsequent chapter will analyse the data gathered from the surveys and interviews.

Chapter Five

Data Presentation and Analysis

For the quantitative data collection, a purposive stratified sampling method was used to distribute 100 questionnaires, twenty on each campus but the numbers purposively stratified to reflect the gender and racial representation of the population in the different campuses. The University has 49, 162 registered students distributed in 5 campuses at Edgewood, Howard, Medical School, Pietermaritzburg, and Westville. At Howard College, the student population is 16, 739 with 9,649 females and 7, 044 males, representing 57.6% and 42% respectively. Therefore, 12 questionnaires were purposively administered to females who had spent more than a year on campus. This was made easier by administering the questionnaires at Postgraduate LANS and asking the respondents their year of study before administering.

Racial categories of Africans, Indians and Others were used to further stratify the population into representative sample sizes. The Other category was used for Whites and Coloreds and any other category because of the negligible fraction of their size when converting to a ratio of 20. Out of 12 questionnaires for females, African females got 9 as their figure of 5, 336 represented 78% of the population. 2 respondents were Indians and 1 was in the Other category.

These questionnaires were purposively administered to reflect the racial and gender proportion of the population of the University.

The total number of students at the Pietermaritzburg campus of the university is 9, 994 with African females representing 45% of the population and Indian males representing just 4 percent. There was a negligible number of white males at the campus.

The Westville campus is the second most populated with 13, 039 students and has the highest population of Indian students who are 33 percent of the student population.

The Medical school has a more racial and gender spread than other campuses because of its small population but diverse by race and gender.

The Edgewood campus is predominantly African populated with a sprinkling of Indians at 10 % of the population and other groups at 3 %.

For the qualitative method, ten respondents were purposefully selected as their contributions during the fee movement was evident. They range from leaders of different student political organization like the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC), the Democratic Alliance Student Organization (DASO) and the Black First Land First (BLF) group, executive members of the Student Representative Council and individual members, who although were ordinary members of the Student Representative Council, played significant roles in mobilization and direction of students.

Table 5.1 below shows how the 20 questionnaires were distributed based on race and gender at Howard College. The subsequent tables 5.1 to 5.5 show how purposive sampling was used to distribute the questionnaires in the other campuses. Table 5.6. is the summary of the respondents by race, gender, and campus. The data on student population was sourced from the University Intelligence Unit.

Table 5.1 Distribution of Questionnaires by Race and Gender at Howard College

	Females	Males	In Percentages %	Number of Questionaires (20)	Totals
Africans	7, 532	5,336	(44) (32)	(9) (6)	15
Indians	1, 618	1, 282	(10) (8)	(2) (1)	3
Others	499	426	(4) (3)	(1)(1)	2
Total:16, 739	9,649	7,044	(54)(43)	(12)(8)	20

Table 5. 2 Distribution of Questionnaires by Race and Gender at Westville

	Females	Males	In Percentages %	Number of Questionnaires (20)
Africans	4,374	3,914	(33)(30)	(7)(6)
Indians	2, 576	1,679	(20)(13)	(3)(2)
Others	375	150	(2) (1)	(1)(1)
Total: 13, 069	7325	5,743	(55)(45)	(11)(9)

Table 5.3: Distribution of Questionnaires by Race and Gender at Medical School

	Females	Males	In Percentages %	Number of Questionnaires (20)
Africans	815	755	(34)(31)	(7)(6)
Indians	352	198	(15)(8)	(3)(2)
Others	153	133	(6)(6)	(1)(1)
Total: 2,406	1,320	1,086	(55)(45)	

Table 5.4. Distribution of Questionnaires by Race and Gender at Pietermaritzburg

	Females	Males	In Percentages %	Number of Questionnaires (20)
Africans	4557	3681	(45)(37)	(9)(7)
Indians	635	419	(6)(4)	(2)(1)
Others	390	247	(4)(2)	(1)(0)
Total :9,949				

Table 5.5. Distribution of Questionnaires by Race and Gender at Edgewood

	Females	Males	In Percentages %	Number of Questionnaires (20)
Africans	3466	2567	(50)(37)	(10)(7)
Indian	533	154	(8)(2)	(2)(1)
Others	119	42	(2)(1)	(0)(0)
Total: 6,881				

Table 5.6

Count

Gender			Campus					
			Howard College	Westville	Pietermaritzburg	Edgewood	Medical School	Total
Male	Race	African	6	6	7	7	6	32
		Indian	1	2	1	1	2	7
		Other	1	1	0	0	1	3
	Total		8	9	8	8	9	42
Female	Race	African	9	7	9	10	7	42
		Indian	2	3	2	2	3	12
		Other	1	1	1	0	1	4
	Total		12	11	12	12	11	58
Total	Race	African	15	13	16	17	13	74
		Indian	3	5	3	3	5	19
		Other	2	2	1	0	2	7
	Total		20	20	20	20	20	100

Table 5.6. Distribution of Questionnaires by Race and Gender on Different Campuses

A Summary of Responses: Biographical Information

1. Age:

Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.000	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
	2.000	25	25.0	25.0	27.0
	3.000	53	53.0	53.0	80.0
	4.000	19	19.0	19.0	99.0
	5.000	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Respondents in the 25-26 age bracket are 53 percent of the sample, 22-24 are 25% of the sample, 26-27 are 19 % of the sample, 2 % are aged 18-19 and 1 % age older than 27.

2. Level of Study:

Level

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
	1	18	18.0	18.0	20.0

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	2	62	62.0	62.0	82.0
	3	18	18.0	18.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

62% of respondents are in their 3rd year of study, 18% each for 4th and 2nd year each. First year students were excluded deliberately as they didn't witness the FMF as students.

3. College of respondents:

College

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Humanities	45	45.0	45.0	45.0
	Agriculture, Engineering and Science	15	15.0	15.0	60.0
	Health Sciences	34	34.0	34.0	94.0
	Law and Management	6	6.0	6.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Most respondents were from the school of humanities at 45%. The college of health sciences came close second at 34%, the school of Agriculture, Engineering and Science, and Management were 15% and 6% respectively.

4. Campus and Gender of Respondents:

Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	42	42.0	42.0	42.0
	Female	58	58.0	58.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Since the survey was distributed equally, with each campus having 20, female respondents made a larger percentage of the respondents at 58% and male respondents were at 42%.

