

**ACTIVISM AS COMMUNICATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE:
A STUDY OF PATTERNS OF YOUTH PROTESTS IN POST-APARTHEID
SOUTH AFRICA**

BY

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Declaration

I, **Makofane Maakgafedi Beauty**, declare that this thesis was composed exclusively by me and has not been submitted, in whole or in part, for any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented in this paper is entirely my own.

Signature:

Date:

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my loving daughter, Phodiso, and the entire family for their unfailing support and patience when I was distant owing to academic commitments.

Author's acknowledgements

My profound gratitude goes to Professor Oyedemi, for his enormous support and guidance from the get go, building to the completion of this paper. This research would not have been possible without his wisdom as my supervisor. SALUTE!

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Pabalelo Radingoana, I would never trade our friendship for anything.

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Abstract

Twenty-three years since the transition into the democratic government, the South African post-apartheid government continues to grapple with the challenges of recurring trends of youth protests. The post-apartheid government has been experiencing violent protest actions resulting from dissatisfactions with poor service delivery or lack of social services, unemployment, slow pace of transformation in some South African socio-economic spaces, specifically institutions of higher learning and agitation for affordable access to tertiary education.

Many young people demand social change through protest action, which often results in destruction of public infrastructure for this method seems to be an effective way of communicating grievances (Mbindwane, 2016). A first trend in youth protest is related to economic issues and social service provision. This qualitative study explored how high rates of unemployment amongst the youth and poor service delivery was a concern and a motivation for protests. The study of youth protests in the Fetakgomo-Greater Tubatse Municipality in the Limpopo Province was used as a case study, with the protests being used as a tool of communicating socio-economic challenges. Unemployment amongst the youth and poor service delivery in the municipality were challenges that motivated young people to actively communicate their dissatisfactions through *toyitoying* (street protest). The municipality has been reported to have the highest rate of youth unemployment, standing at 53, 5%, in spite of the 18 mines that operate in the region (Statistics South Africa, 2016).

A second motivation for youth protest trend in post-apartheid South Africa is affordable access to higher education. Exorbitant tuition fees, annual increments, and agitation for affordable access to tertiary education have made headlines since September 2015 when the Minister of Higher Education, Dr Blade Nzimande, announced that university fees were going to rise by 11, 5% in the 2016 academic year. The study revealed that tertiary education has become a commodity in the country and many students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds could not afford to pay for their fees. The drastic fee increments also exceeded expectations of those earning enough to pay for their children's education, to an extent where they felt that the cost of education was

clearing their pockets. The study further showed that the funding mechanisms failed to keep up with the ever-increasing tuition fees. The National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) and other student loans/bursaries could no longer provide full bursaries as students' tuition rose exponentially.

The final trend of youth protests studied in this paper related to transformation and decolonisation of academic spaces – the case of #RhodesMustFall campaign. The sluggish transformation in South Africa, particularly in institutions of higher learning, first triggered student demonstrations at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and eventually spread to almost the rest of South African universities. The study further discovered that the presence of the Rhodes' statue at UCT prompted a variety of emotions and rage among students, predominantly the previously marginalised. It appeared to be a constant reminder of colonial oppression and slow pace of transformation in the academia. Amongst other things, the study found that students pressed for the removal of all symbols of colonialism, from renaming streets that are perceived to carry the apartheid legacy, decolonising the curriculum, and advocating for greater representation of Black people in senior management positions, specifically the women as they were less represented in the past.

Through in-depth qualitative interviews with selected youth, university management representatives, government representatives, and media archival materials, the study examined the concerns that shaped the trends and the nature of youth protests in the post-apartheid South Africa and explored how activism and protests were not merely a social agitation, but tools for communicating youth social and economic experiences.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC: African National Congress

ANCYL: African National Congress Youth League

AMCU: Association of Mining and Construction Union

BEE: Black Economic Empowerment

COSATU: Congress of South African Trade Union

CESCR: Community on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

CEO: Chief Executive Officer

DA: Democratic Alliance

DoE: Department of Higher Education

DHET: Department of Higher Education and Training

EFFsc: Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command

IEC: Independent Electoral Commission

IDP: Integrated Development Plan

ICT: Information and Communication Technology

NSFAS: National Student Financial Aid Scheme

SRC: Student Representative Council

SACP: South African Communist Party

SABC: South African Broadcasting Corporation

SIT: Social Identity Theory

UCT: University of Cape Town

UL: University of Limpopo

UDHR: Universal Declaration on Human Rights

Stats SA: Statistics South Africa

SASCO: South African Student Congress

SNS: Social Networking Sites

PASMA: Pan African Student Movement of Azania

Ph.D.: Doctor of Philosophy

RDT: Relative Deprivation Theory

NPHE: National Plan for Higher Education

NRF: National Research Foundation

NFF: New Funding Framework

NUM: National Union of Mine Workers

NDR: National Democratic Revolution

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1. 1 Background

This study examined the use of protest as a communication strategy for social change among South African youth in post-apartheid South Africa. The focus was to engage how the youth used protest action to demand change from political actors in meeting their needs and addressing socio-economic issues concerning the youth. To this effect, the study identified and examined three core youth protest actions - the recurring trends of service delivery protests, the #RhodesMustFall campaign, and the #FeesMustFall campaigns. The three protest actions' significance emanated from the global attention they generated and encapsulated three other distressing issues that one would catalogue as key social, economic, and political concerns of youth in South Africa, namely issues of poverty and lack of access to basic social services; the rights to affordable access to education; and the need for transformation and decolonisation in some South African socio-economic spaces, specifically in this case, academic institutions.

South Africa has been experiencing protests and unrests due to dissatisfaction with service delivery. Many South Africans are mobilising for change. Many opted for public protests with an intention to pressurise the government to improve the performance around issues of poverty and unemployment. According to Lancaster (2012), many recorded protests related to bread and butter issues and poor governance. Lancaster further noted that the 2016 local government elections are yet to reveal whether the increasing frustrations of protesters would affect the voting patterns. Protests are usually a way of communicating dissatisfaction with the elected party without necessarily impacting negatively on the patterns of voting.

The study also focused on the need for current South African youth to access affordable tertiary education in an environment that continued to be influenced by capitalism and the commodification of education by institutions of higher learning. Many South Africans already perceive higher education as a privilege rather than a basic right. This growing

perception is likely going to translate into limited access to higher education through a number of ways. Firstly, access was controlled and gate kept through stringent admission requirements. Secondly, exorbitant costs are used to shut doors of tertiary education in the face of the disadvantaged. Fewer people are likely to receive government funding in institutions of higher learning (George, 2003). In addition, many university students are concerned about a lack of transformation and the need to decolonise the academic institutions. Recently, this has led to a series of protests.

1.2 Research problem

According to Managa (2012), the South African government in post-apartheid tried its level best to bring about change and a better life for all. However, the country has not succeeded in addressing the tripartite issues of unemployment, poverty, and inequality. It is in this light that young people have gone all out to make their voices heard by protesting against poor service delivery in the streets (Managa, 2012). Many concerns about the ANC led government's failure to deliver public services to the people have been communicated through protests.

Managa (2012), frankly puts it that Limpopo has become a spotlight of protests lately, with 42% of the protests reported in the Sekhukhune district (Tubatse sub-district in particular). With regards to education, despite the increased access to tertiary education, the problem was that the cost of education remained a limiting factor around access to education. Another concern for the youth is the issue of transformation in academic spaces. Although attempts have been made to transform South Africa, the youth's argument was the pace at which the said transformation was moving. The youth claimed that transformation was too slow and Historically White Institutions maintained a culture that relegated Black participation and identity in academic spaces.

1.3 Literature review

The study engaged and discussed previous academic studies on the broad areas of this research. Literature was reviewed under the theme of "*Rights, citizenship and social service provision*" which intensively discussed literature on service delivery protest.

Under the theme of “*Decolonisation, social transformation and the academia*” literature on transformation, and specifically transformation of academic institutions was reviewed, with the #RhodesMustFall campaign as the point of departure. The literature on “*rights and access to education*” was provided as a theme in which studies relating to youth agitation for affordable education were discussed, with close relatedness to the #FeesMustFall campaign.

1.3.1 Rights, citizenship and social service provision

The South African government did not have any tangible measures in place to protect the country from corruption after gaining independence in 1994, stated Kanyane (2012), and the government could have done better in providing public services that citizens are entitled to receive if the situation was revised. However, the South African government’s focus after 1994 general elections was to develop shared policies intended to assist the country to combat corruption, hence service delivery was delayed (Sangweni, 2012). Kanyane (2004) noted that since the transition to democracy in 1994, while transformation was at its earliest stage, corruption and many other ill-disciplined tendencies were conceived which deprived the South African citizens their rightful basic public services and benefits. The Office of the Presidency and its cabinet is aggressively argued that they need to address the issue of corruption and go even further by ensuring that public service delivery is meaningful and impactful. It is crystal clear that regardless of the achievements of the first decade and a half into the democratic government in South Africa, led by four presidents (Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Kgalema Motlanthe and Jacob Zuma), the country is still characterised by endless service delivery protests (Kanyane, 2008).

However, on the other hand, it is argued that the “Batho Pele” principles assisted in ensuring service delivery that is developmental and humanising. Chaudhury and Devarajan (2006) confirmed that the same situation was common in Asian countries, a pragmatic example was given about the health minister who was concerned in building public clinics but there was no system in place to help the minister to monitor whether health workers were present in those clinics. And whether the workers in question get paid by the government for the work done or not. It was evident that the focus once

again was erroneously on the quantity of schools and clinics built while the process of overlooking the intangible public service delivery, such as quality education and health provision, was lacking.

Kanyane and Ngulube (2008) claim that an effective instrument in delivering quality public service should be guided by certain principles and values, such as accountability, honesty, impartiality, service quality, professionalism, and motivation. Laking et al., (in Kanyane 2008) stressed that focus on the following principles would ensure clean and strong governance structures: public accountability, openness, information and transparency, and citizen participation. It is not questionable that the Constitution enhances these principles and values, but ensuring that these principles are well implemented remains a challenge. Political actors and many public officials would not be involved in scandals of fraud and corruption if the situation was different (Sangweni, 2012).

1.3. 2 Rights, citizenship and access to education

The agitation for affordable access to education was brought to national attention in the #FeesMustFall protests. According to Singh (2015), the hash tag was a student led protest movement that started in October 2015 in response to the 11.5% fee increase in the year 2016. The protests started at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) before spreading to other universities across the country. The protests continued despite the announcement made by the state president that there would be a zero percent (0%) fee increase in 2016 (Singh, 2015). Nompandolo Mkhathshwa, the SRC President at Wits, unapologetically said that the protests would continue until the voices of disadvantaged black students were heard. She further reported that the year 2016 had its new hash tag - #AccessToEducationRise.

In that light, Baloyi and Isaacs (2015) observed the student protests on fees not only as a fight for access to higher education but also the nature and quality of education. Academia in South Africa remains White and male dominated. In 2002, 53% of the registered full-time students were White. This is quite a huge percentage considering that Whites only make 8% of the total population in South Africa (Baloyi & Isaacs,

2015). The lack of Black Ph.D. students in the academia remains a challenge in the country.

Jenkins (cited in Prinsloo, 2016), notes that the current costs of university education in South Africa is equivalent to \$7,400 a year, which by the economist's calculations, 95% of all South Africans cannot afford. Although many of the student protesters are far too young to remember the country under the apartheid era, they have gathered ideas of the era to denounce the tuition hikes. Students are slowly beginning to believe that education is more of a privilege than a right (George, 2003).

A multitude of young students from all racial classes gathered together under one banner of "fees must fall" outside parliament in Cape Town where the Minister of Finance, Nhlanhla Nene, delivered the country's mid-term budget speech. According to Pather (2015), these students were protesting peacefully in demand for answers from the Minister of Higher Education, Dr. Blade Nzimande, who was attending the conference. Nzimande responded thus: "Free education is my value, my ideal as a communist, but we live in a capitalist society." These were the words uttered by the minister in an attempt to address the protest (Brown, 2015). Dr. Nzimande continued to say that the country had enough resources to provide for free education, but the wealth of the country continued to be accumulated by fewer hands, capital monopoly, and the government had a limitation.

1.3.3 Decolonisation, social transformation and the academia

The #RhodesMustFall campaign was broadly a campaign with a focus on transformation in the academia.

Pather (2015) observing the issue of transformation at the University of Cape Town (UCT) argued that UCT played a very significant role in the struggle against apartheid, however little has been made to liberate the demographic profiles of the university populace, particularly the academics and students, classrooms and laboratories since the transition into democracy in 1994. Pather (2015), further highlighted that UCT missed quality opportunities for transformation. Chances of transformation at UCT are believed to have been missed even under the first black chancellorship of Dr. Ramphela

Mamphela and Professor Njabulo Ndebele between 1997 and 2008. The current Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Max Price, alluded that regardless of the university's success and guidance under the leadership of Dr. Ramphela and Professor Ndebele, the university had to renew the focus on staff if it were to advance the transformation agenda. Attempts were made by some academics at UCT to constructively criticise and raise awareness about the lack of transformation although that was a futile exercise. The university management only started raising eyebrows when the statue of Rhodes was defaced on 9 March.

Moreover, Pather (2015) asserts that the student led protests under the banner of "Rhodes Must Fall" is not entirely about Rhodes and his fall and it cannot be contested that Rhodes himself was a racist, colonist and imperialist. In essence, the student protests were basically about raising awareness about what needs to be corrected in universities and the country as a whole. The removal of the statue at UCT did not mark an end to the movement, but the beginning of the decolonisation of the university (Gamedze & Gamedze, 2015). The students at UCT made it clear that the removal of Rhodes statue was not something that they were going to take pride in. The young activists amongst other things intended to remove all plagues of White supremacist in universities, rename roads and streets, replace artworks and implement a curriculum which would critically enforce the ideals of afrocentricity. The changing of curriculum would not only include the content but the language and methodologies of education (Gamedze & Gamedze, 2016).

A detailed analysis of literature on the above themes is provided in Chapter 2 of this paper.

1.4 Theoretical framework

The expansive nature of this research informed the application of a number of theories and theoretical analyses. The study. This study engaged theories of citizenship and rights, social movements and decolonisation, and transformation.

1.4.1 Citizenship and Rights

Marshall (1950) describes an active citizenship as a process wherein organisations, societies and people are directly involved in decision making. According to France (1998), social equality and justice can be achieved through social rights, and rights and responsibilities of citizens. These elements are essential in developing an active participation of citizens. He categorises citizenship into three elements or rights - social, civil and political.

Social citizenship is about human social relationships and social rights to live the life of a civilised being according to standards prevailing in society and what it means to be a member of a particular society. "It entails the rights, duties and obligations of citizens. It is about the right to share in social heritage, to share in the economic welfare and security and to have connectivity to education and social services" (Norman & Kymlicka, 2003). Societies in which people live in should be able to provide the necessary living standards that citizens are entitled to receive if such members are expected to exercise their full political and civil rights as citizens. Citizens only become caring and morally accepted beings if the communities they live in have the capacity to uphold the rights of its members (Norman & Kymlicka, 2003). Social rights are associated with the welfare state and public education system (Marshall, 1950).

According to Marshall (1950, p.134), "The civil element basically includes the rights necessary for an individual's freedom, the liberty of a person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude contracts and the right to justice." Civil rights are protected by the court system. The final element to be discussed is the political right. Citizens should have an equal opportunity to exercise their political rights in their respective societies. They should have the opportunity to vote for their candidate of preference and equally be voted into positions of power (Connors, 2000). Political rights correspond to the institutions of local government and parliament (Marshall, 1950). The theory about citizenship and rights is useful in analysing citizens' demand for services including rights to education.

1.4.2 Social movements

Freeman and Johnson (1999) argue that it is not easy to define what social movement really is. A social movement is neither an interest group nor a political party. It does not have stable political entities and does not have access to political power. A social movement cannot be regarded as unorganised and without goals. These goals can be either aimed at a specific and narrow policy or be more broadly aimed at cultural change (Freeman & Johnson, 1999). Social movements are divided into stages, namely *Emergence, Coalescence, Bureaucratization, and Decline stage*.

The first stage to be discussed is the Emergence Stage. The stage can be referred to as the introductory phase of a social movement. As the name suggests, social movements are still emerging and are usually without direction (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950). At this stage, it is just a group of individuals with concerns over certain policies or a condition within a particular community but nothing has been done to address such concerns. Even in the cases where action can be taken, it is usually more individualistic than collective (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950).

The second stage is Coalescence or Popular Stage. At this stage, participants of the mass action have a general consensus about the injustice prevailing in their community and are collectively willing to take action. Hopper (1950, p.273), in examining revolutionary processes, states that at this stage “unrest is no longer covert, endemic, and esoteric; it becomes overt, epidemic, and exoteric. Discontent at this stage is no longer uncoordinated and individual, it tends to become focalised and collective.” He adds that at this stage participants become aware of each other and leaders are elected to direct the social movements.

Another stage is Bureaucratisation Stage. De la Porta and Diani (2006) define this stage as formalisation stage. At this stage, social movements’ participants are aware that coordinated strategies are essential in directing social movement organisations. Bureaucratisation Stage should function formally and rely on the elected and trained leaders to carry out important tasks and build strong constituencies (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950). Social movements have progress and leaders have access to political power, usually at this stage leaders lose focus and fail to sustain the movement because mobilising becomes too demanding.

The final stage of the social movement life cycle is Decline or otherwise known as the Institutionalisation. The term decline does not necessarily mean failure for the social movement. Miller (1999) argues that there are many reasons that might lead a social movement to decline, repression, co-optation, success, and failure. Other scholars have added establishment with the main stream as another reason for the decline of social movements (Macionis, 2001).

Repression takes place when the upper structures or authorities utilise their power to control and redirect the social movements. Miller (1999) claims that though repressive measures may be perceived by the state as legitimate, members of the social movements may perceive them with a different angle. Another stage that might lead to a decline of social movements is co-optation. This is a common phenomenon in many social movements as the leaders of social movements gain access to political power and grip the authority to redirect the mandates given by the constituents by bribing leaders. Success is another reason for the decline of social movements. This means that social movements are established specifically to achieve a certain goal and then the movement becomes irrelevant once the goal has been achieved, hence the social movement declines (Miller, 1999). Failure usually occurs as a result of factionalism or encapsulation. Encapsulation is when the activists at the forefront of the movement begin to distance themselves from the broader movement because they share similar habits, cultures and ideologies and they become rigid. Activists at this stage no longer have the interests of the constituents who elected them into positions of power because they now feel that they are above social movements (Miller, 1999). This theory will be very useful in analysing various stages and effectiveness of youth protest actions.

1.4.3 Decolonisation and transformation

According to Ngugi wa Thiongo (2004), decolonisation is about rejecting the centrality of the West in Africa's understanding of itself and its place in the world. It is about re-centering Africa intellectually and culturally by redefining what the center is (Mbembe cited in Blasser 2013 & Mbembe 2015). Fanon (1963) argues that decolonisation is a process of reshaping a violent phenomenon that has its goal titled towards "creation of

new humanity". It is clear that both Ngugi wa Thiongo and Franz Fanon share the same sentiments on what decolonizing really is.

Thando Mgoqolozana, a student at UCT (in Lancaster, 2015, p.26) talking about the issue of decolonisation and transformation, noted:

Because the literary landscape that we have now was formed not with Black people in mind and it is now being maintained not with Black people in mind. Black people are excluded from it. I see no reason to be integrated with this system, we need a new think, and we cannot modify what we have now because everything we have was framed by the concepts of colonialism.

The resisters who fought in the struggle against colonialism were not to modify the internal structures that were merely established to subjugate a Black child by the colonial system. The clarion call was for independence as Ngugi wa Thiongo (2004, p.10) puts it: "Decolonisation is more than just a transfer of governance." Decolonisation does not apply to those at the bottom end of the hierarchy, those who are still at the far end of economic affairs of their own state because there is nothing "post" about their colonisation (Ngugi wa Thiongo, 2004).

In as much as Africans, South Africans in particular, claim decolonisation, it is merely fair to make an indication that South Africans are not liberated. Decolonisation should mean a total emancipation from the Western ideologies and cultures. It means that the country should, as a state, be able to handle its economic, political and social affairs. The National Democratic Revolution (NDR)'s main objective remains the liberation of Africans from the political and economic bondage.

Mbembe (2015) argues that decolonising universities is essential if the country is to rethink itself and encourage African epistemologies. The country cannot transform institutions of higher learning or the nation itself for that matter if decolonisation is not dealt with in greater depths than now. There is a need to analyse the ways in which the colonial and racist past continues to inform economic, political and social realities and, with reference to universities, how it shapes institutional culture, values, practices, processes, appointments, curriculum planning, and standards (Fanon, 1963).