5. Description of University Experience:

Experience

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Pleasant	15	15.0	15.0	15.0
	Normal	35	35.0	35.0	50.0
	Challenging	50	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Most students, 50% of them ranked their university experience as challenging while 35% of the sample referred to their college experience as normal. 15% of respondents described their college experience as pleasant.

Section B: Network and Ties:

6. Type of Sponsor:

Sponsor

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Self	3	3.0	3.0	3.0
	Government	62	62.0	62.0	65.0
	Parents	27	27.0	27.0	92.0
	Others	8	8.0	8.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Most students are on government support at 62%. Parents support 27% while 3% are self-supporting and 8% have other forms of funding that include bursaries and scholarships.

7. Membership in Student Association on Campus.

Membership

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	44	44.0	44.0	44.0
	No	56	56.0	56.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Most students are not in any student organization. At 56%, majority of respondents reported not to belong to any association. 44% of students say that they belong.

8. Participation in Student Activities.

Participation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	47	47.0	47.0	47.0
	No	53	53.0	53.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

While students may not join student associations, they may participate as the number of respondents who say that they participate in the activities of student associations 47% are more than students who belong to student associations 44%.

9. Involvement and recognition of student associations

Involvement

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Involved	30	30.0	30.0	30.0
	Somewhat Involved	39	39.0	39.0	69.0
	Not Involved	31	31.0	31.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

There is a relatively even distribution of students according to their political involvement in the activities of student associations. There was 30%, 69% and 31% respectively of respondents who say they are either strongly, somewhat, and not involved in the activities of student associations. However, most respondents report themselves to be somewhat involved in the activities of student associations.

10. Associational Recognition:

Association

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	84	84.0	84.0	84.0
BLF	1	1.0	1.0	85.0
cri.st,a	1	1.0	1.0	86.0
Cultural	1	1.0	1.0	87.0
DASO	3	3.0	3.0	90.0
enactus	1	1.0	1.0	91.0
Honor So	1	1.0	1.0	92.0
law&jus	1	1.0	1.0	93.0
MSA	3	3.0	3.0	96.0
MSF stud	1	1.0	1.0	97.0
none	1	1.0	1.0	98.0
SASCO	1	1.0	1.0	99.0
SCM	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Among those who report themselves as belonging to different associations, members of the Muslim Students Association (MSA) and the Democratic Alliance Students Organization (DASO) are in the majority. They are more likely to report themselves as strongly and somewhat involved

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in their respective organization. However, students are more likely to list the SRC and SASCO as the most relevant student organization on campus.

1. FMF Participation

FMF_Part

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	59	59.0	59.0	59.0
	No	41	41.0	41.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

59% of the respondents say they participated in one or more of the demonstrations during the Fees movement.

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Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Race	.477	.400	1.417	1	.234	1.611
	Experience	-.710	.359	3.897	1	.048	.492
	Sponsor	-.184	.369	.250	1	.617	.832
	College	-.105	.276	.145	1	.703	.900
	Gender	-.472	.493	.917	1	.338	.624
	Age	.227	.361	.398	1	.528	1.255
	Constant	.572	1.962	.085	1	.771	1.772

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Race, Experience, Sponsor, College, Gender, Age.

Direct logistic regression was performed on six of the socio-biographic descriptors of respondents to predict if they share the same concerns with the FMF movement. The model contained six independent variables i.e. Race, University experience, Sponsor, College, Gender and Age. The full model containing all predictors was statistically significant, X (squared) (6, N, 100) at 75, p=
0.05 Of all the variables, the experiences of respondents at 0.048 (less than 0.05) is the sole predictor of whether the FMF movement represented the individual concerns of the respondents. At negative .710, there is a negative correlation of students' personal experiences and their participation in the FMF movement. The race of a respondent is also a determinant of their participation in the FMF movement. Africans are 1.611 times as likely to participate in the FMF movement as compared to others. College, age, gender, and sponsor do not count for much. This suggest that the FMF movement cut across all disciplines of the university and all colleges as well.

Correlations

		Race	Approval_Of_Students_FMF
Race	Pearson Correlation	1	.072
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.477
	N	100	100
Approval_Of_Students_FMF	Pearson Correlation	.072	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.477	
	N	100	100

Positive but moderate relationship between the race of respondents and the approval of the antics of the FMF protesters.

Correlations

		Gender	Approval_Of_ Students_FMF
Gender	Pearson Correlation	1	.047
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.642
	N	100	100
Approval_Of_Students_ FMF	Pearson Correlation	.047	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.642	
	N	100	100

There is no correlation between the gender of respondents and their approval of the tactics of the FMF movement. All genders supported the movement. However, while there has been a popular

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report of the movement been led by women at Wits and Rhodes, the movement was led by men at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Research Problems and Objectives

This study seeks answers to these specific questions:

Do personal experiences motivate participation in the Student Movement?

To answer the first question of whether the different demographics behaved differently during the Fees movement, several correlations between respondents' socio-economic indicators such gender, race, year of study were run against their participation in the activities of student organizations, their involvement in the fees movement and their attitudes towards the actions of different parties such as the student protesters, the school authority, and the security operatives.

The concerns of the FMF movement ranked in chronological order shows a deep concern for a change in cultural and institutional setting, from the #RhodesMustFall, to the University of KwaZulu-Natal's #GeorgeMustFall, there was a growing concern for the removal of, among other things, colonial buildings and artworks, a faster adoption of African languages for teaching and learning, a reformation of the canon to include African-centred pedagogical approaches, and a demographic representation of faculty. Students were tired of the slow progression of the promise of the rainbow nation, they sought to address the incomplete liberation of the older generation which showed itself in the resilience of the structures of old and the inequity of access in higher education in South Africa.

Aligned with these struggles was also the fight for the better welfare of workers tagged at the university #OutsourcingMustFall which called for the improvement in the conditions of service workers by making service workers permanent employees, granting their children fee waivers just as granted to the academic staff.

In the second iteration of the FMF movement, there was more deployment of security operatives to finish the academic session. Students leaders were arrested, and more buildings were burnt at the university during this period.