Harvey and Knight (1996) define transformation as a form of change of the present state to the other. Transformation should be able to respond to the desired future an individual wishes to achieve through the rethinking process. Wangenge-Ouma (2010, p.832) defines transformation as: “Social economic, political imperatives and aspirations that followed the downfall of apartheid and the onset of democracy in South Africa.” Transformation is a complex process of modification of all “wrongs” that were justified by the apartheid system; this process cannot be achieved overnight due to the ever-changing demands of people and situations, transformation is tangible (my own emphasis).

According to Harvey and Knight (1996) sees transformation of education in institutions of higher learning as the process of encapsulating the curriculum content that will produce independent and critical thinkers. The teaching methodologies should best accommodate the African ideologies, languages and cultures that were previously marginalised.

On the same breadth, Subotzky (1999) notes that universities are facing serious challenges regarding their relevance and responsiveness to the needs of societies after twenty-two years of democracy. He says it comes as no surprise that university students are becoming impatient with the slow pace of transformation.

Sharing the same sentiments, Bunting (1994) highlighted that in an attempt to transform institutions of higher learning in South Africa, the ANC adopted a discussion document in 1996. The document entailed the transformation of the student body in Historically White Institutions and unequal job opportunities for those who were not White. In 1994, 90% of the permanent academic posts were occupied by Whites. Under representation of women in senior academic posts was also at the heart of the ANC’s discussion document. Finally, the document noted the need to transform the lack of responsiveness and accountability by universities nearly two decades after democracy (Bunting, 1994).

Chapter 3 of this paper offers a detailed discussion of these theoretical concepts that provide overall conceptual and theoretical framework for this research study.

1.5 Purpose of the study and research questions

1.5.1 Aim of the study

To examine the concerns that shape the trends and nature of youth protests in post-apartheid South Africa.

1.5.2 Objectives

This study sets out to:

- Explore the pattern of youth activism in post-apartheid South Africa with a specific focus on three key areas of youth protests, namely service delivery protests; the cost of education (#FeesMustFall); and the transformation of institutions of higher learning (#RhodesMustFall).
- Investigate what these protest actions reveal about the current social demands of youth and the in/effectiveness of the State in addressing these demands.
- Examine causes of violence and destruction of public infrastructure as a trend in youth protests in South Africa.
- Provide policy suggestions and recommendations on how occurrences of service delivery protests and other youth protests can be addressed and reduced.

1.5.3 Research questions

- What are the defining trends that shape youth protests in post-apartheid South Africa?
- What are the historical, social, economic and political reasons that contribute to the widespread nature of service delivery protests?
- What do the service delivery, #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall campaigns protests reveal about the concerns of youth regarding transformation, affordable education and access to basic services in South Africa?

1.6 Research methodology

The study adopted the qualitative approach as the research sought to make an in-depth investigation of the bases of youth protests rather than quantify the occurrences of such protests.

1.6.1 Research design

The phenomenological research design was employed in the study as it was best placed for the researcher to apprehend a particular phenomenon from the participants' perceptions. This helped in generating a comprehensive data.

1.6.2 Sampling

Convenience and purposive sampling were used to collect data for this study.

Sampling participants

Different participants were selected to respond to the questions that emerged from the three patterns of youth protests under study. Convenient sampling and snowball sampling were used to select the focus group participants on service delivery protests, while purposive sampling was used to select the municipal spokesperson in Fetakgomo-Greater Tubatse Municipality. Media archives were purposively selected to answer questions that emanated from the #RhodesMustFall protest actions for they contained important and useful information.

Convenient sampling and snowball sampling were used to select the focus group participants on #FeesMustFall protests while purposive sampling was used to select the university spokesperson and the SRC president.

1.6.3 Data collection

Data was collected through interviews, focus groups, analysis of media content and newspaper reports, and the study of social media platforms of the youth movements.

1.6.4 Data analysis

The researcher used qualitative content analysis to analyse data. Data was transcribed and analysed from the participants' response as an attempt to meet the set study objectives.

Thematic and content analyses were used in data analysis. The verbatim transcription of the interviews, focus groups, and the #RhodesMustFall video clip was made. Emerged themes were categorised into broad themes and subthemes, and those that had similar meaning were merged into one theme.

The detailed description of the **research methodology** is discussed in Chapter 4.

1.7 Quality criteria

1.7.1 Credibility

Credibility seeks to convince that the findings depict the truth of the reality under study. Studies with high credibility are those in which the researcher has convincingly demonstrated the appropriateness and overall internal logic of the research questions, research design, data collection and method of data analysis used (Bless et al., 2013). The researcher ensured that credibility was achieved in the study by providing feedback from the participants to examine if the captured data and interpreted data were a true reflection of their viewpoints.

1.7.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be generalised or transferred to other contexts or settings. It requires the researcher to provide detailed descriptions of the context in which data was collected, about the researcher as a person and the relationship with the participants (Bless et al., 2013). To ensure transferability for this study, the researcher provided a detailed discussion on the findings of the study and how they related to other existing literature.

1.7.3 Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others (Bless et al., 2013). The researcher's judgment was minimised to ensure that confirmability was achieved in the study. The researcher further discussed the findings and research process with peers and ensured that the data collected and its interpretation were not figments of her imagination.

1.7.4 Dependability

Bless et al. (2013) propose that the dependability criterion relates to the consistency of the research findings. Dependability demands that the researcher thoroughly describe and precisely follow a clear and thoughtful research strategy (Bless et al., 2013). The researcher collected data until saturation was reached and continuously analysed the captured data to inform further data collection. Continuous re-examination of the data was made to utilising insights that emerged during the analysis process.

1.8 Significance of the Study

The study adds to the existing literature on service delivery issues and further provides a deeper understanding of the commodification of education in institutions of higher learning. It also reveals the implications of the legacy of colonial, apartheid system in some parts of South Africa. The study, moreover, adds to the understating of the role of the state in meeting citizens' demand for service and provide deeper understanding of the social and economic issues that concern current youth in South Africa.

1.9 Ethical Considerations

Confidentiality is a prerequisite in every study. The researcher made sure that information provided by participants, particularly sensitive information was protected. The researcher also ensured that data collected from participants was kept under secure conditions, without being fabricated. The names of participants were not required in the study to protect their identity, except for those who were public figures as in the case of the Minister of Higher Education.

1.10 Summary and Structure of Research Thesis

The thesis has eight chapters. It is structured thematically to allow for a cohesive presentation of different aspects of the study. Specifically, the findings of this research are presented in three separate chapters. Rather than lumping all findings into one voluminous chapter, the researcher thematically classified the findings into different chapters to allow for an in-depth presentation of each broad category of the findings, and to allow for a more effective process of refining this study for future academic publications.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

The chapter briefly introduces the three protest actions studied in this research (service delivery, #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall). The chapter further explicates on the problem statement, research methodologies, research questions and objectives. A brief description of participants of each pattern of youth protests and how such participants were selected is outlined.

Chapter 2: Communication, Citizenship rights and Youth protests

Chapter 2 is the literature review. It discusses and reviews both the local and international literature on the three patterns of youth protests under study. The communication tools and strategies used by young people as part of activism are also under highlight, such as violence, destruction of infrastructures etc.

Chapter 3: Citizenship rights, Social movement, and Decolonisation: A Theoretical Analysis

Chapter 3 deals with the theoretical framework of the study. Theories that guide the formation and the deterioration of each pattern of youth protests are thoroughly discussed in this chapter. These theories include: social movement, citizenship and rights, collective action, decolonisation and transformation. The chapter also gives details of how each theory relates to the protest actions. The communication strategies utilised in mobilising young people to demonstrate collectively under a common goal are outlined.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

The chapter expansively discusses the research methodology (qualitative) and research design (phenomenological) as well as deliberate on data collection methods used in the study (interviews, focus group discussion, and newspaper reports as well as media archive materials). It also explicates on how data was analysed using the thematic and qualitative content analyses.

Chapter 5: Rights, Citizenship and Social service provision: A Case of Fetakgomo-Greater Tubatse Municipality

This is the first chapter of the research findings. It presents findings that emerged from the study of service delivery protest actions by the youth. Service delivery protests in Fetakgomo-Greater Tubatse Municipality in Limpopo Province was used as a case study of youth service delivery protest actions. The findings are categorised into themes: reasons for protests, effectiveness of protests as communication strategy, occurrence of protests as communication strategy, rights and social service provision, and other subthemes. Graphs, quotations and tables are used to substantiate the findings presented in this chapter.

Chapter 6: Decolonisation and Transformation of Institutions of Higher Learning: A Case of South African universities

This is the second chapter of the research findings. The chapter interprets and presents findings that emerged from the #RhodesMustFall student protests. Findings are presented according to themes. Seven major themes and nine sub-themes emerged from this chapter. Some of the themes include: violence as communication, decolonisation as Africanisation, decolonisation as racial inclusion, and failure of government etc. Direct quotations from participants are used to substantiate findings of this study.

Chapter 7: Citizenship rights and Access to free higher education: A Case of the University of Limpopo

As the third chapter of research findings, this section contains the interpretation and presentation of findings that emanated from the #FeesMustFall student protests. The case of student protests on the cost of higher education at the University of Limpopo was investigated. The chapter also presents findings according to themes. Six major themes emerged from this chapter, amongst others, the themes include: why #FeesMustFall campaign failed, violence as communication, possibility of free education in the country, access to education as a right and reasons for student protests. Direct quotations from participants are used to substantiate the findings.

Chapter 8: Summary of findings, Recommendations and Conclusion

This chapter provides a summary and interpretations of the research findings. The summary of findings are presented in line with the four predetermined research objectives as a guide to this study. The limitations and recommendations of the study and the possible contributions made by the study are also delineated in this section.

CHAPTER 2

COMMUNICATION, CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS AND YOUTH PROTESTS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the previous academic studies in the broad area of this research. Literature will be reviewed under five themes that define the current patterns of youth activism, namely activism and communication; rights, citizenship and social service provision; decolonisation, social transformation and the academia; rights and access to education; and subsequently the issue of violence and youth protest actions.

2.2 Activism and Communication

Communication mode, strategies and tools are very important to activism. The development of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has a major impact on activist movements and protest actions in the 21st century. McGarty et al. (2014) studied the effectiveness of social media use by young people in North Africa (Egypt and Tunisia) for social change through a qualitative research approach. The study notes that social media is a very productive vehicle in protesting and raising social issues and subsequently fertile for political activism. Social media networks also assisted political activists to envisage political possibilities (Postmes and Brunsting, 2002). While the study, McGarty et al. (2014), found solid evidence about the effectiveness of social networking sites (SNSs) for protesting and discussing issues of public interest, critiques about social media equally emerged. Gladwell (2011) argues that cyber-activism could rapidly mobilise for massive protest actions but it lacks trustworthiness due to its nature

of anonymity and it made a little social change as it fails to generate pressure to the relevant structures. McGarty et al. (2014) also notes that while the Internet-based communications helped the Tunisian and Egyptian youth to raise educational and political issues and to build protest actions, the mechanisms that constitute these new communication technologies as effective are yet to be fully articulated. Activist movements have been characterised by a shift from the traditional media to the ICTs since the end of the 20th century. Vicari (2014) also investigated the use of social networking sites at the University of Leicester in the United Kingdom, using a qualitative approach. The study highlighted that the ICTs afforded the activist movements coalitions with cost effective measures for mobilising and framing protest actions. The Internet-based communication vehicles led to a high level of social and political transnationalism (Vicari, 2014). The study also found that digital communication channels have managed to pave a way for global activism and created a transnational society of shared policies and objectives (Vicari, 2014).

Postmes and Brunsting (2002) could not agree more that the developments of Internet based-communication vehicles were critical for protest mobilisation and had slowly given the power of communication to the activists and social movements. Social networking sites have become handy in internationalising local protests and improving public discussions. The social media's first online protest action was videotaped in Chile in 2009 calling for the removal of the state president, following allegations of fraud and corruption (Sandur and Nass, 2001). Two days after the video was posted on Facebook, more than 25 000 participants had already joined the protest action. The study noted that 91% of the participants had both Facebook and Twitter accounts and regarded online activism to have been more effective in pressurising relevant structures than offline protest actions. The study further revealed that 52.9% of the participants created Facebook pages to protest against social issues (Postmes and Brunsting, 2002).

Bell (2010) argues that social change activism has recently taken a new tangent; technological ways of challenging the old and normative ways of activism have been created to challenge the status quo. The 21st century has developed online social networking for public communication. Harlow (2013) in his qualitative study, investigated

uses of social media for protesting. The study discovered that the Egyptian unrests and protesters dependent on Facebook to raise their dissatisfaction. The social media was very effective in attracting more protesters. This was referred to as the “Facebook revolution”. The study highlighted that those technological devices were in effect industrious in spreading protest actions faster, especially among young people, with at least 17% of the population in Egypt having access to the internet (Boyd and Ellison, 2011).

The apartheid legacy left South Africans with violence as a form of communication. According to Van der Merwe (2013), violence as a form of communication was a result of lack of constructive communication networks between the apartheid regime and South Africans (Blacks in particular). While the post-apartheid South Africa was expected to develop effective ways of communicating dissatisfactions, high levels of violence continued to spread in all corners of South Africa due to the slow pace of service delivery. Van Der Merwe (2013) also argues that people usually resort to violence when peaceful negotiations seem to be ineffective. This leads to the Steenkamp (2011: 11) describing South Africa as “a society that has developed a culture of violence. A society that endorses and accepts violent communication as an acceptable and legitimate way of resolving problems and achieving goals.” Van der Merwe (2013) further notes that from a South African experience, it seems that individuals who utilise violence to communicate their grievances are valued by their societies and usually co-opted by the government.

Methodologies for protest communication are not restricted to violence and singing revolutionary songs as prevalent in South Africa. The human body has also been used as a medium to communicate dissatisfaction with certain issues. For example, Valente (2015) conducted a qualitative study on the meaning articulated by half naked women in Paris. An unusual protest action attracted the media attention when a group of women protested against the patriarchal system in Paris by exposing their naked breasts, with slogans written on their bare bodies. The study noted that although the protest action was not violent, it was regarded as the most destructive form of activism. One of the protest action respondents defined their protest action as “a peaceful terrorism and a

radical activist movement” (Valente, 2015). The study further revealed that the protest action was criticised for utilising bodily rhetoric for communicating immoral behaviour rather than challenging the patriarchal system (Valente, 2015). A rhetoric communication is considered useful when cultural values are shared and do not conflict with the action on hand so as to avoid misinterpretation of meaning (Foss, 2004).

2.3 Rights, Citizenship and Social service provision

Citizenship rights to services and government’s role in providing these services have become key issues in South Africa. Service delivery protest actions are serious challenges facing the post-apartheid South Africa. Approximately, 226 protest actions were reported in 2012 and 79.2% of these protests turned violent with the Western Cape Province having the highest rate of violence. Nell (2013) studied service delivery protests in Belhar, a suburb of Cape Town in the Western Cape and noted that some of the factors that motivated protests in Belhar were land and housing, infrastructure, and ignored complaints of the residents. While 72% of protests relating to service delivery, unemployment, and poverty are reported in rural areas, the study highlighted that this was not the case in Belhar with unemployment and poverty being at their lower levels in the area. The protesters argued that the Democratic Alliance (DA) led provincial government had turned a blind eye on their demands. Belhar is an area with 83.4% of its residents having brick houses on private properties, 90.5% have access to clean running water in their houses, 97.8% have electricity and 94.7% of the residents in the area have flush toilets connected to a sewage system. Despite the government’s effort to improve the lives of residents in Belhar, the protesters still demanded to be moved to a far better place. The protesters indicated that the suburb was overcrowded and could no longer accommodate the increasing population. The protesters also revealed that the government had promised to move them to a bigger place when they first protested about the issue of land in 2001 (Bartlett, 2012).

Limpopo Province, the geographical context of this study, seems to witness high rates of service delivery protests that have captured national attention. For example, Otto (2015) states that a township in Malamulele in Limpopo had recently been under a tight supervision of police after violent protests broke in January 2015. Malamulele High School was set alight and partially damaged as a result of protest actions against the Thulamela Municipality regarding poor service delivery and the demand for a separate municipality. The announcement made by the Municipal Demarcation Board that Malamulele did not meet the requirements outlined in the Municipal Constitution to qualify for its own municipality stirred violence and protests among the residents. Thulamela Municipality is largely dominated by Vatsonga (Xitsonga speaking people) than VhaVenda (Tshivenda speakers). According to the protesters, the municipal public service provisions were biased in favour of the VhaVenda, as one of the protesters argued, “VhaVenda speakers are living in their comfort zones while we do not have proper infrastructures. This must come to an end!” (Otto, 2015). At least ten schools were partly destroyed and Grade 12 matric registrations for supplementary exams were delayed as a result of these protests (Otto, 2015).

The citizens’ right to government provision of service was the background to the ‘Poo-Protest’ in the Western Cape. According to Robinson (2014), Khayelitsha, a township on the outskirts of Cape Town in the Western Cape, became a no-go area prior the 2011 local government elections. The 2011 local government elections were referred to as the “Toilet Elections”. The DA led province was caught by surprise as protests broke when they least expected. The protesters complained that the open toilet (portable toilet) system was jeopardising their health and demanded permanent flush toilets and the removal of the open toilets. The Western Cape, like any other province, had to wait for the protests to turn violent before the provincial government attempted to address the issue. Bags of human poo were thrown all over the streets of Cape Town and on the national roads, some of the poo was deliberately thrown at the vehicle convoy in which the then premier, Helen Zille, was travelling in (Robins, 2014). The African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) activists were later discovered to have mobilised the Khayelitsha residents to protest against the open toilet system with an intention to campaign against the DA in the upcoming 2011 local government elections. However,

this particular service delivery issue is not limited to the Western Cape. For example, Marais (2010) reported that about 1 600 households in the Free State (ANC-led province) were using the same system.

Dawson (2014) studied the controversial behaviour of young people resulting from their impatience with the ANC-led government, and the protest actions they embarked on. The quantitative study was conducted in Zandspruit in Gauteng Province with a sample size of 2 150 young people. The study highlighted that service delivery issues were the principal causes of the protests (unemployment among young people in particular). Three protest actions were recorded between March and July 2012 in the area. With a total population of 32 000 residents, the study noted that 50% of young people between 25-29 years of age in Zandspruit were also unemployed and lived in houses made from clay soil and plastics (Dawson, 2014). Some of the protesters interviewed during the study stressed that the ANC has failed with “distinctions” and further called for the removal of the ward councilor with allegations of corruption.

Almost two decades after South Africa’s transition to democracy, added Chinguno (2012), the country’s political order and socio-economic status are still under critical scrutiny. The genuine questions regarding the integrity of the post-apartheid government were raised after the Marikana massacre event that claimed at least 36 lives in a protest action against exploitation and poor working conditions. The miners were brutally assaulted and killed by police in a protest action and raising their concerns of a 200% wage increase (from R3000 to R9000 per month). The National Union of Mine Workers (NUM), the only recognised union, failed to deliver the demands of the miners despite numerous engagements with the Lonmin management. The NUM was later blamed by the protesters for not leaving in the same league with the masses they were serving and blamed for being “sell outs” while enjoying the comforts of high salaries. The Association of Mining and Construction Union (AMCU) was later seen at the forefront of the challenges of the miners led by the Economic Freedom Fighters President, Julius Malema, albeit the union not being recognised in the Lonmin mine. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa that was adopted in 1996 states: “Every citizen has the right not to be tortured in any way and that every citizen has the right to

protest (Section 12 and 23).” An outrage from the killing of protesters is based on the violation of the rights of these citizens who were protesting their condition of employment.

In the light of the above, Booysen (2007) noted that approximately 900 protests were reported across the nine provinces of South Africa prior to the 2006 local government elections and 881 illegal protests were also reported. Booysen (2007) conducted a quantitative study with sample sizes of 2 679 and 2 464 separately. The focus was on metropolitan and urban areas covering at least 56% of South Africa’s adult population. The study found that issues of shortage of clean running water, housing, poverty and unemployment were the root causes of the protest actions. Booysen further revealed that voters were expected to revolt against the ruling party by voting for opposition parties as a result of the failure of the government to provide services and the unavailability of ward councilors to redress issues pertaining to the service delivery protests. To the contrary, the ruling party (ANC) sustained 70% of the local municipalities in the country, nonetheless, followed by the DA with 13% and the remaining 17% was shared among the other opposition parties (IEC, 2006). Some 52% of the respondents believed that service delivery protests only existed to improve public service provision without necessarily voting differently, 19% of the respondents were not sure if the protest would help accelerate service delivery provision and 29% were reluctant to share their motives behind the protest actions (Booyesen, 2007).