The crux of the movement from the beginning was in reaction to a 6 percent increase in tuition and the students' demand for a moratorium on the increment of tuition fees. The university authorities, while not in support of the students redirected them to the government as the major funders of higher education and insisted that they had warned about the decline in the budgetary allocation to the higher education sector. With this demand came a critique of the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) and allegations of corruption in the management of the aid scheme

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that provides government funded loans for students, the issue of the missing middle i.e. children of the parents who are too rich for financial aid and too poor to afford the rising tuition fees, the cancellation of debt indebtedness and financial exclusion of students due to their inability to pay the required registration fees and the provision of more spaces for accommodation.

These demands arise in the wake of a new managerial approach of the university where outsourcing, contract staffing meet with first generation university goers particularly in formerly white only universities.

To answer these research questions, a series of tests ranging from the Pearson test for correlation to a direct logistic regression was carried out.

the comparison between means were run between the socio-demographics of respondents and their

attitudes towards the FMF movement.

Question (6) and (16) which asks if the respondent's experiences during their stay at the university resonate with the conce

the demands of the FMF. While other socio-demographic tests are run against the different affective and cognitive nitive att

Correlations

		Experience	Same_Struggles_FMF
Experience	Pearson Correlation	1	-.246[*]
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.013
	N	100	100
Same_Struggles_FMF	Pearson Correlation	-.246[*]	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	
	N	100	100

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The null hypothesis for this question is that there is no correlation between the university experience of respondent es

And the concerns of the FMF movement. At negative .246, there is a negative correlation of the experiences of respondent s and

ents and the concerns of the FMF. The tests show that we should reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternate

hypothesis, that there is a correlation but a negative one. Students who describe their stay at university are more likely to support the F

MF.

Finding: The more enjoyable a respondent's university experience is, the less likely they are to support FMF. Thefore,

This is suggesting that the FMF was a movement for those who feel disenchanted with the system.

Correlations

		Sponsor	Same_Struggl es_FMF
Sponsor	Pearson Correlation	1	-.034
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.737
	N	100	100
Same_Struggles_FMF	Pearson Correlation	-.034	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.737	
	N	100	100

On the same question, there was a test on how the burden of tuition correlated with the demands of the FMF ranging

The null hypothesis is that there is no correlation between the type of sponsor and respondents' support for FMF. At N

Negative 0.34, there is moderate negative correlation.

Finding: Funding burden affected how sympathetic students are to the FMF and its antics. Students with bursaries, are

That is, those how are not on government support are more inclined to say that they do not share the same concerns with the FMF movement.

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1.408	.253		5.561	.000
	Race	.050	.081	.063	.619	.537
	Sponsor	.048	.071	.069	.682	.497
	Experience	-.107	.066	-.163	-1.613	.110

a. Dependent Variable: Did_FMD_Rep_You

To test the significance of three socio-economic factors such as race, sponsor and university experience as a predictor

Of support for the FMF movement, race and the type of sponsor were better predictors of support for the

FMF Movement and whether the movement represented their concerns.

ANOVA[a]

| Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.417	2	.208	.823	.442[b]
	Residual	24.573	97	.253		
	Total	24.990	99			

a. Dependent Variable: Approval_Of_Authorities_FMF

b. Predictors: (Constant), Gender, Race

An Anova test of whether gender and race are predictors of the support for how the authorities handled the situation during the

the FMF movement shows a moderate strength of prediction by the respondents' gender and sex and their approval of

the methods of the authorities.

Bar Chart
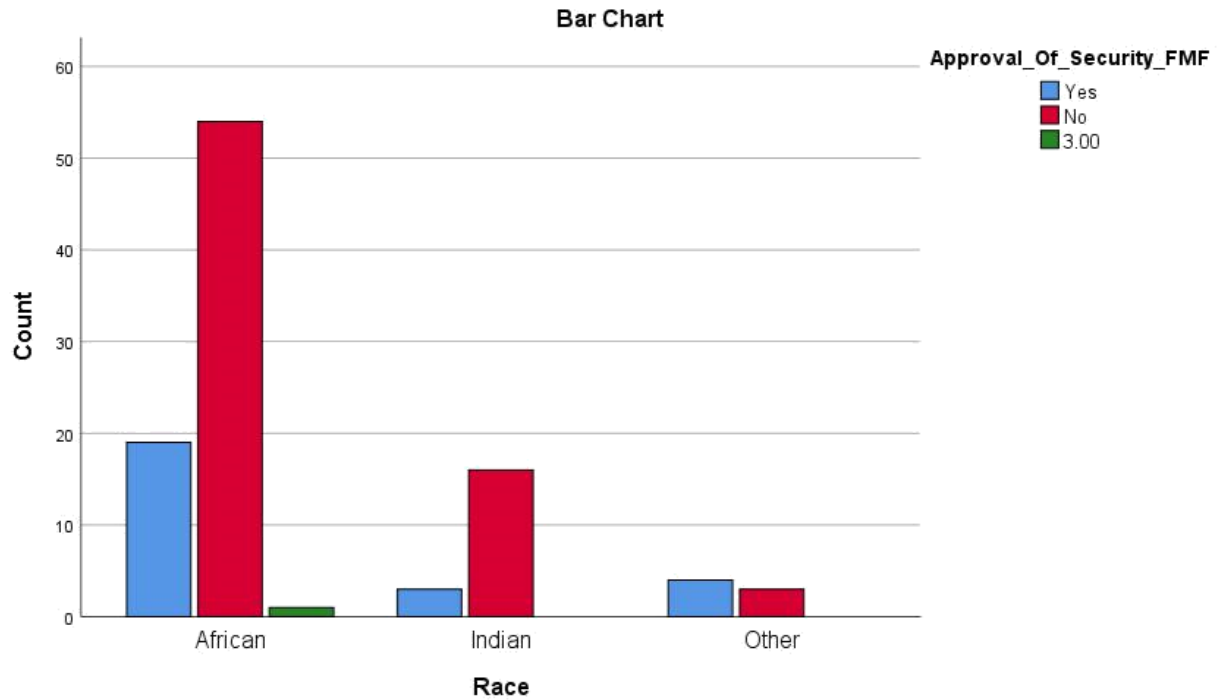
A graphic illustration above shows the attitudes of different races to the antics of the security operatives during the

FMF movement. The respondents overwhelmingly decried the actions of the security operatives irrespective of college

, sex or gender.

5.2 Do organizational affiliations affect different forms of participation in the Movement?

Correlations

	Membership	FMF_Part

			.165
Membership	Pearson Correlation	1	.165
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.100
	N	100	100
FMF_Part	Pearson Correlation	.165	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.100	
	N	100	100

Respondents who are members of organizations on campus are likely to have participated in the FMF movement as the Pearson correlation above shows. At 0.165, there is a strong correlation between being a member of an association on campus and participating in FMF.

Which forms of associations are more likely to have encouraged participation in FMF demonstrations? Because respondents can be members of more than one organization, the influences of political associations are stronger than others. Those who belong to professional student associations like the Law Student Society are less likely to have participated in the FMF movement. However, from the interviews, there was a preference for more militant forms of agitation by students who are members of the EFFSC and the BLF movement. As one respondent remarked when asked which student organization was more effective during the FMF and why the respondent remarked:

"Every struggle needs its MLK (referring to Martin Luther King, Junior and his non-violent methods) and its Malcolm X. We decided that we were going to be the Malcolm X of the movement. How can we win these dialogues if we do not have something else to bargain with? These old men (referring to the management and politicians) will just play you for fools and expect you to play it cool. *Ngeke*![3]."

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[3] An emphatic No in Zulu language used to show disagreement.

How did the institutional configuration shape the protests at the University?

With its multi-campus arrangement, the university of KwaZulu-Natal's merger was not without tension due to the different characteristics of the different campuses. While the Howard campus of the university was formerly a historically white university offering professional courses, and the Pietermaritzburg campus for agricultural students, both catered for white students only in the past. The medical school of the university was created in the 1960s to train doctors for Africans, Indians and coloureds. The University of Durban-Westville was a university college for Indians and Coloureds. With their merger however in 2004, each campus sought to maintain its own identity and culture. Government's attempt to merge under-resourced universities with their better resourced ones to help streamline governments funding strategy to universities soon met with a changing demographic as students from previously disadvantaged groups were allowed into the university. Also, there was also a net flow of white students from the university.

Govender et al, (2013) in their work on Equity Index, a measure of transformation of South African higher education sector ranks UKZN as high on the Equity Index with good equity indices and high research output, ranking second after the University of the Witwatersrand. This has proved to be one of the forte of the university as it records a high level of research output and is consistent with the transformation agenda of the university. There was however opposition to the appointment of the Vice Chancellor van Jaarsveld to succeed Vice Chancellor Makgoba. As a respondent in the interviews put it:

"You mean they couldn't find another black person in the whole of the university to replace Makgoba? His administration has proven to be anti-black especially in the way they deployed security on the students"

The assertion of a racist Vice-Chancellor came to a head with the call for the resignation of the VC during the FMF movement at UKZN. There were reports of some members of staff using the FMF movement for their own interest and career advancement. It culminated with the amicable discharge of five senior members of management including Deputy Vice Chancellor Poitgieter.

Respondents who were not aligned to any black-consciousness motivated organization such as the BLF and the EFFSC were inclined to disagree with the call for the resignation of the VC. As a respondent asked:

"What has the VC got to do with this? We will not be used as ploys to fight the battle between the management. They should leave us out of it."

Students from the Humanities school, who are majorly concentrated on the Howard campus were more actively engaged in the process, however, there were more disruptive activities PMB, Edgewood and the Westville campus. The protest activities at the Howard college campus and the Nelson Mandela Medical school were less disruptive of the academic activities. Humanities students at the PMB campus were more likely to have actively participated in the FMF movement and a greater proportion of the student activists that were arrested came from the PMB campus and the school of Humanities. Students compared the residential facilities at the Howard college campus as better than those in other campuses, except the medical school.

Despite the merger, there is a feeling of the lingering inequality of residential arrangements in the formerly White only Howard College campus and the historically black Edgewood campus were most students are Black as compared to other campuses. This is tandem with Robus and Macleod s' (2006) assertion that the merger of historically white and black universities is not an automatic way of resolving racial and class inequalities. These differences are resilient and require a more pragmatic approach. Failure to do this may result in the preference of students for one campus over another which may have logistical consequences for research and academics.

There were more trenchant complains of power cuts, water disruptions and the unavailability of adequate residence facilities at the Edgewood campus. Respondents also pointed out the differences in how the media reported demonstrations and protests at UKZN, which is seen now as a whole a majority-black university, as compared to the Universities of Pretoria, Wits and UCT, which despite their changing demographics is still seen as majority white. As one of the respondents said:

"It is only when students from UCT and Wits protest that the government takes the students seriously. We have been protesting about these issues before now yet we are given a bad name. This country thrives on black pain"

Students of the EFFSC who kickstarted the Fallist movement by heeding the call of the leader of the EFF Julius Malema, defaced the statue of King George V in front of the Howard College theatre. They, alongside the BLF, played very prominent roles in the mobilization of students and were often marked by security operatives. This led to them suffering from more collateral damage than other members of other associations.

The SRC produced a list of demands contained a list of demands which included a rejection of the National Financial Aid Scheme (NASFAS) as structured, a cancellation of historic debts, more

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provision for computer labs, the termination of racist lecturers (two were named), the security situation regarding rape and protection of students in off-campus residences, and a quicker adoption of the bilingual policy (UKZN, 2016). The demands revealed the how complex the issues the FMF movement was involved in. However, respondents in the questionnaires, when asked what the demands of the FMF movement were, very few listed issued beyond tuition reduction and abolition, although students at the Edgewood campus listed accommodation problems, other campuses did not immediately list that as a major concern. The demands of the SRC, while reflecting the concerns of students at that moment, a political moment, all demands were laid on the table beyond the immediate concerns of the struggle. It may be argued that alienation of students was multi-faceted. Students on campuses who were more inclined to say that the FMF movement represented their concern, were also those who were most dependent on government funding, were also more likely to list other demands beyond tuition. They were also more likely to say that another iteration of the movement in 2017 was needed. Those who responded as having a normal or pleasant college experience were more likely to have applauded the success of the FMF movement despite their disapproval of the antics of the students.