Service delivery protest is not limited to South Africa. For example, Alsayed (2012) studied service delivery protests in Kuwait and noted that the Gulf States have experienced regular service delivery protests long before the Arab Spring. The organised youth of this Gulf state passed a motion of no confidence against the Prime Minister, Nasser al-Mohammed, and demanded that he be recalled from his position with allegations of theft and corruption. Youth unemployment in Kuwait was a challenge with at least 25% increase of youth unemployment rate in 1999 and 33% increase by 2011. Many young people complained that the 25-District system had a major impact on the unemployment rate in their country and demanded that the Demarcation Board merge the smaller districts and have five districts.

In India, Sarojini and Khanna (2012) studied protest actions due to lack of proper delivery of health services, that many people's belief is a right. The study specifically focused on the factors that resulted in the shocking deaths of 27 women in Barwani Hospital in India. The study discovered that out of the 400 childbirths reported in Barwani Hospital every month, at least 17 of them were reported as stillbirths following the negligence of health workers and due to unqualified auxiliary midwife nurses. Some participants said unsupervised referrals of pregnant women from one hospital to another was another factor contributing to the deaths of women and their children. Three out of ten women were reported to have either died upon travelling long distances or gave births in the streets. Violent protests broke between April and November 2010 when angry residents were alerted that one woman died giving birth in the hospital veranda unattended by on-duty health workers. The study further indicated that out of the 58% of deliveries reported in Barwani Hospital, at least 15% of these deliveries were caesarean, which amongst other issues led to the high rates of deaths (Sarojini and Khanna, 2012).

2.4 Rights, Citizenship and Access to education

The post-apartheid South Africa has recently been characterised by numerous student protests demanding free and increased access to higher education. According to Akoojee and Nkomo (2008), access and quality education in South African universities still need to be redressed. The policy of "access with success" in institutions of higher learning needs to be implemented. Admission of Black students to Historically White Institutions started to increase in the early 1990s. For example, it increased from 13% in 1993 to 39% in 2001. The enrollment of African students in institutions of higher learning has increased from 53% in 2012 to 68% in 2014 while students registered for master's and doctoral degrees increased by 7% to 9% in 2014 (Stats SA, 2014). Subotzky (2003 cited in Akoojee & Nkomo 2008) noted that female representation in institutions of higher learning has increased from 42% in 1998 to 53% in 2002. Despite the dramatic increase of access of Black students in universities, the success of these students still remains a challenge. Recent studies have indicated that 25% of Black students still fail to complete their studies. Access and success of these students in

disciplines of high demand, such as sciences and engineering studies, is still very low and only 28% of the students were enrolled in such disciplines in 2002. The lack of adequate resources in rural and disadvantaged schools to prepare learners for higher education leads to lower representations of Blacks in sciences and engineering fields (Subotzky, 2003).

According to the Department of Education (DoE, 2001), the National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE) in South Africa will help to increase access to disadvantaged students and promote Academic Development (AD) in universities through funding. The Academic Development strategy is geared towards assisting Black students to be integrated into the mainstream and also provide extended curricula to those who would not normally be admitted into the mainstream curricula. The Academic Development suggests that access and quality education of Black students cannot be compromised by the ideological criterion of the said students themselves (DoE, 2001). The urgent call to transform the quality and increase access to education in Historically White Institutions thus remains critical if racial imbalances injected by the apartheid system are to be addressed. This should, however, demand adequate funding from all the monopolies in the private and public sectors (Badat, 2001; Singh, 2001).

According to Singh (2015), the agitation for affordable access to education was brought to national attention in the #FeesMustFall protests. The #FeesMustFall is a student-led protest movement that started in October 2015 in response to the 11.5% fee increase for the year 2016. The protests started at Wits University before spreading to other universities all over the country. The protests continued despite the announcement made by the state president that there would be no fee increase in 2016. Nompandolo Mkhathshwa, the SRC President at Wits University, unapologetically said that the protests would continue until the voices of disadvantaged Black students were heard. She further reported that the year 2016 had its new hash tag - #AccessToEducationRise.

Wilson-Strydom (2014) investigated access to higher education through the lens of the social injustices of the apartheid system. The policy context in South Africa regarding increasing and broadening access to higher education mushroomed with emphasis on

addressing the past inequalities. The enrollment of African students in universities only accounted for 40% in 1993 and increased dramatically to 67% in 2010 (CHE 2012 cited in Wilson-Strydom 2014). Despite the increasing rate of access to higher education by Africans, the study noted that only 16% of Africans completed their first degrees in record time as compared to the 44% of White students completing on record time. About 41% of African students managed to complete their first degrees in a period of six years. According to Marginson (2011), some of the factors that hindered Africans from completing their degrees at minimum durations were the discriminatory and repressive injustices that African students faced in Historically White Institutions and subsequently leading to high rates of drop-outs.

Wangenge-Ouma (2010) conducted a study on the implementation of the New Funding Framework (NFF) at the University of the Western Cape. While the NFF, initiated after the apartheid era to heighten access to higher education among disadvantaged students in South Africa, it is criticised for not being able to allocate resources according to the costs of tuition fees, allocation of fees is only guided by the budget of the higher education. Concerns regarding these allocations were robustly debated to say while the programme intended to intensify access to higher education, its criterion needed a redress (Le Roux and Breire, 2007). Allocations of funds were also given on the basis of race rather than the socio-economic status of students. For example, disadvantaged students were deemed to be African and Coloured students who are South African citizens. It is critical to note that unlike in other redress initiatives, South African-born Indian students were not considered a disadvantaged group in the allocation of institutional factor grants (Le Roux and Breire, 2007). More resources were also allocated to institutions that produced the highest rates of graduates in record time. The National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) loans which, depending on the national budget for higher education covers 100% of the tuition fees and consequently converts 40% of the loan into bursary, has also been criticised. Critiques regarding the NSFAS are due to its under-funding for poor students and the lack of policies to monitor if the beneficiaries are really from disadvantaged backgrounds. Increasing access to higher education should not necessarily mean cutting tuition costs for those who can

afford the present costs. The study noted that NSFAS needed critical restructuring of its chief objective of increasing access was to be achieved (Wangenge-Ouma, 2010).

Weber (2011) argues that as part of increasing access to higher education, strategies to encourage students need to be in place, the Department of Education (DoE) together with the National Research Foundation (NRF) share common interests in that regard. A study was conducted on the importance of changing the perceptions of students and academics towards education at the University of Johannesburg. Institutions of higher learning are funded on the basis of their capacity to produce post-graduate students and for publications (DoE, 2005). The NRF primarily aims to increase access to post-graduate students and equally encourage them to be researchers. The NRF highlighted that South African universities did not have high enrollments of PhDs. As compared to other countries, only 0.5% of students between the ages of 25 and 34 have their PhDs and that out of the total numbers of publications in the country, only 17% are produced by women (NRF, 2006).

Internationally, access to education has also drawn attention. Danic (2015) found that increasing access to education for disadvantaged students has become a priority in Europe. Lack of access to higher education was linked to the low socio-economic backgrounds and social inequality. Many young people were found to be reluctant to go to universities, more specifically those from poor family backgrounds. The study highlighted that despite the shortage of resources to educate students, 63% of those eligible to receive a higher education were not interested in going to universities as opposed to the 39% of those from upper income groups who indicated that they would like to go to universities. Despite the unwillingness of people to access higher education in Europe, 50% of the residents of the country at least possessed a university qualification as compared to the 40% in Japan. The rate of dropout in the country was less than 10% and more emphasis was devoted to educating 40% of older people by the year 2020 (European Commission, 2010).

Xie (2015) studied equity and access to higher education in China and argues that access to higher education has increased from 4 million in 1999 to 32 million in 2014 irrespective of the underrepresentation of disadvantaged students. The higher

education sector in China formulated the “user must pay” policy; therefore the cost of accessing higher education was not just the responsibility of the government but for the students and their families as well. Li (2006 cited in Xie, 2015) highlighted that access to higher education in China was unequal because government funding was only allocated to those who passed tests and interviews set by institutions. Students from the middle and upper-income groups were more likely to pass the tests as opposed to the disadvantaged students in the rural areas because passing the set test required proper preparation usually from an early age at the primary and secondary level. Although access to higher education has increased from the 1990s to 2011, the system did not seem to accommodate poor students from rural areas. Only students whose parents had high education levels and descent occupations were likely to access higher education. The Independent Recruitment Drive policy that was established in 2003, geared towards recruiting young people to access higher education was not effective. Xie (2015) stated that the policy only succeeded in recruiting 60% of youth from middle and upper-income groups. Young people from rural and disadvantaged families only accounted for 1.3% of those recruited by the policy.

2.4.1 Funding mechanisms and Free higher education

Wangenge-Ouma (2012) states that South African students, Black students, in particular, have established a tendency of demanding free access to higher education despite the student financial aid scheme policy that was developed by the government to assist students from disadvantaged family backgrounds. As part of the policy framework to increase access to higher education, NSFAS was introduced in 1996 just two years after the collapse of the apartheid system. Since then, enrollments to tertiary institutions have been increasing significantly. Prior to the introduction of NSFAS in South Africa, White student enrollment accounted for 60% in universities as opposed to the 27% of African students (Bunting & Cloete, 2008). African population is estimated at 80% of the overall population in South Africa but their level of participation in institutions of higher learning is as little as 12% as opposed to the White population who only accounts for 9% of the total population in the country with a higher participation of 60% in institutions of higher learning. The African population is underrepresented in

universities (Cosser & Letseka, 2008). The low rates of African participation in institutions of higher learning are hampered by many internal factors more specifically the high rates of drop-outs. According to the Department of Higher Education (2005), 30% of Africans dropped out in the first level while 20% dropped out in second and third level as a result of under-funding by the NSFAS.

In addition to the study by Wangenge-Ouma (2012) on the policy framework to increase access to higher education, Van Der Bank and Nkadimeng (2014) also studied the funding mechanisms by the South African government to increase access to higher education for poor and exceptional students. The study indicated that as a result of high levels of unemployment, poverty (standing at 56.8%) and inequalities, access to higher education thus remained a challenge because many South African students were likely to afford it. The 52nd National Conference of the ANC, the ruling party, otherwise known as the Polokwane Conference, made a resolution that students from disadvantaged family backgrounds should have free access to higher education at least until the completion of their first degree (ANC, 2007). The reported 70% drop-outs of students in universities were mainly those from low-income backgrounds. While NSFAS seemed to have been the only hope for African students, the allocation of funds per student was very limited and hardly covered the total amount of the tuition fees. The clarion call for “free” higher education by some political structures (South African Student Congress, Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command, Pan African Student Movement of Azania, Democratic Alliance etc.) in tertiary institutions was thereby informed by the exclusion of many Africans from accessing higher education and the exorbitant university fees that were unaffordable to many (DHET, 2010).

2.5 Decolonisation, Social transformation and the academia

Since 1994, the transformation of the South African higher institutions has been a policy of the government. The transformation of student demographics in South African universities has slightly increased following the introduction of student loans. According to Morris (2014), many universities in South Africa have not completed an inch of the transformation process. Although the study revealed a change in the demographics of students, it was clear that Black students still struggled with resources and could not

cope like other students from different racial groups. According to the data that was collected from the University of Cape Town (UCT)'s admission cohort of 2007, 48% of Blacks, 67% of Coloured, 68% Indian and 81% White students graduated within five years. The lower percentage of graduates at UCT was traced to be a result of the language barrier. Many English second language speakers are faced with challenges in the university. Transformation of student demographics have increased rapidly over the years at UCT but a transformation of demographics academic was still a challenge in the institution despite the government's promotion on Equity index. There are more issues underpinning a transformation in institutions of higher learning than just race and gender issues (Morris, 2014).

According to the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET, 2012), the shortage of Black professors in Historically White Institutions (HWI) was still a challenge in South Africa. The national statistics indicate that Black people who account for about 80% of the population in the country have only 8.9% representation of Black professors, Coloureds account for 4.3% in the total number of professors while Indians have at least 4.5% representation. White professors are still in majority in the country with 67% total of all professors in the country. While the representation of Black professorship still needs a redress, the student demographics of Africans in HWI have increased dramatically. However, more emphasis needs to be made at the universities that have little Black representation, such as the Stellenbosch where Black students only account for 14.6% and White students have a 67.8% representation; UCT has 27% Blacks and 34% Whites. The University of Johannesburg (UJ) has the highest representation of Black representation (DHET, 2012).

Since South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, many attempts to transform the curriculum content were made. However, institutions of higher learning were neglected in this regard with focus only given to secondary and foundation phase. Ntuli (cited in Horsthemke, 2006) asserts that the search for transformation and African identity in institutions of higher learning was rooted in the African Renaissance and establishing systems for indigenous knowledge. In support of this view, Masehela (2004) said:

We have to construct our own epistemological framework from which we can

explore ideas and build our own knowledge. Africans must create their own paradigm from which we can dialogue meaningfully with Europeans.

Transformation of education should mean “Africanising” the curriculum content. Education should embrace the African essence through which Africans can relate to. Transformation of education should mean mental decolonisation (Horsthemke, 2006).

South African students have taken a lead in the struggle against the existence of colonial symbols and are demanding for transformation in institutions of higher learning. For example, the students at UCT protested and defaced the statue of Cecil Rhodes on the campus, followed by University of KwaZulu-Natal protesting against the Eurocentric curriculum and the removal of the statue of King George V. (#GeorgeMustFall) (Sosibo, 2015). The protesters noted that the removal of the statues and renaming of streets was part and parcel of deracialising universities. Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) indicated that the removal of the statues should not be followed by any questions, they further alluded in a student summit held at the Wits University that the removal of the statue was a fight against White supremacy in public academic spaces that should accommodate diverse identity (Sosibo, 2015).

Pendlebury (1998) investigated the transformation of teacher education in South Africa. She found that transformation was not a contested site rather it was the education that will assist in transforming institutions of higher learning that was highly contested. Education in South Africa was contested on the basis that political agendas had opened the issue of transformations for discussion. Policies and practices on transformation were never written on a clean slate but rather the restructuring of the old into the new has become a norm in the country (Pendlebury, 1998). The Department of Education and Training was blamed for not addressing the challenges that prevented Africans from accessing higher education in because the majority of African students could not afford the high university costs, even the minority of Africans who could afford the high costs, could not have accessed higher education due to language barriers and racial discriminations (Pendlebury, 1998). Township colleges and long distance universities offering teacher education were the only spaces that African students could access higher education because of the affordable tuition fees. In 1994, about 89% of African

students were registered in the teaching field inclusive of those who did not want to do teaching because the colleges were their only affordable route to access higher education. Teachers are supposed to be responsible for transforming and decolonising the young minds of South Africans and preparing them to become active and responsible members of the country, yet such pillars received compromised education and the very same compromised education was later passed on to the future leaders of South Africa (Pendlebury, 1998).

According to the Department of Education (DoE. 2008), lack of transformation in institutions of higher learning can be traced back to the viewing of institutions only as working places by academics rather than institutions of broadening narrow minds. The policies on employment equity and plans in South African institutions are also seen as limiting factors to transformation with only less than 40% of Black staff. The Department of Education (2008) notes the need to balance the employment of staff. All races should be equally represented with at least 50% of females in senior positions. The under-representation of Black staff in universities led to discrimination of Black students. Black students claimed that they were often targeted for extended curricula as compared to White students. Allocation of marks was also a problem to those who could not fluently use the English language. Black students further indicated that they were perceived as inferior on their own campuses.

According to Cloete (2011), South African universities post-1994 have been characterised by an increase in student enrolment but with little participation by the academics. Cloete (2011) argues that the University of Cape Town, which is regarded as the top university in South Africa, comprises only 57% of academics with doctoral degrees. Only 35% of the academics in South Africa are in possession of PhDs. The transformation of academics is still a challenge with only 33% of full time researchers from 1992 to 2006 (Taylor. 2011). Although transformation of academics remains a challenge in the country, the student body has increased from 53% in 1996 to 69% in 2011 with at least 30% of the students being able to graduate in record time (DoE. 2008; Statistics South Africa. 2011).

Ismail (2001) also studied the slow pace of transformation in one Historically White University. He revealed that transformation of Black academic staff (females and disabled in particular) were less represented in senior positions. The study also highlighted that even in cases where Blacks were represented, they still lacked cognitive transformation. Ismail (2001) further indicates that out of 59% of Black staff (that occupied junior positions) only 9% of them were African women. However, White women occupied the majority of the seats but also under-represented in senior positions. The minority of Coloured men and women were only found in departmental and administrative assistant positions with less than a quarter of academic staff with disabilities.

Ismail (2007) argued that the same university under study was and still is a center of colonialism, with no interests of recruiting and attracting Black students and academics. Hall (2006) indicated that in the year 2006, 37% of White women were employed as compared to the 26% of Blacks (inclusive of men and women) who were employed. Moreover, 15% of White women were promoted in the same year and only 5% of African men were promoted, with no consideration made to women. One of the Black female participants noted that she did not need to be developed nor transformed, she was just grateful that the university has created something for her so she could put food on the table every day.

Pather (2015) observing the issue of the transformation at the University of Cape Town (UCT) argued that UCT played a very significant part in the struggle against apartheid, however, little has been made to liberate the demographic profiles of university populace particularly the academics and students, classrooms and laboratories since the transition to democracy in 1994. According to Pather (2015), UCT missed quality opportunities for transformation. Chances of transformation at UCT are believed to have been missed even under the first Black chancellorships of Dr Ramphele Mamphela and Professor Njabulo Ndebele between 1997 and 2008. The current vice-chancellor Dr. Max Price alluded that regardless of the university's success and guidance under the leadership of Dr Ramphele and Professor Ndebele, the university still needed renewed focus of staff if they were to transform the university. Attempts were made by some

academics at UCT to constructively criticise and raise awareness about the lack of transformation, although this was a futile exercise. The university management only started raising eyebrows when the statue of Rhodes was defaced on 9 March 2015 (Pather, 2015).

Transformation in institutions of higher learning is not limited to South African institutions only but is a global concern and a critical issue on the political agendas. Gudhlanga and Chirimuuta (2012) studied gender inequalities at a Zimbabwean university. The study indicated that some of the reasons that perpetuate the subordination of women and lead to high rate of under-representation in institutions of higher learning are the patriarchal natures of the societies in which people find themselves in. The policy conference that was held in 2007 noted and resolved that a 30% policy of women representation in institutions of higher learning should be implemented, the policy was later amended in 2015 and 50% of women representation not only in senior positions but also in the decision-making processes was put in place (Gudhlanga and Chirimuuta, 2012).

The study noted that the erroneous perception of women as child-bearers and sex objects by their societies should be addressed if emancipation of women and transformation are to be achieved. Content analysis and in-depth interviews were used to analyse and collect data. The most intriguing finding of the study is that the Office of the President (Robert Mugabe in particular) underpins the male domination and further glorifies the oppression of women.

2.6 Violence and Youth protest actions

Extreme violence in youth protests actions is prevalent in South Africa. According to Lor (2013), eighteen public libraries were deliberately set alight in a protest action against poor service delivery between 2005 and 2012. The study noted that the accurate number of libraries destroyed in service delivery protests could not be determined because other incidences were never reported in the media. Out of the 18 public libraries, at least seven were completely burnt to the ground while four were slightly damaged by fire during service delivery protests. The estimated costs of damages

amounted to R26 million with at least R2.9 million incurred in each library (Van Onselen, 2013). The study also noted that Mequeleng Library (a public library in Ficksburg Township) was also burnt down by students in a protest action against the death of Andries Tatane who was killed in a protest action against poor service delivery in 2011. Lor (2013) describes the protest actions as organised by few individuals whose interests were to gain popularity and benefit from political power rather than receiving public services.

A serious concern in student protest actions for affordable education is the trend of violence in these protests. According to Nkwanyana (2016), the student protests of 2015 resulted in high, incalculable costs and damages to university properties. The government is now charged with a huge responsibility of allocating more resources into renovations rather than directing the money into assisting poor students to access higher education. The estimated costs of damages emanating from the 2015 student protests are roughly R145 330 541.72, the highest cost of R82 000 000 emerged from the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the University of Stellenbosch has the lowest cost of only R352 000. The Minister of Higher Education highlighted that although protests should be every citizen's democratic right, the violence and vandalising of public property should constitute a criminal offence and whoever commits such crime should be prosecuted by the court of law. Both the Ministers of Higher Education and Police concurred that institutions, staff, and students should be protected, hence more police officers were stationed in universities to ensure that the trend of vandalising public property was reduced (Nkwanyana, 2016).