On the part of management, there was at the time of the movement divisions between members of management. The Vice-Chancellor was the target of several missives from students and staff alike who used the opportunity of the FMF movement to criticize his administration. On the part of students, most of the criticism came from the amount of money spent on the contracting of security outfits called the MI7, there were insinuations of corruption on the contracting, but these were not documented nor made without mischief. As a respondent said:

"…*These allegations against van Jaarsveld (Albert van Jaarsveld) are just by these people who are taking advantage of the situation. Do they want to tell us that they didn't know all these things before now? Why are they now talking now? They are one and the same, these people.*"

Most respondents attributed the violence by the students as reactionary. They saw the deployment of security operatives in riot gears and armored personnel carriers as provocative and intended to intimidate through the show of superior strength and the force of violence. The students thus resorted to insurgent tactics like the burning of the Law library and a cafeteria at the Howard College campus. They were also attempts to set some residences on the Edgewood campus on fire. It was also an attempt to draw attention to the situation that was on campus, which the authorities had sought to contain by suppression through numerous releases that all was well and academic programs were proceeding as usual. These insurrectionary tactics, although unpopular to the larger student population, key respondents affirmed that this was a necessary escalation of the engagement with the university authorities and the state.

These standoffs were reminiscent of the Marikana massacre. Students saw a double-sided treatment of students in majority-black and historically-white institutions, especially in how the authorities treated students of color. The adamant posture of the university authorities frustrated them, especially after they had obtained a court injunction from a court in PMB to stop

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demonstrations and protests. Thus, the extra-legal tactics that they saw as a part of the negotiation tactics. If the law gagged them, they were willing to go against the law. This stance is aligned with della Porta's argument that escalation and political competitiveness leads to more political violence in social movements (2013). There was a mutually reinforcing exchange of violence between the authorities and the protesters as they competed for the attention of students as to who was in charge. As the violence aggravated, students were inclined to use methods that they acknowledged didn't enjoy popular support but was deemed necessary for the confrontation.

The visibility of two forms of security outfits, the anti-riot police squad and private security outfits like the MI7 against the demonstrators gave the FMF movement a frame of injustice, of a higher, more forceful collaboration against 'powerless students.' Majority of students from the survey frowned against the antics of the security operatives as it seemed that the state's use of violence was overhanded. A particular image did the rounds which highlighted the violence on students, especially innocent bye-standers, who were caught in the crossfires. Students complained of the police using teargas in student residences and the complicity of the security operatives in the rape of students. Investigations by the authorities claimed that while there had been reports of rape, they were not by personnel of the university like the students claimed and were only used as weaponized misinformation to rally popular support from the students and the public against the university.

2. FMF Participation

FMF_Part

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	59	59.0	59.0	59.0
	No	41	41.0	41.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

59% of the respondents say they participated in one or more of the demonstrations during the Fees movement.

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Variables in the Equation

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a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Race, Experience, Sponsor, College, Gender, Age.

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Positive but moderate relationship between the race of respondents and the approval of the antics of the FMF protesters.

Correlations

		Gender	Approval_Of_ Students_FMF
Gender	Pearson Correlation	1	.047

			.642
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.642
	N	100	100
Approval_Of_Students_ FMF	Pearson Correlation	.047	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.642	
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There is no correlation between the gender of respondents and their approval of the tactics of the FMF movement. All genders supported the movement. However, while there has been a popular report of the movement been led by women at Wits and Rhodes, the movement was led by men at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

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Question (6) and (16) which asks if the respondents' experiences during their stay at the university resonate with the concerns of the demands of the FMF movement. While other socio-demographic tests are run against the different affective and cognitive characteristics.

5.2 Do organizational affiliations affect different forms of participation in the Movement?

Correlations

	Membership	FMF_Part

			.165
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Students from the Humanities school, who are majorly concentrated on the Howard campus were more actively engaged in the process, however, there were more disruptive activities PMB, Edgewood and the Westville campus. The academic activities at the Howard college campus and the Nelson Mandela Medical school were less disruptive of the academic activities. Humanities students at the PMB campus were more likely to have actively participated in the FMF movement and a greater proportion of the student activists that were arrested came from the PMB campus and the school of Humanities. Students compared the residential facilities at the Howard college campus as better than those in other campuses, except the medical school.

Despite the merger, there is a feeling of the lingering inequality of residential arrangements in the formerly White only Howard College campus and the historically black Edgewood campus were most students are Black as compared to other campuses. This is tandem with Robus and Macleod s' (2006) assertion that the merger of historically white and black universities is not an automatic way of resolving racial and class inequalities. These differences are resilient and require a more pragmatic approach. Failure to do this may result in the preference of students for one campus over another which may have logistical consequences for research and academics.

There were more trenchant complains of power cuts, water disruptions and the unavailability of adequate residence facilities at the Edgewood campus. Respondents also pointed out the differences in how the media reported demonstrations and protests at UKZN, which is seen now as a whole a majority-black university, as compared to the Universities of Pretoria, Wits and UCT, which despite their changing demographics is still seen as majority white. As one of the respondents said:

"It is only when students from UCT and Wits protest that the government takes the students seriously. We have been protesting about these issues before now yet we are given a bad name. This country thrives on black pain"

Students of the EFFSC who kickstarted the Fallist movement by heeding the call of the leader of the EFF Julius Malema, defaced the statue of King George V in front of the Howard College theatre. They, alongside the BLF, played very prominent roles in the mobilization of students and were often marked by security operatives. This led to them suffering from more collateral damage than other members of other associations.

The SRC produced a list of demands contained a list of demands which included a rejection of the National Financial Aid Scheme (NASFAS) as structured, a cancellation of historic debts, more provision for computer labs, the termination of racist lecturers (two were named), the security situation regarding rape and protection of students in off-campus residences, and a quicker adoption of the bilingual policy (UKZN, 2016). The demands revealed the how complex the issues

the FMF movement was involved in. However, respondents in the questionnaires, when asked what were the demands of the FMF movement, very few listed issued beyond tuition reduction and abolition, although students at the Edgewood campus listed accommodation problems, other campuses did not immediately list that as a major concern. The demands of the SRC, while reflecting the concerns of students at that moment, a political moment, all demands were laid on the table beyond the immediate concerns of the struggle. It may be argued that alienation of students was multi-faceted. Students on campuses who were more inclined to say that the FMF movement represented their concern, were also those who were most dependent on government funding, were also more likely to list other demands beyond tuition. They were also more likely to say that another iteration of the movement in 2017 was needed. Those who responded as having a normal or pleasant college experience were more likely to have applauded the success of the FMF movement despite their disapproval of the antics of the students.

On the part of management, there was at the time of the movement divisions between members of management. The Vice-Chancellor was the target of several missives from students and staff alike who used the opportunity of the FMF movement to criticize his administration. On the part of students, most of the criticism came from the amount of money spent on the contracting of security outfits called the MI7, there were insinuations of corruption on the contracting, but these were not documented nor made without mischief. As a respondent said:

"…*These allegations against van Jaarsveld (Albert van Jaarsveld) are just by these people who are taking advantage of the situation. Do they want to tell us that they didn't know all these things before now? Why are they now talking now? They are one and the same, these people.*"

Most respondents attributed the violence by the students as reactionary. They saw the deployment of security operatives in riot gears and armored personnel carriers as provocative and intended to intimidate through the show of superior strength and the force of violence. The students thus resorted to insurgent tactics like the burning of the Law library and a cafeteria at the Howard College campus. They were also attempts to set some residences on the Edgewood campus on fire. It was also an attempt to draw attention to the situation that was on campus, which the authorities had sought to contain by suppression through numerous releases that all was well and academic programs were proceeding as usual. These insurrectionary tactics, although unpopular to the larger student population, key respondents affirmed that this was a necessary escalation of the engagement with the university authorities and the state.

These standoffs were reminiscent of the Marikana massacre. Students saw a double-sided treatment of students in majority-black and historically-white institutions, especially in how the authorities treated students of color. The adamant posture of the university authorities frustrated them, especially after they had obtained a court injunction from a court in PMB to stop demonstrations and protests. Thus, the extra-legal tactics that they saw as a part of the negotiation tactics. If the law gagged them, they were willing to go against the law. This stance is aligned with della Porta's argument that escalation and political competitiveness leads to more political

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violence in social movements (2013). There was a mutually reinforcing exchange of violence between the authorities and the protesters as they competed for the attention of students as to who was in charge. As the violence aggravated, students were inclined to use methods that they acknowledged didn't enjoy popular support but was deemed necessary for the confrontation.

The visibility of two forms of security outfits, the anti-riot police squad and private security outfits like the MI7 against the demonstrators gave the FMF movement a frame of injustice, of a higher, more forceful collaboration against 'powerless students.' Majority of students from the survey frowned against the antics of the security operatives as it seemed that the state's use of violence was overhanded. A particular [image](#) did the rounds which highlighted the violence on students, especially innocent bye-standers, who were caught in the crossfires. Students complained of the police using teargas in student residences and the complicity of the security operatives in the rape of students. Investigations by the authorities claimed that while there had been reports of rape, they were not by personnel of the university like the students claimed and were only used as weaponized misinformation to rally popular support from the students and the public against the university.

What were the outcomes of various tactics adopted during the movement at the University?

The insurgent tactics of the FMF movement at UKZN were deliberate and strategic. It was a response to the escalation of police presence on campus and a strategy to thwart the show of strength by the authorities as to who was in charge. These tactic, which did not often enjoy the support of the larger public, were not taken lightly. It had several outcomes for different groups. The more militant groups who used their visibility during the movement became noticeable on campus and they recorded, like the BLF, subsequent increment in their representation during the elections into the SRC. While the SASCO-led SRC publicly condemned the violent tactics of other students such as the burning of buildings and things, they were qualified. They seem to suggest to the authorities that it was in their best interest to take them more seriously in their demands or face the wrath of those who did not have their own misgivings about the use of violence. As a respondent in the interviews said:

"We have come to realize that the whole rainbow nation fantasy won't happen without struggle or violence, Biko has reminded us that. We cannot negotiate on just pacific terms with the power structures. Our parents have won political freedom, now we need to win economic freedom and we can't do that with just negotiating with this people"

On the part of management, the division between members of the executive council led to the mutual termination of some members after different allegations of insubordination and conspiracy

were made against some senior members of management who were part of the executive council, most prominent among them was the Deputy Vice-Chancellor Cheryl Poitgieter who was visibly seen as in support of students. Members of the SRC had seen her and some other members of staff as pro-students and pro FMF. This form of strategic staff-student alliance had, as reported by key informants, a sinister inquisition that watched staff members who were collaborating with the FMF movement.

Thus, the tactic of forming alliances with sympathetic staff for support, which was different from the strategic alliance with non-academic staff with the #OutsourcingMustFall campaign in that while the later was obvious and the solidarity was mutually beneficial and without collateral damage to the reputation of non-academic staff or students. With the academic staff however, the reputation of staff was reflected on the unpopular antics of students which no one wanted to jeopardize theirs with. While students acknowledged the tacit support of members of staff, it was not politic to be visibly supportive. This arrangement was understood by members of the SASCO-led SRC but was not welcomed by more radical groups like the EFFSC and BLF.

At a lecture hosted by the college of humanities, there was a direct confrontation of BLF students directly attacking the presenters and staff of the university as collaborators and protectors of the status quo. These sorts of ad hominem attacks were popular with that group and made them more visible.

There were a lot of infiltration and covert intelligent operations that was went on during the FMF movement. A key informant disclosed that they received training on how to know who the moles amongst them are. The movement, as a government official said, was the handiwork of a 'third force'. This was not without credence. Different parties and alliances tried to ride on the wave of the movement for different political gains. Some parties withdrew their partnership at a point to delineate their own preference for some other line of action. The EFFSC and the EFF at some point in the movement decided to stop been at the forefront of the struggle. They, as one of the key respondents alleged, had been infiltrated. They spoke of been invited to another campus for mobilization and were apprehended and beaten up at three in the morning on their way back from PMB by security agents.

There wasn't just a third force. There were other interests angling for visibility. Those who were supposedly pro-business and anti-government looked for those who criticized the antics of the government and the students, killing two birds with one stone. This sort of alliances is reminiscent of the old student movements and their partnerships with either business or government. In these sorts of arrangement are strategic alliances formed that mutate at different stages of the movement. For instance, there was a role played by the clergy who on one hand stood as the moral conscience of all parties. They frowned on the use of indiscriminate violence on all sides and acted as a bulwark for students against police violence. They also served as mediators between the different parties and helped sponsor engagements and parleys between parties.

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While the SASCO-led SRC may have been seen to be lukewarm in the second iteration of the FMF movement in 2016, their engagement with the management of the institution gave them enough leeway to be able to negotiate the release of student activists who had been detained by police.