Citizens have the right to protest and this view is supported by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa but on occasion the violent nature of youth protests has led to aggressive intervention by the police. According to the South African Press Association (SAPA) (2013), Andries Tatane, a protester in the service delivery protest was brutally beaten and shot dead by police officers in a protest action against poor service delivery in April 2011 in Ficksburg township (Free State Province). The seven police officers accused of the murder of Tatane are walking freely because no one was willing to testify. SAPA (2013) found that two other police officers who witnessed the killing of Tatane refused to testify in the Ficksburg High Court claiming that they had initially

agreed to testify under coercion by the Independent Police Investigative Directorate. Protesters were also reluctant to testify following threats made by Tatane's killers. To date, no arrests have been made because Tatane's killers were wearing security helmets and could not be identified from the cameras.

Matlala (2012) noted that the situation was similar in Limpopo Province's Sekhukhune district. Councilors and Mayors in Sekhukhune feared for their lives after violent protests against poor service delivery broke in January 2012. Violent protesters claimed that the shortage of clean water was a serious problem in the municipality. Political actors were assaulted and one councilor in Makhuduthamaga Municipality was held hostage by protesters for failing to deliver clean water after 22 years of democracy. Many of the attacks were reported to have taken place at night while victims least expected the perpetrators to attack. The spokesperson in the municipality indicated that houses and vehicles of political actors were burnt and damages estimated at R5 million were incurred. Eventually, more police officers were deployed to control violent protests and attacks in the municipality (Matlala, 2012).

The violent protests have become a common trend in Limpopo. Mbindwane, (2016) observed the recurring protest actions in Vuwani, Vhembe District in Limpopo, have become anarchic and ungovernable. The court's decision not to demarcate Vuwani from Malamulele Municipality triggered residents' resort to destruction of public and private property. The protests have been going on for some time and on 5 May 2016, more than twenty schools were burnt down by the angry residents, satellite police stations and municipal trucks were also burnt down during the demonstrations. An estimated amount of R400 million was required to rebuild the schools (Lindeque, 2016). The Limpopo government appealed to the angry residents to help restore order in Vuwani. Temporary structures were provided at the affected schools to allow learners to continue with academic activities. The Limpopo government said while demonstration remains the right of every citizen, residents are urged to demonstrate responsibly because depriving children their right to education for short term goals is not a solution to any problem (Mbindwane, 2016). It is also observed that some of the schools recorded best results in the province, as the Minister of Basic Education noted: "Schools

that give us some of the best results in Limpopo come from this region, so it's very devastating to get instability in this province because we have been boasting about lessons that I have picked up in Venda about how you can fight in difficult conditions" (Whittles, 2016).

The situation brought to the fore the necessary understanding of the intersection of citizenship rights, responsibilities and wanton anarchy. While citizens have the right to protest, that right should not infringe on other citizen's rights, as in the rights to education of the students whose schools were torched. The violent occurrences in citizens' activism and protests tend to create a situation of anarchy in communities where government's services and infrastructure are mostly needed. It also reveals the tendency of violence in South African social, economic and cultural spaces, a tendency that remains a legacy of a violent past.

This chapter reviewed relevant literature based on the key areas of this study. The next chapter deliberates on the theories that formed the background to this study and their relevance to the key areas of this paper are equally scrutinised.

CHAPTER 3

PROTEST AS COMMUNICATION, CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS, SOCIAL MOVEMENT, AND DECOLONISATION (A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS)

Drawing from its expansive nature, a number of theories and theoretical analyses can be applied to this study, such as theories around protest as communication, citizenship and rights, social movements, collective action, decolonisation, and transformation.

3.1 Protests as communication

Current analyses of protest and communication tend to focus largely on the use of new digital communication tools for protest and activism. However, many communication strategies and approaches are relevant to protest actions, and the lack of technological communication channels does not hinder the success of any protest action. According to Hlongwane (2007), public meetings were very effective in exchanging information from one person to the other. Historically, public meetings have been critical to protest actions. For example, the 16 June 1976 Soweto uprisings were conceived in a public meeting that was held in one community centre in Soweto. On 13 June 1976, students from different secondary schools assembled to discuss the routes to be followed during the march. Although other participants of the June 16 protest action highlighted that the planned demonstration against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was never communicated to their schools, this did not affect the success of the protest action. In addition to the public meeting, door-to-door messages were communicated to every school, giving every student a line of march to the Orlando Stadium where other protest leaders gathered and it became one of the biggest protest movements that changed South Africa forever (Hlongwane, 2007).

Another communication medium used in protest action, specifically in South Africa, is the use of songs. Revolutionary songs have played a very significant role in the struggle against the apartheid government in South Africa. According to Le Roux-Kemp (2014), music is a pure African style of communicating and has contributed positively to the protest action against White domination and social change. Persuasion and resistance

are the key features that define revolutionary struggle songs. While revolutionary songs are effective in social and political mobilisation, they are also ideological and educational. They also have the capacity to persuade and position people in a particular frame of mind and unify protesters (Le Roux-Kemp, 2014). Struggle songs communicate a history of people where political speeches fail to elucidate.

Protest communication is not merely restricted to spoken words and revolutionary songs, Hewson (2015) noted that the use of posters for protest communication has been effective for decades. Recently, the use of posters for communicating protest actions and creating awareness has become prevalent in South Africa. Posters and banners are proven to be effective in communicating desired messages and mobilising people because of the nature of their short and clear messages. Posters and banners were also evident in the recent student protests that attracted national attention at Wits University against high tuition fees (Hewson, 2015), see figure 3.1. It is a very interesting experience to see how artists make use of visual posters to mobilise for protest actions.



Figure 3.1 An example of the use of banners in protest actions to communicate ideas and desired request of a protest (Hewson, 2016).

ICTs have played an important role in enhancing protest actions and participation locally and internationally. The Internet-based communication help in mobilising for protest actions because it offers cost effective channels of communication and this has been referred to as the “high impact with little resources” (Rucht, 2004). Online newsletters and emails were among the internet-based communication vehicles utilised in organising and coordinating protest actions. Although the use of social networking sites has the maximum capacity of organising discursive protest actions, the sites are often criticised for personalising protest communication (Meikle, 2002).

Gladwell (2010) cautioned against the over celebration of technology use in protest actions. He argued that the invention of new ICTs made little or no change in increasing the momentum of demonstrating. Social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter and blogs have not “reinvented” the spirit of social activism. Gladwell (2010) highlighted that although social networks had the capacity of intensifying participation in protest actions, they still lacked enthusiasm that is essential in participation. Social activism needed more than the existence of social networks to be successful; it required a strong tie between the organisers of protest actions. Facebook activism succeeded not by motivating people to make real sacrifice but by motivating them to do things that people do when they are not motivated enough to make a real sacrifice (Gladwell, 2010).

Previous studies found that the internet-based communication have been effective in political discussion, although with little impact on protest actions but usefulness of social media cannot be challenged (Michael et al, 2007). The development of digital communication gave citizens platforms that never existed before for political participation and these platforms were quick in stimulating social and political change. Collective actors usually utilised digital communication when they were faced with unresponsive authorities, because the information posted on social media was not monitored, it gave collective actors freedom to raise their dissatisfactions. While there was no tangible evidence about the effectiveness of social media on coordinating collective actions, its effectiveness in attracting and mobilising for political participation remained firm (Michael et al, 2007). New digital applications and mobile phones were useful in protest actions, especially in coordinating, mobilising and sharing information.

However, these technologies were only supportive tools, other forms of communication, such as effective public speech, newsletter, public meeting and gathering, deliberations, newsletters, face-to-face interactions, and so forth are useful tools in protest actions.

3.2 Citizenship and Rights theory

Citizenship and rights are two concepts relevant to the role and demands of citizens in a country. Marshall (1950) divides citizenship into three elements or rights, namely *social, civil and political rights*.

Social citizenship is about the human social relations and social rights to live a life of a civilised being according to standards prevailing in society and what it means to be a member of a particular society. Social citizenship “entails the rights, duties and obligations of citizens”. It is about the right to share in social heritage, to share in the economic welfare and security and to have connectivity to education and social services” (Norman & Kymlicka, 2003). Societies in which people live in should be able to provide the necessary living standards that citizens are entitled to receive if such members are expected to exercise their full political and civil rights as citizens. Citizens only become caring and morally accepted beings if the communities they live in have the capacity to uphold the rights of its members (Norman & Kymlicka, 2003). Social rights are associated with the welfare state and public education system (Marshall, 1950).

According to Marshall (1950, p.134), “The civil element basically includes the rights necessary for an individual’s freedom, the liberty of a person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude contracts and the right to justice.” Civil rights are protected by the court system. The third element to be discussed is the political right. Citizens should have an equal opportunity to exercise their political rights in their respective societies. They should have the opportunity to vote for their candidate of preference and equally be voted into positions of power. Political rights correspond to the institutions of local government and parliament (Marshall, 1950). The theory about citizenship and rights is useful in analysing citizens’ demand for services including rights to education, housing and other social services

needed by citizens. To support this assertion, let's examine issues of rights and access to housing and education.

3.2.1 Social citizenship and the right to housing

Social citizenship is about the human social relations and social rights to live a life of a civilised being according to standards prevailing in society and what it means to be a member of a particular society. Social citizenship asserts that the standard of living of every citizen should be attained magnificently. Marshall (1950, p. 11) defines the standard of living as “the right to have a modicum of economic welfare and security as well as the right to have a share in the social heritage and to live a life of a civilised person according to the standards prevailing in a society.” This aspect of social citizenship provides a framework for the analysis of access to housing. Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948) states that satisfactory housing is an essential right of every citizen and it is the responsibility of the state to ensure that citizens, specifically those residing in informal and rural settlements, have proper houses. Article 26 of The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) also asserts that housing is a right to citizens. It states that;

1. *Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.*
2. *The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right.*

A satisfactory housing to citizens should be defined by affordability, legal security of tenure, availability of services, facilities and infrastructure and accessibility. The Community on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR, 1991, P.7) states that:

The right to housing should not be interpreted in a narrow or restrictive sense which equates it with, for example, the shelter provided by merely having a roof over one's head or views shelter exclusively as a commodity. Rather it should be seen as the right to live somewhere in security, peace and dignity.

Article 9 of the South African Constitution on *Equity* also states that citizens have the right to enjoy the full range of rights and freedoms and that it is the responsibility of the

state to ensure that there are legislations and measures that protect the rights of the disadvantaged citizens. It is in relation to these documented clauses that South African citizens believe that the government has the responsibility to provide them with houses. These policies should serve as guidelines to protect and provide for its citizens. Many protest actions are based on the government's failure to fulfill this promise. Khayelitsha, a township outside Cape Town, witnessed violent protest actions that were referred to as the "poo protests". The angry residents marched down the streets of Khayelitsha in 2011 because they felt that the government violated their rights by providing them with open toilet systems which endangered their lives and those of their children. If indeed adequate housing is characterised by security, peace and dignity (CESCR, 1991), then the protest actions in Khayelitsha remain relevant and citizens have the right to stand and fight for their own well-being. Similar protests also mushroomed in Zandspruit regarding the government's failure to provide them with proper houses. The residents of Zandspruit complained that their lives were in danger as many of them still lived in houses made from clay soil while others lived in houses made from plastics.

3.2.2 Citizenship rights and education

Section 29 of the South African Constitution (1996) together with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26 of (1948) highlighted that every citizen has the right to education. The government has the responsibility of ensuring that practical measures are provided in order to make education accessible to all citizens. The two documents further state that the government has the responsibility of ensuring equity, and practicality in institutions of higher learning, thereby redressing the discriminatory decrees and practices. Citizens have the right to register with any institution of their choice and should be protected against discriminations on the basis of their race (UDHR, 1948 and the Constitution of SA, 1996). The Freedom Charter also states that the doors of learning shall open and every citizen shall receive free and quality education. The Freedom Charter is a document containing principles and was adopted in 1955 by the South African Congress Alliance. These alliance structures include the African National Congress and its tripartite alliance – COSATU, the South African Communist Party, Congress of South African Indian and Coloured People. Some of the

principles contained in the Freedom Charter include free and compulsory education, equal rights for all, work and security etc. (ANC, 1955)

The citizenship rights to education are related to the #FeesMustFall campaign. It is in relation to the above-mentioned policies that South African students are united under the banner of the #FeesMustFall. It comes as no surprise that protest actions against unaffordable tuition fees are gaining momentum every day in South African universities. Although violent protests cannot be justified, it cannot be contested that the students' protests are relevant in the current educational juncture. It has been 22 years since the transition to democracy and it is noted with disappointment that the disadvantaged African students cannot access higher education as a result of exorbitant tuition fees and others are still discriminated against on the basis of their race in some Historically White Institutions.

3.3.3 Citizenship and Rights to Social Services

The citizenship and rights to social services are related to the service delivery protests actions. The UDHR (1948, p.5) states that:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, and housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Article 20 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) states that citizens have the right not to be deprived of their citizenship. Citizens also have the right to protest. It is in line with the above-mentioned clauses that South African citizens are raising their dissatisfactions in the streets regarding the government's failure to deliver proper social services that they are entitled to receive. South Africa has recently been experiencing protest actions that are guided by documents that are supposed to serve as tools of analysis to the South African government. In cases where the government fails to deliver and the *Batho Pele* principle (Redress) is not maintained, citizens are more likely to raise their dissatisfactions through protests. Batho Pele, directly translated

as “People First” is a document initiated by the former president, Nelson Mandela, and was adopted in 1997 with an intention of strengthening the accessibility of social service provision to the citizens of South Africa and equally increasing responsibility by the government. Batho Pele also includes the following principles: consultation, setting service standards, courtesy, providing more and better information, openness and transparency, and getting the best possible value for money (Nqala, 2006).

3.3 Social Movement Theory

Social movements are essential to understanding the reasons underpinning the formation and the deterioration of protest actions. Freeman & Johnson (1999) argue that it is not easy to define what social movement really is. A social movement is neither an interest group nor a political party. It does not have stable political entities and does not have access to political power. A social movement cannot be regarded as unorganised and without goals. The goals can be either aimed at a specific and narrow policy or be more broadly aimed at cultural change (Freeman & Johnson, 1999). Social movements can be defined as organisations or a group of individuals fighting for the same cause or a collective objective pertaining to their society or social change. The development of social movements can be divided into stages, namely *Emergence, Coalescence, Bureaucratisation, and Decline* (Christiansen, 2009).

The first stage is the Emergence Stage. This stage can be referred to as the introductory stage of a social movement. As the name suggests, social movements are still emerging and are usually without direction (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950). At this stage, it is just a group of individuals with concerns over certain policies or a condition within a particular community but nothing has been done to address such concerns. Even in the cases where action can be taken, it is usually more individualistic than collective (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950).

The second stage is the Coalescence or Popular Stage. At this stage, participants of the mass action have a general consensus about the injustice prevailing in their community and are collectively willing to take action. Hopper (1950, p.273), in examining revolutionary processes, states that at this stage “unrest is no longer covert, endemic,

and esoteric; it becomes overt, epidemic, and exoteric. Discontent at this stage is no longer uncoordinated and individual, it tends to become focalised and collective.” Hopper (1950) further asserts that at this stage participants become aware of one another and leaders are elected to direct the social movements.

Another stage to be discussed is the Bureaucratisation Stage. De la Porta & Diani (2006) define this stage as formalisation stage. At this stage, social movements’ participants are aware that coordinated strategies are essential in directing social movement organisations. Bureaucratisation stage should function formally and rely on the elected and trained leaders to carry out important tasks and build strong constituencies (Macionis 2001; Hopper 1950). Social movements have progressed and leaders have access to political power. Usually, at this stage leaders may lose focus and fail to sustain the movement because mobilising becomes too demanding.

The final stage of the social movement life cycle is Decline, otherwise known as the Institutionalisation. The term *decline* does not necessarily mean failure for the social movement. Miller (1999) states that there are many reasons that might lead a social movement to decline, such as repression, co-optation, success and failure. Other scholars have added establishment with the mainstream as another reason for the decline of social movements (Macionis, 2001).

Repression takes place when the upper structures or authorities utilise their power to control and redirect the social movements. Miller (1999) argues that though repressive measures may be perceived by the state as legitimate, members of the social movements may perceive them with a different angle. Another stage that might lead to a decline of social movements is co-optation. This is a common phenomenon in many social movements. The leaders of social movements now have access to political power and it becomes easy for the authorities to redirect the mandates given by the constituents by bribing leaders. Success is another reason for the decline of social movements. This means that social movements are established specifically to achieve a certain goal and then the movement becomes irrelevant once the goal has been achieved. Hence, the social movement declines (Miller, 1999). Failure usually occurs as a result of factionalism or encapsulation. Encapsulation is when the activists at the

forefront of the movement begin to distance themselves from the broader movement because they share similar habits, cultures and ideologies and they become rigid. Activists at this stage no longer have the interests of the constituents who elected them into positions of power because they now feel that they are above social movements (Miller, 1999). This theory will be very useful in analysing various stages and effectiveness of youth protest actions. It will allow this study to analyse the different stages of the *growth* and *decline* of youth social movement in protest actions.

3.3.1 Social Movement Theory in Relation to #RhodesMustFall campaign

The #RhodesMustFall campaign qualifies to be regarded as a social movement for it had successfully complied with all the stages that constitute a social movement. The #RhodesMustFall emerged as an individualistic campaign between Maxwele Chumani and his friends. Mr. Maxwele, who is well known for having initiated the movement and his selfless contributions to the campaign, had concerns with the existence of the Cecil Rhodes statue at UCT. While concerns were present, the action to redress the concerns was not taken.

In the second stage (coalescence), Mr. Maxwele took an action to redress the concern by throwing bags of human faeces at the statue and was later joined by the UCT student populace. The existence of the Rhodes statue was no longer an individualistic and uncoordinated concern but a collective and coordinated concern.

In the third stage (bureaucratisation), the participants of the #RhodesMustFall campaign were aware that a delegation had to be elected to lead and give the campaign a direction. Maxwele who started the campaign became the face of the movement and was constantly seen at the forefront of the campaign, representing the views of his constituents with the university management to the best of his ability. While the bureaucratisation stage proposes that leaders usually lose focus at this stage, Maxwele continued leading the movement to the end.

The #RhodesMustFall campaign had reached its final stage (institutionalisation or decline) while still intact. The movement declined due to success. The statue of Rhodes was officially defaced in March 2015 (Pather, 2015).

3.3.2 The Social Movement Theory in relation to #FeesMustFall campaign

The #FeesMustFall campaign had also complied with the stages that constitute a social movement. The campaign started at the Branch Executive Committee Meeting of the South African Student Congress (SASCO) before it was adopted by the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFsc) at Wits University. The movement, like any other social movement, began with students' grievances and a lack of action. It was only in the coalescence stage when the student populace at Wits joined hands and rallied behind the banner of the #FeesMustFall. Unlike other campaigns, the #FeesMustFall campaign became a global campaign with other universities in the country mobilising one another to fight against the high tuition fees.

Nompendulo Mkhathswa, the SRC President at Wits University, was the face of the movement and well-known for initiating the campaign against high tuition fees. Mobilising students came naturally to the young student leader and not much focus was lost during the processes of engaging with both the university management and the ANC-led government. The campaign was successful and a zero percent (0%) fee increase was announced by the state president late that year. The movement remained relevant to the challenges of the students until 4 May 2016 when the ANC Youth League was accused of having co-opted the movement with an intention to redirect the mandate given to the leaders by their constituents. The movement was alleged to have received a huge sum of money from the ANC (Gumede, 2016).

3.4 Collective Action Theory

Closely related to the Social Movement theory is the Collective Action theory. Collective action can be defined as an organised social or political action carried out by a group of individuals in order to achieve a common objective. In order to understand collective action, one needs to understand the psychological factors underpinning collective action and its key predictors and how these predictors relate to each other (Festinger, 1954). Individuals voluntarily associate with particular collective action movements with an

intention of gaining profits and gratifications associated with such a collective (Knoke, 1998). Collective action is based on the assumption that it addresses the objective state of injustice perceived by individuals. Collective action is believed to be an outcome of socio-psychological dimensions rather than material conditions (Klandermas, 1997; Simon and Klandermas, 2001). The three socio-psychological perspectives are injustice, identity, and efficacy.

3.4.1. Collective Action through perceived injustice

Collective action can take place when a group of people shares a common view of injustice. The Relative Deprivation Theory (RDT) was developed after thorough observations have been made that objective deprivation cannot predict collective action (Stouffer, Suchman, De Vinney, Stary and Williams, 1949). The RDT theory suggests that it is only through comparison with other social groups that individuals can learn about their deprivation and equally perceive an injustice (Festinger, 1954). The theory proposes that collective action to redress an unjust situation will only be motivated by the subjective feeling of injustice when social comparison with other groups is made. This theory believes that collective actions are driven by an intense feeling of deprivation and injustice (Tyler and Smith, 1998).

An analysis of the #RhodesMustFall movement can be made using the Relative Deprivation Theory. It is only rational to deduce that the #RhodesMustFall movement was motivated by deprivation and injustice instilled by the apartheid regime. The University of Cape Town is historically a white university and 22 years after the transition to democracy, few efforts have been made to deracialise the university and African students claim that they still feel inferior in their own institution (Pather, 2015). It is in this fashion that African students feel that they are being deprived of full participation. The RDT proposes that a feeling of injustice and deprivation is perceived through comparison with others. African students argue that there is nothing African about the university and cannot relate to the curriculum, teaching methodologies and symbols (Rhodes statue in particular). With all these deprivation being perceived, students noted that there was a need to redress the injustice. An initiative to mobilise for protest action was taken and the statue of Rhodes was defaced in March 2015 (Pather,

2015). Frijda (1986) indicated that group-based reactions, such as anger, are more likely to stimulate collective action if a situation is perceived unjust.

3.4.2 Collective Action through perceived identity

Social Identity Theory (SIT) can be defined as a proximal predictor of particular behaviours that individuals resort to on the basis of their group status, differences and stability (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The SIT is made out of social and personal identities which are shaped by an individual's social group and personality traits (Tajfel, 1978). The SIT assumes that individuals advance themselves with the positive social identities connected to their membership group. The theory proposes that individuals from lower group status are likely to engage in collective actions if they perceive their intergroup status to be different and illegitimate. Mobilisation for collective action will occur with an intention to change the status quo of an intergroup if a feeling of deprivation is perceived (Klandermas, 1984). For example, the protest actions in Vuwani (Limpopo) are partly based on the residents of Vuwani arguing that their social identity is different and subordinate as compared to the residents of the Malamulele Municipality.

The differentials of intergroup status perceived by Vuwani residents stirred violent protests among the residents because they felt protesting would make the authorities to respond to the social concerns. Drury and Reicher (1999) argued that "social identity serves to mobilise people for social change." Individuals take pride in who they are and have a sense of self-esteem when they belong to a particular group. Identification with social movement organisations, therefore, becomes a proximal predictor to collective action because social movement organisations are more of political structures than social identities (Simon and Klandermas, 2001).

In line with the SIT, the protest actions currently taking place in Vuwani kick-started with a process of perceived social difference by an individual who then mobilised the entire community, thus formed a social movement organisation that there was a need to protest if the status quo was to be challenged. Residents needed to have a sense of belonging within their intergroup (Xitsonga speakers vs. the Tshivenda speakers) and

that feeling was perceived to be non-existent by the Vuwani residents, motivating the residents to protest. The Vuwani residents believed that demonstrating would be an effective route to get the attention of political actors and respond to their grievances (Mbindwane, 2016).

3.4.3 Collective Action through perceived efficacy

Perceived efficacy assumes that individuals are likely to engage in collective action with an intention to maintain stability within their group. Also, the Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) assumes that individuals engage in collective action if such action is believed to have the capacity of changing a situation and to influence the authorities to respond to their grievances (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). For instance, students at UCT recently embarked on a protest action against white supremacy (#RhodesMustFall) because they believed that it was through mass mobilisation and demonstrating that they would get the authorities to respond to their demands (the removal of the Rhodes statue). For collective action to be effective, individuals should have the basic resources to mobilise for social change.

This theory is based on the formation of political structures and more specifically social movement organisations. More often than not, people strike to mobilise for collective action with an intention to pursue their own interests, utilising collective action to increase chances of settling personal scores (Olson, 1968). The ANC Youth League was accused of having co-opted the #FeesMustFall campaign that started at Wits last year with an intention of redirecting the movement. The RMT explains how a few individuals within the ranks of the ANC are utilising the students' protests in the guise of their own personal agendas.

Ajzen (1991), Ajzen and Fishbein (1997) and Klandermas (1984) argue that individual motives behind a collective action are based on certain expected outcomes of collective action. The expected outcome of the action would serve as a core determinant of whether the collective action would be appropriate in achieving the desired goals. Mummenday et al. (1999) note that unified interests of group efficacy are likely to surpass individual's interests and can lead to a collective action because individuals

believe that they have the capacity to change their disadvantaged situations through collective action.

3.5 Decolonisation and Transformation Theory

According to Ngugi wa Thiongo (2004), decolonisation is about rejecting the centrality of the West in Africa's understanding of itself and its place in the world. It is about re-centering Africa intellectually and culturally by redefining what the center is (Mbembe cited in Blasser 2013 and in Mbembe 2015). Fanon (1963) argues that decolonisation is a process of reshaping a violent phenomenon that has its goal titled towards "creation of new humanity". It is clear that both Ngugi wa Thiongo and Franz Fanon share the same sentiments on what decolonisation really is.

Thando Mgoqolozana, a student at UCT (in Lancaster 2015, p.26) talking about the issue of decolonisation and transformation noted:

Because the literary landscape that we have now was formed not with Black people in mind and it is now being maintained not with Black people in mind, Black people are excluded from it. I see no reason to be integrated within this system, we need a new think, and we cannot modify what we have now because everything we have was framed by the concepts of colonialism.

The resisters who fought in the struggle against colonialism were not to modify the internal structures that were merely established to subjugate a Black child by the colonial system. The clarion call was for independence as Ngugi wa Thiongo (2004, p.10) puts it: "Decolonisation is more than just a transfer of governance." Decolonisation does not apply to those at the bottom end of the hierarchy and those who are still at the far end of economic affairs of their own state because there is nothing "post" about their colonisation (Ngugi wa Thiongo, 2004).

In as much as we claim decolonisation as Africans, South Africans in particular, it is merely fair to make an indication that we are not liberated. Decolonisation should mean a total emancipation from the Western ideologies and cultures. It means that we should, as a nation, be able to handle the economic, political and social affairs of our own

country. The National Democratic Revolution (NDR)'s main objective remains the liberation of Africans from the political and economic bondage.

Mbembe (2015) emphasises that decolonising universities is essential if we are to rethink ourselves and encourage African epistemologies. We cannot transform institutions of higher learning or the country for that matter if we do not deal with decolonisation in greater numbers than we are now. We need to analyse the ways in which our colonial and racist past continue to inform economic, political and social realities and, with reference to universities, how it shapes institutional culture, values, practices, processes, appointments, curriculum planning, and standards (Fanon, 1963).

Mbembe (2015) notes that African people are determined to fight and eradicate White domination and their determination has blinded their conscious minds in that they fail to understand the difference between White domination and racism. He further highlights that the country is currently going through a "negative moment" that has resulted from the unresolved issues of *bitterness* between Whites and Africans. The researcher argues that fewer individuals are trying to utilise the bitterness of Africans as a yardstick for self-enrichment, popularity and unlawful accumulation of state wealth.

However, common sentiments are shared by the majority of South Africans (across all races) that institutions of higher learning and the tools of applying knowledge should be restructured. This perspective was evident at the University of Cape Town where the statue of a colonist Cecil Rhodes was defaced because his ideologies are rejected by all and sundry. The rejection of colonial ideologies is tantamount to the rejection of whiteness not necessarily because the term 'whiteness' stands for colonialism but because it makes people believe that everything derives from it (Mbembe, 2015).

Decolonisation of institutions of higher learning in South Africa should begin with the nationalisation and reintegration of public spaces. Decolonisation of these public spaces should not be seen as frivolity considering the history of 70% land ownership by a minority (13%) of the population (Mbembe, 2015). Decolonisation means the formation of conducive conditions of Black students and academic staff in universities. Decolonisation should also mean modifying colonial symbols, names and buildings. It is

about the restructuring of the systems that turned education into a commodity that many Africans cannot afford and prolonging the process of acquiring knowledge for the benefit of White minority (Mbembe, 2015). Decolonisation is about the condemnation of Western cultures that continuously marginalise African cultures. Decolonisation of knowledge is not just a mere process of 'de-westernising' but also a process of restructuring the human mind and opening up for new perspectives (Ngugi wa Thiongo, 2004).

Harvey and Knight (1996) define transformation as a form of change of the present state to the other. Transformation should be able to respond to the desired future an individual wish to achieve through the rethinking process. Wangenge-Ouma (2010, p.832) defines transformation as "social economic, political imperatives and aspirations that followed the downfall of apartheid and the onset of democracy in South Africa". Transformation is a complex process of modification of all "wrongs" that were justified by the apartheid system; this process cannot be achieved overnight due to the ever-changing demands of people and situations, transformation is tangible.

According to Harvey and Knight (1996), the transformation of education in institutions of higher learning should encapsulate the curriculum content that would produce independent and critical thinkers. Teaching methodologies should best accommodate the African ideologies, languages and cultures that were previously marginalised. Subotzky (1999) notes that universities are facing serious challenges regarding their relevance and responsiveness to the needs of societies after twenty-two years of democracy. It comes as no surprise that university students are becoming impatient with the slow pace of transformation.

Bunting (1994) also notes that in an attempt to transform institutions of higher learning in South Africa, the ANC adopted a discussion document in 1996. The document entails the transformation of the student body in Historically White Institutions and unequal job opportunities for those who are not White. In 1994, 90% of the permanent academic posts were occupied by Whites. Under representation of women in senior academic posts is also at the heart of the ANC's discussion document. Finally, the document

notes the need to transform the lack of responsiveness and accountability by universities nearly two decades after democracy (Bunting, 1994).

3.5.1 Decolonisation, Social transformation and the academia in South Africa

Decolonisation and transformation are two distinct concepts that cannot be discussed in isolation. The two concepts are in fact parallel to each other. In most instances where decolonisation materialises, the process of transformation follows. Fanon (1963) highlights that decolonisation is a process of reshaping a phenomenon that has its goal tilted towards the creation of a new humanity, a process of changing one stage to the other.

Institutions of higher learning in South Africa are recently engaged in the two processes. The removal of the Rhodes statue at UCT was a clear symptom of decolonisation. In essence, decolonisation in the universities was conceived at UCT during the #RhodesMustFall campaign. The student populace highlighted that the campaign was not just about the removal of the statue but the beginning of the struggle against the colonial system that over-stayed its term (Gamedze, 2015). Students also noted that as part of decolonising institutions in the country, more focus should be given to the following aspects: curriculum content, academic spaces, demographics of students and academic staff and the renaming of streets and halls of residence.

The #FeesMustFall campaign relates more specifically to the transformation of universities in terms of the demographics of the student body. The introduction of NSFAS and other funding mechanisms was a programme geared towards increasing more access to higher education by African students from disadvantaged backgrounds. The #FeesMustFall campaign which started at Wits University was informed by the high tuition fees that the majority of Black students could not afford (Singh, 2015).

3.6 Conclusion

The theories (social movement, citizenship and rights, collective action and transformation and decolonisation) discoursed in this chapter are germane to, and instrumental in addressing service delivery and student protests. The protest actions

examined in the study have shown characteristics akin to those identified in the theories.

The next chapter discusses the methodologies used in the collection and analysis of data.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The set objectives for this study informed the selection of the research design. This chapter discusses research methodology concepts and approaches aimed at examining the concerns that shape the trends and nature of youth protests in post-apartheid South Africa. The following research methodology concepts and approaches are discussed as employed in the collection and analysis of data: research method, research design, sampling, data analysis and ethical issues.

4.2 Methodology

A qualitative approach method was used to arrive at the findings of the study. Qualitative research, broadly defined, means: "Any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:17) and instead, the kind of research that produces findings arrived from real-world settings where the 'phenomenon of interest unfold naturally'," (Patton, 2001:39).

A qualitative approach method was identified to be more appropriate and pertinent to the study. This approach contains elements that are valuable in studying people's lived experiences. Some of the advantages of this approach include going beyond counting and ranking. It records and analyses feelings, behaviours and attitudes, thus covering the issues in a more detailed and in-depth manner. Research data is collected through interviews, enabling the researcher to interact with the research participants in their own language and terms. This allows the researcher to collect accurate data with the first-hand response, and there is room for elucidation.

Qualitative research helps to avoid preconceptions. It can explain why a particular response was given. Data collected by qualitative research is based on people's experiences. This provides insights into the motives behind people's actions and their feelings towards various actions. It is also more informative and compelling, providing a more realistic feel of the world (Creswell, 2003). Qualitative research creates openness during research by encouraging people to expand on their responses with an attempt incite new topics not initially considered, but equally as important. The objective of a research can change with the emergence of new data (Dahlberg and MaCaig, 2010).

The researcher deemed it fit to employ a qualitative approach based on the above advantages. The approach laid an impeccable foundation towards a comprehension of the complexities and the different causes and actions that led to the behaviours of the participants of the study.

The researcher was able to the context of the protest actions as the approach sustained the collection of detailed data through observation and interactive exchanges with participants than using questionnaires and other methods that could not study the phenomenon in detail. This method helped in exploring and gaining deeper explanations of the aspects that would not usually be well defined if other methods were utilised. The study did not look out to quantify the occurrences of protests rather understand the beliefs and motives underpinning such occurrences. The method was prolific in establishing concrete evidence and pertinent theories from the participants' own lived experiences.

4.3 Research design

The study employed phenomenological research design. The design is perceived by Bless et al., (2013) as the planning of scientific research from the first to the last step. Bless et al., (2013) further alluded that research design refers to research methods which entail procedures and steps that guide the researcher towards achieving the research objectives. The phenomenological design is considered an appropriate instrument to understand a particular phenomenon from the participants' perspective in order to collect an in-depth data. It involves studying the accounts of the individuals in respect to their lived experiences of a phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). The participants in this study were directly involved in the occurrences under study. In-depth interviews and focus groups with the selected participants were conducted with the aim of drawing insight into how the occurrences really transpired and why, particularly from their subjective point of view.

It is in the line with the above that the researcher considered phenomenology as the best approach to realise the objectives of this research. Phenomenology is an attempt to describe lived experiences without making previous assumptions about the objective reality of those experiences. According to Jasper (1994), phenomenology studies the correct meaning of a phenomenon that is explored through the experience of such phenomenon as described by an individual. It aims to search through the layers of interpretation to reveal the experiences as they unfold naturally in individual's initial contact and involvement in a particular situation (Dahlberg and MaCaig, 2010). The phenomenological research design is characterised by the following attributes: it is a highly appropriate approach to researching human experiences; it tries to disclose hidden meaning in the phenomenon rooted in the words of the narrative; and it is a critical, rigorous and systematic investigation of a phenomena (Bless et al., 2013).

In this study, the participants were, directly and indirectly, involved in the protest actions being examined. To understand the patterns of youth protests in South Africa, this research adopted the phenomenological approach. The approach allowed the

researcher to generate prolific descriptions of the problems faced by the protesters. The choice of phenomenological design assisted in clarifying the erroneous perceptions people would hold if the study was not conducted. Thorough investigations into the ins and outs that triggered demonstrations, the researcher drew inclusive narratives around the participants' experiences. The findings of the study qualified the choice of the research design as appropriate in studying human behaviours.

4.3.1 Indications for the use of phenomenological approach

The purpose of the phenomenological inquiry was to explicate the essence of the lived experiences in the quest for the meaning that identified the true essence of a phenomenon and its accurate description through the everyday lived experiences. The phenomenological approach was used for the following purposes:

- Clarify the nature of being human;
- Extend awareness about a particular phenomenon;
- Foster human responsibility in the construction of realities; and
- Tighten up the bond between experiences, concepts, and theories utilised in explaining those experiences (Streubert and Carpenter, 1999).

4.4 Population and sampling

Population is a set of entities in which all measurements of interest to the researcher are presented (De Vos, 2002). Welman and Kruger (1999) define population as encompassing the entire collection of units on which conclusions are made. Target population is referred to as a set of elements that the researcher focuses on and from which data are obtained.

The target population of this study comprised primarily the South African youth who agitated for critical social issues of free access to higher education, decolonisation and transformation in institutions of higher learning, and the improvement in government service delivery to communities. The South African youth sampled in this study brought to the fore three major challenges facing young people in the country. For instance,

youth participants in the Tubatse Municipality in Limpopo highlighted that youth unemployment motivated them to demonstrate against the municipality and the mining companies. Student protesters at the University of Limpopo revealed that high fee increment in institutions of higher learning was a major concern. Hence, the #FeesMustFall protest actions became a national campaign. Lastly, other student participants from universities across the country stressed that access to tertiary education was still a challenge for Black students in the country and that universities needed to be transformed in order to cater for African students and academic staff.

A sample is a subset of the population selected to participate in a research study. It defines the selected groups of elements i.e. individuals, groups or organisations. A sample is chosen from the study population that is commonly referred to as the target population or accessible population (De Vos, 2002). Convenience, purposive and snowball sampling methods were used in collecting data for this research. Convenience sampling takes cases that are on hand until the desired sample size is reached and the researcher identifies a convenient place where many participants are accessible. Purposive sampling selects participants based on the researcher's judgment that each participant would provide unique and rich information (Bless et al., 2013). Snowball sampling is a method used to obtain research and knowledge from extended associations and previous acquaintances. It uses recommendations to find people with a specific range of information that is determined to be useful to the research study (Maxwell, 2005).

Data was collected directly from selected respondents given their availability and due to the important positions and roles they played in various youth protests. As a result of the expansive nature of the study, the participants were sampled as follows:

4.4.1 Sampling participants for the study on youth and service delivery protests

To select participants for the aspect of the study on service delivery protests, a purposive sampling and snowball sampling methods were used.

- The Tubatse Local Municipality was purposively selected as a geographical site of the investigation. The researcher as a resident of the municipality was familiar with the regular occurrence of service delivery protests in the area.
- The participants were selected purposively and through snowball sampling. The researcher knew two individuals in the municipality who were involved in the service delivery protests. They were asked to participate in the study. The known individuals did not only agree to participate but suggested other involved individuals who the researcher also recruited for the study. Through the snowball technique, the researcher was able to recruit four additional volunteers, making it a total of six youth participants for this aspect of the study
- The spokesperson for the Tubatse Local Municipality, attached to the ANC, was also purposively selected. The municipal spokesperson, as part of the political leadership of the municipality, was deployed in the mayor's office. The municipality was led by the ANC government. Sampling official from the municipality was a purposive action to examine the effectiveness of the communication mechanisms available within the municipality as well as the attempts made to address the challenges facing young people. It was also important to allow the municipality to raise their views before a conclusion could be made regarding the validity of the protests.

4.4.2 Sampling participants for the study on decolonisation and social transformation in the academia

- The e.TV *Big Debate* broadcast media material on the #RhodesMustFall campaign and transformation of South African universities was purposively selected for this study. The researcher utilised a 47-minute TV material on the #RhodesMustFall protest that was broadcast on eNCA on the 05th September 2015. The Big Debate is current affairs talk show was presented by Masetshaba Lekalake and recorded live as discussions unfolded. The show deals primarily

with controversial issues happening around the world, thereby inviting relevant bodies to discuss and clarify the public. The talk show was first aired on e.TV in 2009 and returned to eNCA in November 2013. The Big Debate is a continuous one hour show that picks and discusses different issues as and when they emerge. Air time allocated to each discussion is usually determined by how far the invited guests are willing to expand their views. More than one topic can be debated in a single episode (Mgabedi, 2013). The debate was purposively selected because it provided unique information that specifically addresses the core issues of this study.

- The debate show featured many important stakeholders relevant to tertiary education in South Africa, they included:
 - Student representatives from different student structures in many universities of South Africa, such as Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFF), South African Student Congress (SASCO), Youth Lab, Transform Wits.
 - Representative from the national Department of Education, representative from the African National Congress and African National Congress Youth League,
 - Vice chancellors of University of Cape Town and Witwatersrand,
 - Representative from Afri-forum,
 - A representative from the United Front Movement,
 - Interview with the minister of Arts and Culture was included in the show
 - Chumani Maxwele who initiated the #RhodesMustFall protest action was also present in the show.

4.4.3 Sampling participants for the study of #FeesMustFall protests and affordable access to higher education

Purposive, convenient, and snowball sampling methods were used to select participants for the aspect of the study on #FeesMustFall protests.