They also pursued legal ways by first handing out pamphlets of Right to Protest, which contained the ways by which protests actions were to be conducted. Their resourcefulness, by engaging with multiple actors proved to at the end be the more pragmatic as they eventually had to be the arrowhead of negotiations as seen from their consolidated [demands in a memorandum.](#)

There were concessions made from the authorities which include but are not limited to the appointment of an independent board of enquiry to go through the conduct of students who may have run foul of the law. This was a major concession as it reduced the collateral damage that students may have suffered in defending themselves through the normal judicial process. The concession protected a lot of the leaders of the FMF movement at UKZN from the fate that befell their counterpart at the Durban University of Technology who is still in court at the end 2017, an academic year that recorded no protests at the UKZN and other campuses.

The students also used the opportunity to seek greater involvement in university governance by asking for the participation of the Central SRC president to be part of the executive management committee meetings as a member. A proposal was required from the students to make representation for their cause but this was now granted as the authorities claimed that :

"*it was untenable from the point of view of good governance, students having no formal responsibility on EMC the statute, Higher Education Act and the fact that student representation on EMC is via the Executive Director: Student Services in much the same way as staff representation on EMC is via the Executive Director: Human Resources*."

A concession for a biannual meeting between the Executive Management Committee and the leadership of the SRC was arrived at. A subsequent meeting of such was honored by management later in the year.

The university also acquiesced to the demands for a longer period of registration on resumption which was considered in the planning of the academic calendar for the 2017/2018 session. This was after a proposal for such had been submitted by the SRC. Also, the students also sought more time for the registration appeal committee that saw to the financial exclusion of students for more students to be able to register while they planned to balance their outstanding debts.

The robot system, which was used in academic exclusion and the placement of students by merit and needs were proposed to be reformed to allow for a need-based residence placement and inclusion if students obtained 50 percent. These were directed to the various departments that oversaw the different demands. For instance, more trainings were to be organized for students on how the robot system worked and how academic progress could be tracked.

The collaboration between the FMF movement and the #OutsourcingMustFall campaign was a major success of the movement as security personnel were to be insourced. More trainings were also to be given to those employed and more facilities built for student accommodation. The demands of students on the shortage of residences and living arrangements were firmly pressed home and actions were expedited on them. The Student Governance and Leadership Center, the unit responsible for the overseeing of student affairs was affected by the insourcing of non-academic staff which did not allow for the restructuring of the unit as the students had demanded.

At the PMB campus, the language center which helped in the bilingual access program had been stopped due to its non-profitability. Grant from the Teaching Development Grant which was in the second stage of the development of the bilingual language policy of the university coupled with the University Extended Learning Program were to be used to augment language accessibility programs on the various campuses.

Allegations of racism, which were reported rampant among respondents from the Law and Management faculty, and the school of Agriculture and Engineering were to be addressed by a hotline and the university anti-racism policy. There was also an eviction of the old tenant that occupied the former 'White Café', called because of the expensive pricing regime. A new tenant and more choices were created by the allotment of space to another merchant for competition. These matters are not ancillary, they inform the allegations of discomfort that students say they feel when they say they do not have a sense of belonging.

The university agreed with the student leadership that they awaited the advisement of the Minister for Higher Education Blade Nzimande before they announced how much fees would go up by. The Minister was later to be replaced by Professor Hlengiwe Mkhize because of the fault in the alliance between the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress. The SACP had joined in the chorus of those who called for the president to resign. This action paved way for the surprise and unilateral declaration of free university education at the elective conference at Nasrec, Johannesburg on December 16, 2017.

Chapter 6

Summary and Conclusions

Student Social Movements and Civil Society in South Africa

This research has investigated the FMF movement through a social network analysis using the case of the University of Kwa-Zulu. Its theoretical framework is guided by when and how adversarial politics and the resort to extra-institutional tactics happen. The university, an institution premised on the logic of preserving of orders and hierarchies, which is paradoxical to the universities as an expansionary space for equality, a cosmopolitan space for equals, is a model of how the South African state and the consensus that undergird the South African democratic experience is been challenged. Institutional politics as the consensual liberal tradition is, in Ranceiere's term, politics as policing. Consensual politics is politics as process, dissensus is politics as an event. The 2015-2016 student movement in South Africa is a political moment with useful insights for the interrogation of the liberal conception of civil society as part of consensual politics. The co-option of civil society into governance preserves order until the order no longer fulfills the expectations of a group who then shake the foundations of the structures to negotiate terms.

It uses the relative deprivation theory, aspirational deprivation, where the promises and expectations of some needs are not met due to falling capabilities of a group. While the FMF movement eventually achieved its objective of free university education in 2018, the research suggests that there are lessons to learn from seeing the movement as a moment.

As the student movement shows, the inequalities in South Africa will no longer rely on the cooption of civil society because of their emphasis on extant rules which protect the status quo, events such as the Fee Movement will occur to expand the window of opportunities available to politicians and policy-makers. These windows will be renegotiated with the use of extra-institutional politics of social movements that have now become a part of the South African fabric.

The notoriety of South Africa as the protest capital of the world would not cease, instead it would adopt more strategies and join itself with other movements such as the Movements for Black Lives (M4BL) around the world. This is due to the positionality of the entrenchment of South Africa's economic system as a bridge between the global economic system and the rest of Africa.

In 2018 already, there was a protest by members of the Economic Freedom Fighters who went into the shops of a global clothing line H&M due to a racist advert causing the retailer to negotiate terms with their workers, offered an apology and caused them to lose value in their shares.

This is evident in the ways in which a resurgence of a decolonization movement and an Afro-feminist movement has spawned from the FMF movement. This is not likely to stop as they have

a life of their own now that will mutate as conditions allow. To include these forms of protest in the study of social movement is not to be caught unawares when it culminates into a larger social movement as these forms of disenchantment is what leads to a larger one.

Major findings in this research reveal that while networks such as the sponsor of tuition, racial category and type and membership of a student association affected membership and degree of participation in the Fee movement, those who are members of a political student association are more likely to have participated in the movement while those who are professionally linked student associations had an a-politicizing effect on student participation. Also, the more a student found their stay enjoyable at the university, the less likely they are to have supported or participated in the movement. A take-away from this is to emphasize that social exclusions caused by inequality is a threat to democratization and more radical groups would exert more pressures to allow for a redress.