- Purposive sampling was used to select the Student Representative Council (SRC) president and the University of Limpopo. The SRC president led student representatives and his responsibility was to champion the interests of students, and he was directly involved in the #FeesMustFall protest actions. The university was selected on the basis of its students' involvement in the protest actions against high fee increment.
- The University of Limpopo's spokesperson was selected purposively for this study. His involvement in the study was essential to investigate whether communication mechanisms between students and management existed in the institution and to examine the extent to which the violent protest actions affected the university.
- Snowball and convenient samplings were used to select student participants from the University of Limpopo for a focus group discussion. Two male participants were selected using convenient sampling while two females were selected using snowball sampling (recommended by the male participants). The focus group comprised two female and two male participants in their second and third level of study. The focus group consisted of students who were not directly involved in the protest actions but were affected by the protests and were in support of the call for free education and #FeesMustFall protests.

4.5 Data collection

Data collection is the systematic gathering of information relevant to the research problem using methods such as interview, focus group, participant observation and many others (Bless et al, 2013). Data for this study was collected through interviews, focus group discussions, and analysis of media content. The expansive nature of the study informed the conduct of different interviews and focus groups which were arranged in sequence to collect tangible data for each pattern of the protests discussed in the study. Data for the study was collected in the following manner.

4.5.1 Data collection for the study on youth and service delivery protests

The service delivery protest actions occurred in the Tubatse Municipality and all participants were from the aforementioned municipality. A focus group discussion consisting of six participants was conducted. Issues that were discussed, amongst other things, included the factors that motivated the protests, how residents were mobilised to demonstrate under one banner, and how, in their opinions, protesters expected the municipality to address their dissatisfactions.

The focus group was conducted in Steelpoort Township, on the outskirts of the Tubatse Municipality. The discussion was recorded with two smartphones. The recorded data was later transcribed into a word for the purposes of data analysis.

An interview was conducted with the municipal spokesperson in the Tubatse Municipality to collect data about the service delivery protests. An attempt to conduct a face-to-face interview with the spokesperson in the municipality buildings was made, but his busy schedule did not allow for such. Alternatively, the interview was conducted through email.

4.5.2 Data collection for the study of #FeesMustFall protest actions

The study of #FeesMustFall and access to education protests relied on two interviews and a focus group for data collection. A face-to-face interview with the University of Limpopo SRC president was conducted at the university. A smartphone was used to record the interview and the recorded data was later transcribed into a word document for the purposes of data analysis.

An attempt to conduct a face-to-face interview with the University of Limpopo spokesperson was futile due to his busy schedule. The researcher resorted to an email interview. The interview with the university spokesperson was necessary for the study as he was the correspondent for the entire university.

A focus group discussion was conducted to substantiate the data collection for the study of #FeesMustFall protests. A focus group comprising four undergraduate students from the University of Limpopo was conducted. The focus group was made of two females

and two males in their second and third level of study. None of these participants were directly involved in the protest actions. The data collected from the focus group discussion afforded the researcher an opportunity to integrate the information collected from the University spokesperson and the SRC president with direct information from a sample of the student population.

4.5.3 Data collection for the study of transformation and decolonisation of universities (#RhodesMustFall) protest actions

The #RhodesMustFall protest actions, referred to as decolonisation and social transformation in the academia, relied on media content for data collection. A 47 minutes and 51 seconds video of *The Big Debate* show was used as data for the #RhodesMustFall protest action. The debate was a broadcast on eNCA Television on 5 September 2015. The debate was comprised of twenty-four participants.

4.6 Data analysis

Qualitative content analysis was used to analyse data for this study. Data analysis is a mechanism for reducing and organising data to produce findings that require interpretation by the researcher. Qualitative content analysis is defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Bless et al, 2013).

Data analysis preserved the uniqueness of each participant's lived experiences while leading to the understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. It began with listening to the participants' descriptions, followed by reading their written responses. As the researcher got immersed in the data, she identified and extracted significant statements from the responses. It was very critical to identify how statements or central themes emerge and connect if the final description was to be comprehensive and exhaustive (De Vos et al, 2011). The researcher's computer was used for data storage and retrieval.

The following steps were essential in analysing data qualitatively:

- Preparing and organising data,
- Reducing data, and
- Visualising, representing and displaying data (Creswell, 2003).

Thematic and content analyses

Thematic and content analyses were used in data analysis for this study. Thematic analysis is a search for themes that emerge as being essential to the description of the phenomenon. It involves the process of identifying themes through careful reading and re-reading of data. It is a form of pattern recognition where emerging themes become categories for analysis. Content analysis classifies textual material, reducing it to more relevant and manageable bits of data. (Fereday, 2006).

4.6.1 Data analysis process

Firstly, the researcher translated the interviews that were conducted from Sepedi to English. Transcripts of verbatim data in plain text were prepared with no indents. Then the researcher translated and transcribed the audio recorded interviews, then read and reread the interviews in their entirety, reflecting on the interviews as a whole. Then the researcher summarised the interviews keeping in mind that more than one theme might exist in a set of interviews. The researcher read the content of both the interviews and focus group to establish possible themes that emanated from them. Once identified, the themes that appeared to be more significant concepts linking substantial portions of the interviews were written and captured on a computer. The researcher immersed herself into the data in order to understand the phenomenon under study and to achieve closeness and make sense of the whole phenomenon from the participant's point of view.

Based on an approach from De Vos et al (2011), the researcher read both the verbatim transcriptions of the interviews and group discussions to identify several topics from the interview and the focus group. These topics became the primary categories. For that many categories delay saturation, the researcher ensured that each category had ample data and categorised the data into sub-categories. When each category was reasonably full and saturation was reached (that is, no new data emerged), the

researcher looked for a resemblance among the categories. Having established the similarity among the categories, the researcher classified and merged the themes into main themes and sub-themes. The units of data that contained similar key words were merged into a single theme. The development and categorisation of the themes were guided by the research objectives.

4.7 Quality criteria

The data were analysed directly as collected from the research participants without any modifications, in the form of additions or omissions, envisioned to meet the interests and beliefs of the researcher. This ensured that the findings of the study could be confirmed by other studies by utilising similar methods, thereby providing evidence that validates the findings and interpretations by means of auditing.

4.8 Objectivity

The researcher safeguarded objectivity and ensured that it was maintained throughout the study. The personal interests of the researcher were not used to tamper with the data collected and in the interpretation of the research findings. Data was presented as directly transcribed from the interviews, focus groups and media broadcast material.

4.9 Bias

The researcher guaranteed that the research was not biased in the collection, analysis, interpretation and presentation of the research data. There were no personal benefits, financial or otherwise, that derived from the study. As a result, the outcome of the study was not influenced by personal interests other than that of academic goals.

4.10 Credibility

Credibility is demonstrated when participants are in a position to recognise the reported findings of the study as their own experiences. The methodology and research tools applied to this study were practical for they have addressed the research objectives. The participants of the study were credible as they occupied positions that allowed them

to provide information that was unique and trustworthy. The conclusions drawn from the study were a true reflection of the data as obtained and interpreted from the participants.

4.11 Significance of the study

The study added a significant share to the existing literature on service delivery issues. This study further provided a deeper understanding of the commodification of education in institutions of higher learning and the implications of the legacy of colonial and apartheid systems in some parts of South Africa. The research also added to the understanding of the role of the state in meeting citizens' demand for services. It also provided a deeper understanding of the social and economic issues that concern current youth in South Africa.

4.12 Ethical considerations

The researcher submitted the proposal for ethical clearance at the University of Limpopo and it was quantified that the research did not commit any ethical infringement. The researcher had a moral obligation to strictly consider the rights of the participants who provided useful information to the study. The researcher also noted that it was essential to establish trust between herself and the participants and respected them as autonomous beings who were capable of making sound decisions.

4.13 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the research approach and processes that were used to arrive at the findings of the study. The methods used to collect and analyse data were also discussed while encompassing the trustworthiness and ethical considerations of the study. The next chapter presents findings of the study. Rather than presenting all findings in one bulky chapter as data presentation and findings, the researcher selected to use a thematic structure in data and finding presentation. As a result, there are three chapters on the presentation of findings, each presenting finding on each of the three

core areas of this study. The next chapter present findings on youth and service delivery protest actions.

CHAPTER 5

YOUTH ACTIVISM AND PROTESTS:

RIGHTS, CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIAL SERVICE PROVISION: A CASE OF

FETAKGOMO-GREATER TUBATSE MUNICIPLITY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings based on this topic. Graphs and direct quotations from the respondents are used to present and reflect the findings of the study. This section contains pseudonyms as a way to protect the identity of participants.

Limpopo Province, the geographical context of this study, witnessed high rates of service delivery protests that have captured national attention. For example, Otto (2015) stated that a township in Malamulele in Limpopo had recently been under a tight supervision of police officers after violent protests broke in January 2015. Malamulele High School was set alight and partially damaged as a result of protest actions against the Thulamela Municipality regarding poor service delivery and the demand for a separate municipality. Matlala (2012) noted that Councillors and Mayors in the Sekhukhune District in Limpopo feared for their lives after violent protests against poor service delivery broke in around January 2012. Violent protesters claimed that a shortage of clean water was a serious problem in the municipality. Political actors were

assaulted and one councillor in Makhuduthamaga Municipality was held hostage by protesters for failing to deliver clean water after 22 years of democracy. Many of the attacks were reported to have taken place at night while victims least expected the perpetrators to attack. The spokesperson in the municipality indicated that houses and vehicles of political actors were burnt and damages estimated at R5 million were incurred. Eventually, more police officers were deployed to control violent protests and attacks in the municipality (Matlala, 2012).

To critically examine the trend of violent protests in agitation for municipal services in communities, this chapter explored aspects of the research objectives that aimed to examine the contextual rationale in which street protest has become a common trend in youth agitation for service delivery. The research further investigated the effectiveness of these street protests as well as examined why violence and destruction of public infrastructure has become a trend in youth protest in South Africa.

As explained in the previous chapter, a focus group interview comprising six participants and an email interview with the municipal spokesperson were conducted in the Tubatse Municipality, respectively, for the purposes of data collection.

The Tubatse Municipality was chosen as a case study because of the youth protest that happened in 2015. The municipality has 18 operating platinum mines. In June 2015, protest actions relating to poor service delivery broke in Steelpoort area, just 12 kilometres away from the municipal buildings. Within a wink of an eye, the protest actions had already spread to the nearby villages that believed in the same course. These protests were reported in a weekly community media in Tubatse – Steelburger newspaper and Tubatse FM. The magnitude of the demonstrations also caught national attention and these protests were reported on SABC News in 2015 and 2016 respectively.

According to the focus group participants, the first thing that motivated the protests was the issue of untarred roads in Steelpoort. The protesters blamed the local municipality for failing to provide proper roads. The second thing that motivated the protests was the

high rates of youth unemployment in the municipality in the midst of a large number of mining companies. The participants in the focus group discussion were youth who were involved in this protest.

Some of the questions asked in the focus group was to ascertain if the protesters had previous communication with the municipality and mining houses before demonstrating, how and when did they decide to protest? Also, what were the motives for the protests? Why did they resort to violent protest actions? What message were they trying to communicate with the violence protest? For the municipal official, the interview sought to explore the strategy used to stop the protests, how did the protest actions affect the image of the municipality and what effect did they have on the local government elections? In the analysis of the data collected, four major themes emerged, namely the reasons for protests, effectiveness of protests as a communication tool, occurrence of violence during protests, and rights and social service provision.

5.2 Reasons for protests

The participants highlighted that their protest actions were guided by a number of factors. One of the main issues was that the local municipality did little in ensuring that the mining companies adhered to their commitment to developing and improving the lives of citizens living in the purlieus of the mines. Although the demonstrations were not directly communicated to the municipality, the municipality had to pay the price linked to its inattention to improve the livelihood of the citizens, especially by the mines. According to the participants, the mining companies and the municipality signed an agreement, dubbed Thaba Moshate Agreement, wherein the mines promised to deliver basic services in their surrounding areas. Some of these basic services included tarred roads, employment and skills development for all young people residing in villages at least less than 70 kilometres from the mining companies.

5.2.1 Lack of service delivery

Lack of basic services within the municipality was the main reason for the youth demonstrations. The participants highlighted that their first protest action was informed by a lack of access to proper roads in their communities. One of the participants said that the municipality had undermined them by providing what they termed “bermuda roads”, which basically means that the process of road construction had stopped before it was actually finished. During the interviews, the participants made frightening statements. They said that the municipality should be prepared for the worst should it fail to fulfil its promise. Thabo, a male participant in the focus group, said:

They (mining companies) promised to develop and improve the lives of residents in the communities within which the mines operate, starting from the provision of water and access to decent roads.

The municipality has a responsibility of providing basic services to the communities but it failed. A road construction project was in place and suddenly stopped and the municipality did not brief the community as to why the project could not continue. The municipality also failed to ensure that the mining companies provided better services to the surrounding communities.

The municipal spokesperson begged to differ with the focus group, saying the protests were not necessarily about the municipality’s failure to deliver the promises made. He said the communities kept on growing and it became difficult to deliver services to all communities with limited resources. He added:

There has been a mushrooming of new settlements in some of the areas within the municipality and that increased and necessitated the demand for basic service delivery.

It is very difficult to keep up with the pace of the ever-growing population with the little resources allocated to the municipality. We cannot satisfy every community but measures are available to redress our failures.

5.2.2 Shortage of employment opportunities

The growing shortage of employment tend to be a concern among the participants in this study. Unemployment was not just the issue of concern in the Tubatse Sub-district alone wherein a number of violent protests ensued. Figure 5.1 clearly indicated that unemployment in Limpopo was still at its lowest peak as compared to other provinces in the country with 25% rate. However, this small percentage cannot be condoned because this province or district in particular has more than 18 mines and agricultural support facilities that can hire young people. Free State Province has the highest rate of unemployment in the country at 47% and most surprisingly Gauteng Province, known to be richest province with gold mines, agricultural sites, tourism sites and many others, still added to the list of high unemployment rates and occupied the fourth position with at least 34.9% - see Figure 5.1. However, in spite of Limpopo being the province with the lowest unemployment rate, the municipality with the highest unemployment rate in South Africa is in Limpopo Province - the Fetakgomo Municipality which now falls under Tubatse Municipality. The municipality stood at the highest unemployment rate of 35.2%, see Figures 5.2 and 5.3 (Stats SA, 2016). The participants in this study were from this municipality, and that explained why unemployment was a critical concern for them.

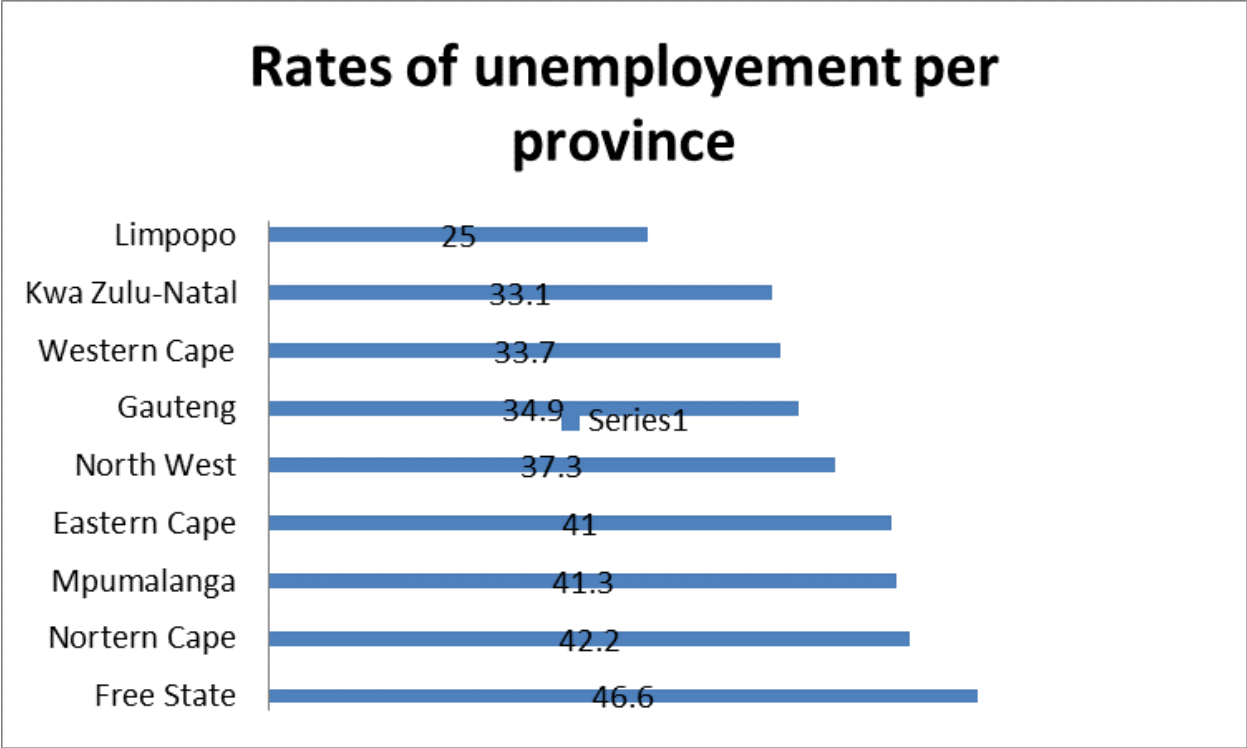


Figure 5.1 shows the rates of unemployment per province. Stats SA, 2016.

There were eighteen (18) platinum mines operating in the Tubatse Municipality and yet residents still complained about the high rates of unemployment among the youth. According to Statistics South Africa (2016), in addition of Fetakgomo Municipality, which now falls under Tubatse Municipality, the municipality had the worst rate of unemployed graduates in the country. The Makhuduthamaga Municipality, also in the Sekhukhune District of Limpopo Province, was on third position with at least 28.5% of unemployed youth graduates. The Molemole Municipality outside Polokwane in Limpopo Province had 27.6%. See Figure 5.2.

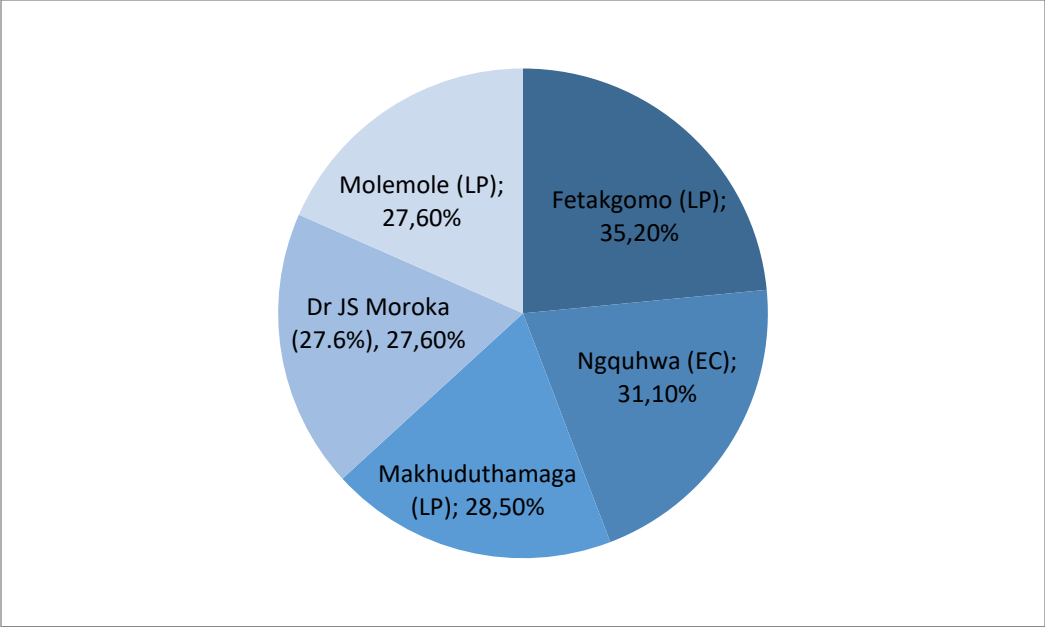


Figure 5.2 shows municipalities with worst youth unemployed graduates in South Africa (Stats SA, 2016).

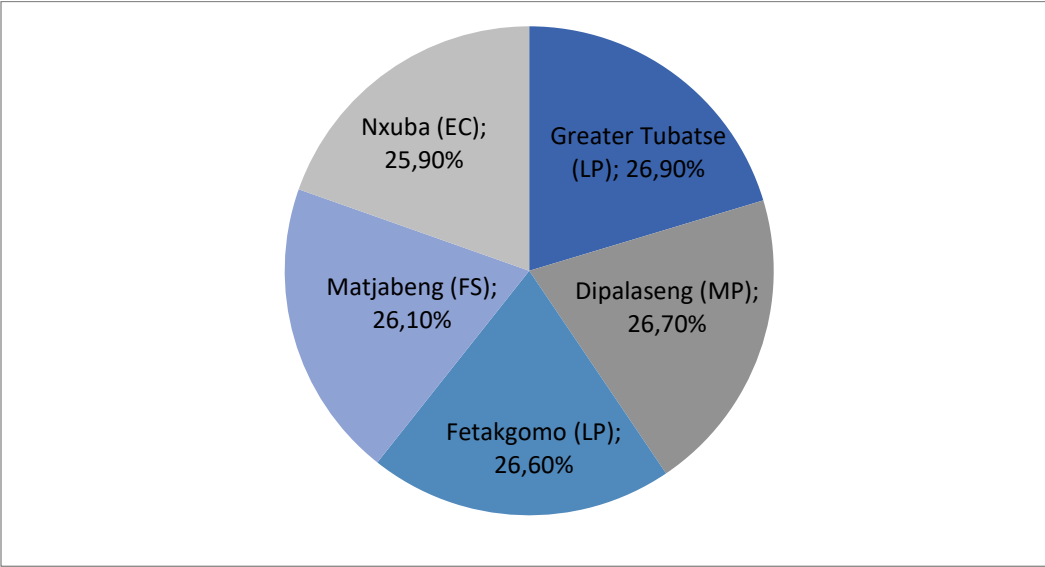


Figure 5.3 shows worst unemployment rates in various municipalities between youth of 15 and 34 years (Stats SA, 2016)

The researcher noted with disappointment that despite a large number of mines in the municipality, the rate of unemployment was very high as compared to other districts and provinces in the country. It is in line with the above-mentioned figures that the youth of Tubatse felt that the only way to fight against the high rates of unemployment was

through demonstrations. Although Limpopo Province has the lowest rate of unemployment of youth as compared to other provinces in the country, it is clear that Tubatse and Fetakgomo Municipalities (the two municipalities were officially merged on the 4th of August 2016 after the local government elections), the geographical context of the study, have the highest rates of unemployment of youth between the ages of 15 and 34. The Tubatse Municipality has the highest rate of 26.9% and Fetakgomo has 26.6%, which makes a total of 54% in a single municipality (Stats SA, 2016). See Figure 5.3.

Some of the research participants indicated that their protest actions were not merely about the unemployment and untarred roads. They complained that the mines were very close to their houses and that made their communities to be unsafe and very dangerous places to live in. The participants further highlighted that some of the reasons they decided to demonstrate were that they no longer felt safe in their own homes because at times their houses would be trembled by the explosives and blasting of rocks and platinum in the mines. They cited a case in 2014 when a resident was killed during a blasting in Bokoni Platinum mine at Atok, outside Burgersfort, while doing welding jobs outside his house. This case was also reported in the media (Motaung, 2014). These communities are indeed confronting health hazards issues. Their homes shake during blasting of rocks and there is pollution of air and rivers. A participant in the focus group, Mahlatse, stated:

The mines were not doing enough in recruiting and hiring young people within the affected communities in Tubatse. We are directly affected by the unhealthy smokes coming from the mines and yet we do not have jobs. People who come from far places are the ones working here. We only wake up to the noises of buses in the morning and evening when they collect workers who stay in rented houses within the community. We are not saying the mines should retrench those who are already working but we should be hired.

Mahlatse said:

We are young and directly affected by these mines. We want them to give us first preference when hiring, specifically the hiring of general workers.

A male participant also said:

It was part of their agreement that young people would be given first preference when hiring, especially general workers where skills are not needed to perform certain jobs. It was part of the Thaba Moshate Agreement that young people should receive proper training skills needed in the mines and that mining schools would be built.

The focus group participants also alluded that the mines promised to build mining training centres to equip the residents with the necessary skills needed in a mine. However, such did not happen and the municipality seemed to be doing nothing about it. One of the focus group participants suspected that “maybe they were bribed”. The municipal spokesperson said in an interview that the municipality acknowledged the high rates of unemployment, especially among the youth, and they are calling upon potential investors to invest in their municipality and allow the youth to explore other opportunities in agriculture and tourism. He further highlighted that they encouraged people to start their own businesses so as to assist the government in reducing unemployment. The Municipal spokesperson urged:

We call upon potential investors to invest in our Municipality and for the youth to explore other opportunities in agriculture and tourism. We encourage people to start their own businesses in order to assist the government in reducing the rate of unemployment.

5.2.3 Lack of communication

Lack of communication between the municipality, the mining companies, and the communities seemed to have a great influence on service delivery protest actions. The participants in the focus group pointed out that there was a lack of systems for people to

communicate with the municipality. However, the municipal spokesperson clarified that communication mechanisms were in place and ensured that communities had access to information. He also highlighted that the municipality operated according to the principles set out within the municipal framework, which was to deliver quality basic services to the communities and also offered redress in cases where the municipality failed to keep its promises. The municipal spokesperson explained:

It is our responsibility as government officials to ensure that citizens receive basic services that they are entitled to receive. We do so guided by the Batho Pele principles and other government policies that help build our municipality. We cannot satisfy every citizen but measures are available to redress our failures.

The provision of basic services within the municipality was also guided by the Integrated Development Programme (IDP). The municipality had 31 ward councillors deployed in all communities within the municipality who were tasked with the responsibility of communicating the IDP to the residents. The municipal spokesperson stated that communities usually applied for a march before engaging the municipality but it was not the case with the youth of Tubatse.

Drawing from the responses provided by the focus group participants and the municipal spokesperson, it can be concluded that although the municipality had adequate channels from which the communities received information, there was a shortage of monitoring systems to ensure that the information reached the targeted people and in cases where communities had access to information, they could not comprehend it. This conclusion was guided by the fact that the municipality had Ward Councillors tasked to disseminate information but communities were not informed of such channels to communicate grievances to their government. Hence, they resorted to demonstrating and destroying public infrastructure. One of the male focus group participants explained:

Engagements were there but very informal and undetailed and such were never taken into consideration. That is why we decided to protest. We felt that both the municipality and the mining houses were not taking our grievances seriously and we had to do something to make them listen.

The municipal spokesperson highlighted that the protests had nothing to do with lack of communication because the municipality had 31 councillors in Tubatse who coordinated general meetings with communities at least once in three months. Urgent meetings were also convened where the need arises and the municipality received feedback on such meetings. He said:

There are Councillors and Ward Committees in every wards and meetings are held regularly for feedback. Councillors are conducting meetings in their respective wards and reports are sent on a monthly basis to the Office of the Speaker (municipality).

5.3 The effectiveness of protests as a communication tool

The youth of South Africa has adopted a culture of using protests and violence as a vehicle for communicating their dissatisfactions. Previous literature on the use of protests and violence for communicating grievances have proved that this approach was very effective in accelerating service delivery and getting the relevant management structures to respond. According to Hewson (2015), the protest action against high tuition fees at Wits University last year was very effective and it helped the students to get both the university management and the government to resolve their grievances. Another incident took place at UCT last year where students protested against the presence of Rhodes statue. The protest that was initiated by Maxwele Chumani finally led to the removal of the statue in April last year (Pather, 2015). Findings from this study also affirmed the results of the previous studies. The participants in the study highlighted that they had no choice but to demonstrate and vandalise public and private property in order to get the municipality and the mining industries to listen and address their challenges. They claimed that their challenges were only addressed after they demonstrated and the Office of the Presidency deployed the Premier of Limpopo, Mr. Stanley Mathabatha, to intervene. These participants also stated that protest actions were more effective in speeding up change because even the access roads in the communities were then under construction. They highlighted that they did not regret

doing what they did because they began to see changes only after protesting. A female respondent further explained:

We stopped protesting after the Premier's visit to our community because he made it very clear to the mines and the municipality that they should start addressing our challenges. We now have a very strong structure in place and engagements are in process and we even have a meeting with the mining management today.

Yes. Our protest was very effective because even the Office of the Presidency was touched by the protest and a representative was deployed to come down here and give us a way forward.

The protest actions in the Tubatse Municipality assisted the protesters to get what they had always wanted as community members. The protesters claimed that some of the residents would still be unemployed if it were not for the protest action. Although the process of hiring community members was very slow, the protesters believed that they have succeeded. They also emphasised that one of the reasons behind the slow pace of hiring new mine workers was due to the low demand of platinum and it was for those reasons that some workers lost their jobs. A male participant elaborated:

The recruitment process is very slow but progress has been made so far. There are few people who got jobs in the mines and there are those who are in the process of getting jobs. We are also facing a retrenchment problem within the mines because their productions are not bought like they used to.

According to the spokesperson of the Tubatse Municipality, the demonstrations had tarnished the image of the municipality and people had a bad perception about the municipality. He said such actions were slowly scaring investors away. He also stated that the protest actions might have had a negative impact on the local government elections but that was yet to be confirmed in August. Tubatse is an African National Congress (ANC) led municipality and it was confirmed on the 04th of August 2016 that not even violent protests could have a negative impact on the ANC's core support base. The party won the majority of the wards not just in Tubatse but in the Sekhukhune

District as a whole (Mashego, 2016). The following table shows 2016 local government election turnout in all municipalities in Sekhukhune.

Municipality	ANC	DA	EFF	Others	Total Seats
Greater Tubatse/ Fetakgomo	54%	4%	15%	1%	74
Makhuduthamaga	43%	2%	14%	3%	62
Ellias Motswaledi	56%	2%	8%	2%	68
Ephriam Mogale	49%	1%	12%	1%	63

Table 5.1 Local government election results in all municipalities in the Sekhukhune District (Mashego, 2016)

5.4 Occurrence of violence during protests

The occurrence of violence in protest actions is slowly becoming rampant among South African citizens. In June 2016, more than 29 schools were set on fire in the Vhembe District in Vuwani by protesters who demanded to have their own municipality (Mbindwane, 2016). Also more than 12 ward councillor candidates were killed prior to the local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal and more than 10 ward councillors were injured during the inaugural ceremony of the Democratic Alliance (DA) mayoral candidate in the Tshwane Municipality on 18 August 2016, when members of the African National Congress (ANC) forcefully entered the hall (ANN7, 2016).

One of the focus group participants highlighted that they embarked on violent protest actions because they did not have a leader to give directives to the protesters. They claimed that their protest was one of a kind since it was never planned rather it was just a common understanding shared by the community. A whistle was blown in one

morning and the demonstration began, thereby leading to the destruction of public and private properties. A female participant explained that:

We cannot say an individual started the protest. It was just a common understanding that residents had and decided to demonstrate hoping that our challenges would be resolved. A whistle was blown one morning and we started protesting.

A male participant added:

The protest was never planned. It is our culture that whenever a whistle is blown we gather as a community. We always meet at “Moshate” (royal palace) whenever we hear the sound of a whistle.

The municipal spokesperson highlighted that protesting was every individual's right and such could not be infringed. However, he alluded that it was unpredictable whether the strikes would be peaceful or violent hence they should remain vigilant. The following are some of the responses provided by the municipal spokesperson in an interview:

We would like to appeal to the communities to engage councillors if there are challenges in their areas and also to escalate their problems to the highest authorities in order to resolve their challenges.

Protests are sporadic and we always call upon communities to engage the Municipality whenever there are challenges.

5.5 Rights and Social Service provision

This theme remained the pillar of this chapter. The participants believed that it was the responsibility of the government to provide basic services to citizens. They quantified that protesting was a way of demanding for their rights as citizens. They added that the government should have also provided services to those who could afford to do so because services are supposed to be free for everyone. However, the participants also asserted that people who could afford to provide for themselves should be at liberty to

do so, if they felt like the government was taking long to deliver, but they should not be forced to provide for themselves just because they can afford. Another claim was that the government always made promises whenever they needed people's votes but forgot to deliver once they are in power. Mahlatse, a female respondent, said:

Yes, it is the responsibility of the government to provide basic services to all citizens. We are not asking the government to feed us, but all we want is for the government to treat us equally. If other communities can get services without protesting, it means that we should also get them but also push the government through protests if we feel we are forgotten.

A male participant shared the sentiment:

You don't know how this government works. Promises are made day in and day out. As we approach the local government elections, all we are going to hear from the government will be what they would do for us if they retained power, but such promises fade away immediately after the party remains in power. The government has IDP programmes wherein the budget allocation is tabled for each local municipality and the list of villages and projects the money will be going into.

In an interview with the municipal spokesperson, he indicated that Tubatse citizens were not really aware of what it meant to be a responsible citizen. He said the citizens had no idea of how the government allocated resources for service delivery. He admitted that citizens were correct to demand services from the government because they have the rights to receive such services, but they should learn to protest responsibly.

5.5.1 Corruption

Although the information provided by the focus group was not sufficient to determine if there were corrupt municipal officials, words such as "self-enrichment and personal use" were used frequently during the interviews. Such phrases actually hinted that there might be corruption in the municipality. To the municipal spokesperson, the problem of

poor service delivery was a result of insufficient budget allocated to the municipality. On the contrary, the focus group participants stressed that resources were available for service delivery and the government continually allocates resources for citizens to receive free services. But if they do not protest and demand services by force, the resources would disappear. As such, corruption also played a role in motivating youth protests in the Tubatse Municipality. The focus group participants revealed that some of the reasons for protesting and demanding free services were that the communities were aware of the funds allocated for free services to communities each financial year. They claimed that if they did not demand such services by force, municipal officials would utilise such resources for their self-enrichment. Although there were allegations of corruption within the municipality, the participants could not link such corruption to any official as there was no investigation conducted and none of the municipal officials were found guilty of any corruption charges.

Thabo from the focus group said:

Our government invests a lot of resources into the local government and it would be unwise of us not to demand such services. Whether or not we demand those services, the national government will continue to allocate money to municipalities each financial year and someone will use the money allocated to us for their own self-enrichment. We are actually saving the government from corruption.

The municipal spokesperson seemed to hold a different view of citizenship and rights as compared to the focus group. He indicated that the role of the municipality was to provide quality basic services to the residents. He further stated that the municipality would never use the state resources for their own gain. He explained:

Citizens have a wrong way of interpreting rights and provisions of basic services. They think that free basic services are part of their package as citizens. Citizens have a tendency of thinking that government officials will use government resources for personal use and that is very wrong. Yes, we would like to provide services to our communities to the best we can, but we are guided by policies and it is not entirely up to us to deliver. If enough budget is allocated, then

services will be provided but how do we do that if the upper structures only allocate little budget to a municipality that is responsible for providing services to nearly 50 villages? It is a challenge.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented findings based on the response extracted from interactions with the focus group and an intensive interview with the municipal spokesperson. Graphs, charts and tables were integrated into the chapter to corroborate the findings in this section. The next chapter will present findings on citizenship rights and access to free education.

CHAPTER 6

**YOUTH ACTIVISM AND PROTESTS:
DECOLONISATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER
LEARNING: A CASE OF SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES**

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the youth activism and service delivery protest. As a smooth transition from Chapter 5, this chapter represents a shift in focus as it deals with another trend in youth activism in South Africa. This chapter presents findings on youth activism based on the social transformation of universities. The theme of decolonisation of the academia was placed on the public agenda by youth protests, dubbed '#RhodesMustFall', looking to deface the statue of Cecil Rhodes at the University of Cape Town. As reported in the media, it engendered many academic and public debates. One such a debate was the core source of data for this chapter. The data for this chapter was based on the media content obtained from the *Big Debate Show* that was broadcast on eNCA. On 15 September 2015, the eNCA premiered an episode of the *Big Debate Show* dedicated solely to the #RhodesMustFall campaign. As explained in the methodology chapter, the debate featured key actors of decolonisation of the university (UCT); political party representatives, the university's administrator, students and their representatives, civil society organisations, and government representatives. In addition to data from the debate, newspaper reports were used to present data for this chapter.

Since 1994, the transformation of South African higher institutions has been a policy of the government. According to Ntuli (1998) cited in Horsethemke (2006), the search for transformation and African identity in institutions of higher learning is rooted in the African Renaissance and establishing systems for indigenous knowledge. The transformation of education should mean “Africanising” the curriculum content. Education should embrace the African essence through which Africans can relate to. Transformation of education should mean mental decolonisation (Horsthemke, 2006). Decolonisation and transformation in institutions of higher learning should not only mean transforming the curriculum content and increasing demographics of Black students and staff but it should also mean decolonising the minds of Africans (Ngugi wa Thiongo, 2004). South African students claimed that the call for the transformation of universities in the country was long overdue. Students at the University of Cape Town (UCT) last year took a lead in the fight against the existence of colonial symbols. The students protested and demanded that the statue of Cecil Rhodes be removed from the university premises and the statue was eventually removed in March 2015 (Pather, 2015).

To critically examine the trend of violent protests in agitation for decolonisation and social transformation in the academia, this chapter explored some aspects of the research objectives that aimed to investigate what the #RhodesMustFall campaign could reveal about the current social demands of youth and the (in) effectiveness of the State in addressing these demands. It also sought to examine factors that lead to violence and destruction of public infrastructure as an emerging trend in youth protest in South Africa.

As discussed in chapters one and four, an episode of *Big Debate Show* on eNCA featured key participants of the #RhodesMustFall movement. This particular episode comprised representatives from the Department of Higher Education, Vice-chancellors of the Universities of Cape Town (UCT) and Witwatersrand (Wits), ANC spokesperson, Chumani Maxwele who initiated the movement, and student structures representatives from universities across the country.

UCT was chosen as a case study following the student protests that took place in 2015 against the existence of Cecil Rhodes statue on the campus. Many Black students and the minority of White students were tired of being watched over by the main man of the British colonialism at UCT, and that was enough motivation for the students to rally behind the banner of #RhodesMustFall early last year. The protest action received national media attention and coverage. The statue of Cecil Rhodes was finally removed at UCT in March 2015. The clarion call for decolonisation and transformation of universities was also reported at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) when students protested and demanded that the statue of King George V be removed from the university. However, decolonisation and transformation were not just about the removal of statues in institutions of higher learning. Hence, the #FeesMustFall campaign fell within the parameters of the said transformation.

Some of the questions asked on the *Big Debate Show* were to investigate the connotation attached to the removal of Rhodes statue at UCT among Black students? How was it contributing to transformation? Are all Black students in support of the movement? Some of the questions that were directed to the UCT and Wits vice-chancellors were to investigate the proportions of Black staff and students' representation in universities? Other questions posed were to establish if the government could be blamed for the lack of transformation in universities? And what was the government's timeline for the envisaged transformation at universities?

In the analysis of the transcribed data from the televised debate (see Chapter Four), five major themes emerged from the findings of this chapter, namely understanding decolonisation and social transformation in academia; reasons for protesting; effectiveness of protests as a communication tool; violence as communication; and beyond the #RhodesMustFall campaign.

6.2 Understanding decolonisation and social transformation in the academia

The first theme from the analysis of the 'Big Debate' discussion was the different ways in which the participants understood and defined decolonisation and transformation in

institutions of higher learning. According to the participants, decolonisation and transformation of universities should mean restructuring academic spaces. Some aspects that needed to be restructured included the curriculum content of the education system, empowering Black academic staff and increasing access to tertiary institutions for Black students.

6.2.1 Decolonisation and transformation

The call for the decolonisation and transformation of institutions of higher learning has always been on the agendas of political parties, students and universities. The #RhodesMustFall participants claimed that it was the responsibility of the government to transform and decolonise the country as a whole. The participants believed that the slow pace of transformation in the country was the result of the government's failure to profoundly push the agenda forward. Chumani Maxwele who initiated the #RhodesMustFall movement defined transformation from the movement's perspective:

*...for us we are using decolonisation. The transformation term is not ours. The moment the term becomes embraced by White people, then that becomes a problem. Now we are re-inventing decolonisation and when we re-invent, **we are saying blacks first. That is our position, our point of departure! (Emphasis added).***

Panache Chingumadzi from Wits University argued that transformation was not just about Black representation because it would be meaningless to add Black staff in management, in their numbers, if those blacks were still colonised. She highlighted that there were more issues underlying transformation, such as the mindset of an individual and all intangible things.

When we talk transformation, we are not saying add Blacks and stir. We do not actually change because Habib (professor Habib, vice-chancellor at the University of Witwatersrand) says 7 out of 10 in the management are Black and

we understand that those blacks are still colonised. Because those are the same kind of people who continue to perpetuate the same kind of racist institutions. When we talk of transformation, we are talking about a mindset and all the intangible things.

In an argument with Professor Habib, Maxwele indicated that they were not excited about the manner in which the university defined transformation and that the university management should have been clear as to what transformation really meant to them. Maxwele claimed that the university was making it impossible for the transformation to succeed by keeping employees who were not willing to transform universities. He added that the university still had a Registrar who has occupied the position since apartheid and they did not expect such a person to transform the university. He explained:

At UCT, we have got Hugh Amoore (Registrar) who was the Registrar during apartheid. How do you expect such a person to transform the university? Hence, we are saying transform and decolonise that.