While there were several struggles embedded in the FMF movement such as decolonization, outsourcing and gender issues, the findings of the research suggest that at the top of the FMF movement was the economic concern which was about tuition. Those who remembered to mention decolonization, outsourcing and concerns about social exclusions were more likely to have responded between normal and pleasant in their responses to how they have found their stay at the university. It supports the relative – deprivation thesis that people are more likely to resort to violence if their social expectations do not match their social valuation, a discrepancy that disposes to violence.

Sympathies towards the conduct of students, university authorities and security operatives are correlated with their networks, either in economic class or racial categorization which are determinants of their social networks. This correlation mirrors the larger societies' support for different movements. An example is the Anti-Zuma campaign, a nationwide campaign for the recall or resignation of President Zuma in the wake of several allegations of corruption, which was splintered by different groups as represented by on one hand corporate South Africa, on the other a grassroot national coalition.

Respondents who are members of organizations on campus are likely to have participated in the FMF movement there is a strong correlation between being a member of an association on campus and participating in FMF. Thus, while social movements garner popular support beyond their immediate membership, their efficacy is determined by the quality and quantity of the

organizations that coordinate them. Social movements without organizations are quicker to silence and are not easily sustained. When they are sustained, their activities are usually beyond control and are anarchic that it might become self-defeating.

Which forms of associations are more likely to have encouraged participation in FMF demonstrations? Because respondents can be members of more than one organization, the influences of political associations are stronger than others. Those who belong to professional student associations like the Law Student Society are less likely to have participated in the FMF movement.

A focus only on social movements from below from disenfranchised groups is to ignore social movements from above. Not only in the ways by which the hegemonic institutions manage what is politically possible – Ranciere's politics as policing – but also to limit social movements as a contest between networks and hierarchies that do not necessarily come from above or below. The shock doctrine – a phrase popularized by Naomi Klein (2007) in an eponymous book detailing how disaster is used for social engineering – is an example of these kinds of social movements from above.

To ask the question of why now of a social movement is to try to draw connections between the past and the present and discover how political possibilities ebb and flow with intermittent resurgences. The spatial and temporal dynamics of the FMF movement, for instance in how it started at the fortieth anniversary in the Soweto uprising of 1976, in the ways the movement got concessions due to the positioning of the local government elections, the call for president Zuma's removal from office and the ANC elective conference, is to see the successes of social movements because of economic conditions dependent on time and space.

The strategies, tactics used in the FMF especially those frowned upon such as the burning of buildings is not peculiar to student movements. The responses of the police and the security operatives are also like what happens in the larger society. When there were farm murder protests organized by AfriForum on what they termed #BlackMonday to call attention to farm murders, although AgriSA the advocacy body for the agricultural industry in SA declined to participate, there was a notable difference in the conduct of the police despite contraventions that would have otherwise welcomed police violence, such as the blocking of traffic which is a common cause for the deployment of tear gas to dispel protesters.

While this research has focused on the networks of students in a social movement, the research has been limited by the use of primary and secondary data of records as gathered through a sampling in the data collection methods. A further area for research would be the deployment of bulk data gathered from the university records such as the numbers of people who are on government funding and how these may affect through-put and academic performance, and their overall feeling of inclusivity in the university. These studies are necessary in the light of the arrival of the first cohort of university students whose parents do not have to worry about fees. Already,

as seen in the application process for the 2018 section there is a change in preferences of institutions when financial constraints of tuition are no longer as important as before.

This research has demonstrated the failure of the cooption of civil society for governance which was part of the bargains made in the transition to democratic rule in 1994. While there have been calls for an economic Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) to renegotiate the terms of engagement of the entrenched cause of the 'organic crisis', institutional politics by themselves will not make this happen and social movement as civil society will play a major role in either obtaining concessions or putting the economic realities on the table. This is already evident in the way the call for expropriation without compensation is going. This call would be more trenchant in the presidency of Cyril Ramaphosa whose economic policies may not be as popular as they are to business interest. The onus would thus fall on social movements to renegotiate concessions in redistribution through taxation or a review of employment and wage policies, either through the review of the Black Economic Empowerment policies.

At the university during the FMF movement, the spatial dynamics in different campuses nationally and locally, there was a racial dynamic that seems to be central to politics in South Africa. This was evident in the reactions of different respondents in their support for the movement, their attitudes towards the policies of the university either in curriculum development or in the deployment of security operatives during the movement. There is a nagging incipient concern of the (Indian Question) that came up during interviews with key respondents of the movement where there were accusations of corruption among staff to help members of their race in admissions and examinations. Allegations of corruption and nepotism are seen in racialized lenses. These forms of viewpoints are buoyed by the allegations of state capture by a prominent Indian family, The Guptas. These may entrench prebendal politics where the unitary arrangement that has worked in inter-race relations descend into prebendal politics, the use of public office for the benefit of one's group. A reconfiguration of who is responsible for lapses in administration or service delivery is being reconfigured as the demographics of the university changes. The racial lines are no longer marked on black and white basis. There is a lingering tension between groups that previously qualifies as blacks. As the university aligns itself to respond to the needs from its immediate community and the pressure from the that, a localization will occur that portends challenges and opportunities for the university and the society at large. This is also likely to be seen in forms of social movements that would be fraught with inter-race differences. It would fracture solidarities that have been built overtime if this persists.

The use of the force of the law which favors institutions with more resources would come to be distrusted if state institutions deploy them willy-nilly as it feeds into the popular view that institutions are in opposition of a group. The University of KwaZulu-Natal launched its new transformation pact to be able to cope with these new challenges. Transformational challenges would occur as the demographic and work environment align to these new realities. If they go

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unaddressed, businesses may see themselves facing pressures from protest groups such as H&M have faced. In the long-run, it would affect the dynamics of business growth in South Africa.

With the a larger percentage of students at the UKZN being female, which is shown in the sample of respondents and their indiscriminate participation in the FMF movement, there has been as usual, relegation of feminine voices and activists into the crack of 'malestream' African history (Zeleza, 2005:201) only this time there is a call to resist the erasure of the contributions of women in the FMF movement and subsequent struggles that may occur (Dlakavu, 2017).

The FMF movement is thus an essential part of the struggle against the effects of neo-liberal cuts in public good provisions, an Afro-feminist resurgence, another iteration of decolonization and overall a part of the global movement for Black lives.

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