As #RhodesMustFall, we are not pleased with such a notion of transformation. What do you mean by transformation, professor (Habib)? We do not know. I am sure you have a different meaning of transformation than that of ours as Black students with lived realities, so you are speaking vaguely to us.

6.2.2 Decolonisation as racial inclusion

The #RhodesMustFall participants highlighted that transformation of universities in South Africa should also mean a greater representation of African students and academic staff should occupy senior management positions. The presenter of the Big Debate show, Masetshaba Lekalake indicated that the Wits University's whiteness could not be justified and it was about time things changed. She said:

There is no excuse for Wits to be so White. When can we begin to see a bigger representation of Black teachers and management of over 50%?

Lekalake further raised a question about racial inclusion in universities:

I mean it is high time we see a greater representation of Black people in senior management positions and more Black students in universities. Do you accept that?

Mzwanele Jerry Manyi, a representative from the Progressive Professionals Forum (PPF) indicated that universities have adopted a culture of undermining Black academics. He said universities did not provide Black academics with opportunities to become professors. He further stressed that people should refrain from using their colour as a proxy for transformation, adding that the deployment of the Democratic Alliance (DA) leader Mmusi Maimane's should not be viewed as transformation but assimilation. Manyi stated:

One of the challenges with universities is that they undermine Black academics. Universities do not give Black academics the opportunity to become professors, but to think that a colour is a proxy transformation, that is very dangerous. For instance, the DA has Mmusi Maimane and that does not mean transformation, it means assimilation, and you must understand the difference.

Professor Adam Habib, the vice-chancellor of Wits, raised a contrary view pertaining to the issue of racial inclusion. He said Wits University had a larger number (80%) of African representatives both at administrative and academic level. He claimed that Africans occupied the majority of senior management posts. He said 7 out of 10 senior posts were occupied by Africans and that 65 to 70% of the academic positions were also occupied by African staff. Professor Habib also blamed the Post-Apartheid South African government for having failed to produce adequate PhD and Master's students after 21 years into democracy. He said the university management was not to be blamed as little resources were allocated to postgraduate scholarships. He added:

At the senior management level, the top 10 positions, seven are Black at the moment. At the top and senior management level is 50% White. Academic level, probably 65-70% are White. Why are we in this position after 21 years of democracy? Firstly, you cannot have associate professors if you do not have

Black PhD and Master's students. In the 1990s, we have put too little money into postgraduate scholarships. So, the only people who did postgraduate were the only people who could afford it and the upper middle-class people in the South African context are White and Indians. And then it seems to me that there has not been enough pressure of unions and others in changing that. It seems to me that this is a shared problem.

6.2.3 Decolonisation as Africanisation

Mpho Morolane from the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFsc) argued that decolonisation of universities should not only be understood from a racial perspective. He claimed that decolonisation is a very broad term and should also include African epistemologies. Morolane said that the only manner in which people could make sense of transformation was if children were taught about the phenomenon at an early age. He alluded that children should be trained to embrace and honour the marginalised African cultures. He explained:

One of the successes of colonialism and apartheid system was the destruction of our indigenous languages. To deal effectively with matters such as transformation, we have to start teaching our children while at "kindergarten" about Africa and its epistemologies.

Panache Chingumadzi concurred with Morolane on the basis that things should change. While Chingumadzi, an activist at Wits University, concurred with the other speakers on Africanisation, she indicated that it was very essential to decolonise South Africa before an attempt could be made to decolonise universities. She claimed that the call for "Africanisation" was what students were currently demanding. She further said that Africanisation should mean having more African authors, lectures and structuring courses in an African way:

What the students are demanding is that the universities become African and that means we need to change who writes the text books, who gets to teach the text books, how courses are structured and who gets to be part of these lectures. But importantly, what we need to understand is that you cannot decolonise universities before you can decolonise South Africa.

6.2.4 Removal of (and renaming) colonial and apartheid symbols as decolonisation

#RhodesMustFall participants highlighted that as part of decolonisation, some old statues and street names that were honored by the colonial and apartheid governments should be demolished. Ntokozo Qwabe from the Oxford University argued that Africa was the Black people's continent and for that reason they were not going to wait for the White people to determine when the statues should be removed. He said:

.....because Ernst is saying that in Germany what has got to happen is that the descendants of the people who put up the statues had decided that they take them down. He is actually saying that we must wait for the descendants of White colonialism to come and tell us when to take the statues down. Actually, whose continent is this? So, what you need to do is to open your minds and decolonise your minds. Decolonisation is for White people also.

Simankele Dlakavu, an activist at Wits University asserted that as and when statues representing colonialism are taken down, monuments of African heroes and heroines shall be built and affirmed. She explained:

Decolonisation to me has to be some kind of a double movement. So, as we destroy the statues that represent colonialism, we need to affirm our African heroes and heroines. As a Wits student, I have a problem with this university for not celebrating Robert Sobukwe - who was not only a student at Wits but fought during apartheid.

A representative from Afri-Forum, Ernst Roets, highlighted that the campaign to remove Rhodes' statue was a deliberate and anti-white campaign. He pointed out to Chumani Maxwele that protesters should consider the rights of the minority communities (Whites) when removing statues and renaming streets. Roets stressed that the manner in which Rhodes's statue was removed from UCT and the renaming of the Andrew Zondi Street were offensive to Whites. He said;

First, this campaign was inundated with racist and anti-white slogans and Chumani was expelled from UCT for that. Chumani said that White people were not welcomed on campus and should leave and be killed but he later denied that. The second reason is that I have never heard Chumani complaining about names or statues that are offensive to minority communities where they really have a reason to complain. One example, the renaming of the Andrew Zondi Street. Andrew Zondi was a member of the African National Congress Youth League who planted a bomb in a shopping centre that killed two women and three children. Now they renamed the main street after him. That is an offensive name because there are people living in that town who have been murdered by the man after which the main street has been named.

An anonymous participant highlighted that some students still questioned the #RhodesMustFall movement's decision to remove the statue from the university since Cecil Rhodes contributed money towards the establishment of Rhodes University. They claimed that the former president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, was also at peace with Rhodes that he even supported a project that was established in Rhodes's name. Regardless of how other students felt about the removal of the statue, the #RhodesMustFall participants were finally grateful that the statue was removed from the university even though Rhodes's legacy still continued in the company he built and a project that was named after him. He said:

Even some students question the movement pointing out that Rhodes donated money to establish the Rhodes University as well as the fellowship at Oxford. But

finally, on 9 April 2015, UCT gave in and Cecil Rhodes's statue came down tumbling. Despite Rhodes's demise, the majority of black students in South Africa are still excluded from higher education by poverty and discrimination. Rhodes' legacy lives on in companies like De Beers and even Mandela had supported a project established in Rhodes's name.

Another remark by Rudolph from a video clip insert during the debate strongly disagreed with the removal of the statue. He argued that people should rethink the decision to remove Rhodes statue because he is part and parcel of their history. He said;

If people think that they can destroy statues and wipe away our history, then they are making the biggest mistake of their lives.

6.3 Reasons for protesting

Another major theme from the debate about the youth protest was the reasons that motivated the protest actions. Other participants claimed that the government's failure to transform universities in 21 years of democracy has motivated the protest actions. Mr. Maxwele, who initiated the protest action, highlighted that the call for transformation of institution of higher learning has been long overdue. He claimed that the protest was motivated by the exclusion of Black students in tertiary institutions on the basis of racial discrimination and poverty. The other major factor that largely contributed to the protest action was the existence of the statue of the former British colonist at UCT. The #RhodesMustFall participants claimed that the government has failed to transform institutions of higher learning in a period of 22 years since the country's transition to democracy.

The following are some of the factors that triggered youth protests around transformation of higher institutions as identified in the debate.

6.3.1 Failure of the government

The student participants claimed that access to higher education was still a concern in the country, underlining that Black students were still excluded from tertiary education

on the basis of poverty. These participants argued that university fee increase on a yearly-basis were exorbitant to many. The participants further claimed that the government has failed them in this regard despite its commitment to funding education. Mahlubi Mabitsela, a representative from the Department of Higher Education, argued against the notion that the government has failed to transform universities. He said although transformation was moving at a very slow pace, there were attempts to transform universities. He outlined that the government still had a lot of work that needed to be done to realise transformation.

There is still a lot that needs to be done but the government has not failed. In some aspects, it should have changed already and in some aspects our institutions have been very slow and reluctant. But in some aspects we need to be very careful, you don't just want to transform and replace professionals who have the skills, knowledge and experience.

Mr. Nathi Mthethwa, Minister of Arts and Culture, in the video clip insert during the debate was in favour of the argument raised by Mabitsela. He said the government did not fail but was in the process of transforming the country. He gave an example of the statue of the former president Nelson Mandela mounted at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. Mr. Mthethwa also raised a concern about how best the government could remove all the symbols of colonialism without actually violating the rights of the other South African citizens who believed in those statues, street names etc. He said:

If you go to the Union Buildings today, there is a huge Mandela statue. Where change has to be effected, change is effected. But the question is how you do it in such a way that those who believe in the kind of symbols and persons you do not believe in don't feel that they are treated as unimportant.

While the government representatives pointed out that the government did not fail, Mpho Morolane from the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFsc) was very articulate in claiming that the government has not achieved anything. He said that

government representatives should not mislead the #RhodesMustFall participants by claiming that they have achieved something because they have not. He said:

It is disingenuous of him to say that as the government they have achieved. They have not achieved anything.

A #RhodesMustFall activist and participant, Masixole Mlandu, also ridiculed the government for having “failed” the country. He indicated that the state is just a committee interested in protecting the rights of the privileged groups in the society. He further argued that institutions of higher learning only had the best interests of the elites at heart and were not doing anything to challenge and change the status quo. He said;

So, in trying to decolonise, we first start from the premises that the government is nothing but a committee aimed to protect the interests of elites. The institution in it is doing the same thing, [government universities] is there to preserve the status quo in the society. So, what you find at UCT that is untouchable because of private funding and White interests are pumped into these institutions.

6.3.2 Limited access to education

Another factor identified by the student participants during the debate was limited access to higher education. Despite the Freedom Charter’s commitment to opening doors of learning to all, Africans still raised challenges connected to the limited access to higher education in the country. One of the #RhodesMustFall participants from the video clip insert highlighted that regardless of the fall of Rhodes statue at UCT, many Black students were still facing academic exclusion. He said:

Despite Rhodes’s demise, the majority of Black students in South Africa are still excluded from higher education by poverty and discrimination.

Mpho Morolane, from EFFsc, also raised a concern in relation to the limited access to tertiary education in the country, specifically at Wits University. He argued that the

university received 54, 000 applications and only 6,400 were admitted, [basically less than a third of the total number] and yet the university claimed that doors of learning were open. He explained:

In the University of Witwatersrand where Professor Habib is the Vice-Chancellor, we have had 54,000 applications and spaces that were available was six thousand four hundred. And now if you say doors of learning and education are opened to young people for this country what do you mean?

The Vice-chancellor of Wits University also confirmed that access to tertiary education was limited while indicating that the figures provided by Morolane were incorrect. He revealed that the university received 60 000 applications and only 5 800 spaces were available. Professor Habib added that the university was trying its best to increase access to tertiary education more specifically to the rural and quintile 1 and 2 students (these are students from poor schools and poor communities), saying at least 20% each of the total seats were allocated to the said students. He said;

So, let me give you the real figures. We had 60 000 applications and 5 800 spaces were available. And you think that is bad? The medical school alone had 9 000 applications and spaces available were 200.

Last year, 20% of the seats in the medical school were reserved for rural students and another 20% of seats were reserved for the quintile 1 and 2 students.

6.4 Effectiveness of protest as a communication tool

The youth of South Africa has adopted a culture of using protests and violence for communicating their grievances. Previous literature on the use of protests and violence proved that the approach was very effective in accelerating services and getting the relevant management structures to respond to grievances. Pather (2015) noted that attempts to constructively criticise the University of Cape Town were made by some of the academic staff to raise awareness about the lack of transformation in the university, nonetheless, it was a futile exercise. Pather (2015) further highlighted that the university

management only began understanding the magnitude of the need of transformation when the statue of Rhodes was officially removed on 9 March 2015. Chumani Maxwele who initiated the protest action alluded that one of the successes of #RhodesMustFall movement was to take control as Black students and to be decision makers as to what should or should not be done in institutions of higher learning.

One of the successes of #RhodesMustFall was to be able to tell the White people what we want them to do. We told UCT to remove the statue and it was removed within a month. Because to us as Black students it was insulting and as part of that, those progressive White students within us, we told them to sit down and listen to us, and they did. And those who were not prepared, we kicked them out without an apology. That is our success.

An African Nation Congress (ANC) representative and a spokesperson for the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), Bandile Masuku indicated that the success that was brought by the #RhodesMustFall movement revealed that little transformation was made in the country and initiated the means to speed up transformation. He said;

The good thing that the #RhodesMustFall brought to our attention is that little transformation has been done and how best can we accelerate that.

Once again, it was evident that protest action has become an effective tool for communicating social change. The student protests began a visible process of transformation and decolonisation at the University of Cape Town. Not only that, it has generated a national debate where students and academics actively debated decolonisation in the South African academia. It has also generated international protest from students in the UK. In March 2016, students from the University of Oxford, the University of Brighton, and the Manchester University started communicating through social media networks on how best they could fast-track decolonisation in institutions of higher learning. A collective decision among those international universities was taken and a solidarity march to the High Commission of South Africa was to be held in November 2016. Kgotsi Chikane, a student at the Oxford University, highlighted that

though the UK had more wealth and power than South Africa, their universities were still colonised necessarily because the wealth was only accumulated by fewer hands. Chikane argued that the aim of the march was to break down the power so that wealth could be distributed equally among the citizens (Pather, 2016). Students also wanted the statue of Rhodes at the Oxford's Oriel College to be removed. Chikane claimed that the government's responses to the student's protests were inadequate irrespective of the recurring students' protests. As such, they aimed to put more pressure on the government to put decolonisation on the national agenda.

6.5 Violence as communication

As echoed by Pather (2015), violent protest actions have also proved to elevate grievances to the relevant structures and respectively accelerate change. The culture of identifying and engaging in violent protests is gradually becoming rampant in many student protest actions. The former Acting SRC president at Wits University, Shaeera Kalla, highlighted that vandalising Rhodes statue was justice and that he deserved every bit of poo that was thrown at him. She said:

Firstly, I disagree with Ernst's terminology of saying that Cecil Rhodes's statue was vandalised. Ideologically, if you look at the person Cecil Rhodes was and what he stood for, Black students throwing poo at him is not vandalising, it is justice. It is justice because he deserved every bit of poo that was thrown at his statue.

Regardless of the high costs incurred from violent protest action, Bandile Masuku argued that protesting is a right and nobody should determine how people decide to protest. He said:

You cannot determine how people should protest. If you feel like throwing poo is your form of protest, then let it be.

Extremely violent protest actions in response to free higher education broke in many universities across South Africa. Arson attacks on university libraries and vandalism to

lecture halls and police vehicles were suffered as a result (Whistles, 2016). Twenty-two students at the University of Johannesburg were hospitalised after security guards attacked the protesting students with poles and rocks in an attempt to disperse the violent protesters. The former SRC president at Wits University Shaeera Kalla was also hospitalised after she was shot with rubber bullets by police officers. The University of Limpopo also suffered serious damages to property in September 2016 during the #FeesMustFall protests. Student residence (Madiba Heights), student cafeteria and other properties were vandalised after students tried to close down the university. The university management had to suspend academic activities indefinitely. Other shocking incidences were reported at the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) in Pretoria Soshanguve. An activist, Benjamin Phehla, was killed during the violent #FeesMustFall protests and three other students were critically injured after a speeding vehicle crashed into the protesters (Whistles, 2016).

6.6 Beyond #RhodesMustFall

According to an independent political analyst, Kgadima (2016), the #RhodesMustFall movement has been turned into a platform for settling political scores by some of the participants. He argued that the former SRC president at Wits, Mcebo Dlamini's involvement within the campaign was a way beyond what the #RhodesMustFall movement ignited. Other participants with the Big Debate Show observed that the movement was inundated with aspects of racial discriminations. So, other issues and debates have been brought to light beyond the #RhodesMustFall campaign.

6.6.1 Transformation versus racism in universities

While the call for the transformation in institutions of higher learning was welcomed by the majority of African students, it was also regarded as an offence to others. One might refer to transformation as an "equivocal concept" because regardless of the obvious meaning confined in the transformation, people still hold differing views as to what the term really entails or are struggling to come to terms with the whole issue of transformation and decolonisation. According to Ernst Roets from Afri-Forum, the call

for transformation is a deliberate measure to side-line and instill racist ideas in the minds of African students and the minority White students. He said:

First, this campaign was inundated with racist and anti-white slogans and Chumani was expelled from UCT for that. Chumani said that White people were not welcomed on campus and should leave and be killed but he later denied that.

While Mr. Roets complained that White people are being discriminated against on the basis of the history of this country, a representative from the Youth Lab also raised concerns stating that they were still oppressed on the basis of their colour as African students. She claimed that lecturers ill-treated them, making them feel inferior in their own campuses and the learning environment was not conducive for them to learn. She said;

We are not buying this rainbow nation project regardless of its importance. Being into tertiary institutions where the space is violent and you cannot learn comfortably, you will never progress. You find that there is a professor who does not want to call you by your African name. For instance, where you wrote an essay that is worth 90% and you cannot get that 90% because they think you did not write the essay by yourself. It is very problematic.

Rhodes must fall actually means that we should have a conversation as young people and without being silenced. We are grateful to what Mandela has done for us but we are angry because when a Black and a White person apply for the same job, the White person is likely to get the job. Even in cases where they all get the job, Whites get paid a bit more than black people.

6.6.2 #RhodesMustFall campaign and political motivations

The researcher noted that the campaign was used to achieve more than just transformation in universities; students deliberately utilised the campaign to fight battles that were not connected to transformation. The researcher further found that there were elements of personal agendas and populism amongst some participants. The debate on Hitler, land, and poverty were purely political issues and cannot assist the

transformation of universities. Mcebo Dlamini, the former president of SRC at Wits University, faced charges of assaulting a white police officer during #FeesMustFall protests and allegations of promoting hate speech. Dlamini's case was found to be politically motivated by the Pretoria High Court (Kgadima, 2016). Although Dlamini supported the call for the transformation of universities, he was expelled from Wits University after being found guilty of promoting hate speech and mobilising students to rally behind Hitler's thoughts. Dlamini argued from the video clip insert that he declared his love for Hitler because he believed Hitler had the capacity of lobbying and mobilising people behind a certain idea regardless of how stupid the idea was. He also highlighted that he wanted to free African youth from abject poverty. He said;

We said that we love Adolph Hitler. Certain elements of that man made the Nazi youth to be disciplined behind a particular idea, whether the idea was right or wrong. I am pushing black supremacy and black power. I want to see the Black youth taken out of abject poverty. The abject poverty that they are pushed into by the same white supremacy. It is difficult for me to speak about White youth because they are enjoying white privilege. They have businesses and assets. We as the Black youth do not own businesses, assets or land in as much as we graduate with them in the universities. When we go to work, they still earn better salaries than us.

Mazibuko Jara, a participant and representative from the United Front, highlighted that Dlamini had every right to be angry as a black student but highly disagreed with him on the basis of associating with the likes of Adolph Hitler, and unnecessarily defocusing the call for transformation and decolonisation by relating to Hitler. He said the heroes of South African struggle never made a mistake of appreciating a course they did not believe in. He said:

Mcebo has every right to be angry as a black student. However, it is very wrong of him to appreciate Hitler. Biko, Sobukwe, and Sizulu never made that mistake, but also Biko, Sizulu and others did not stand for black supremacy. In fact, they spoke of humanity and liberation of human beings and Africans playing their role

in that regard. So, I think as much as we are angry and oppressed, we need to avoid populism of the kind that could be opened by what Mcebo has said.

Chumani Maxwele also supported the statement raised by Mazibuko Jara, saying the #RhodesMustFall group had a meeting where they had also opposed Mcebo on his position of loving Hitler because they could not use Hitler to mobilise people behind a certain course. Maxwele also highlighted that it was disingenuous of Professor Habib to expel Mcebo from the campus just because they had their differences. He said;

At a Rhodes must fall meeting that we had in Johannesburg with Mcebo, we told him that we disagree with him on the position of loving Hitler. We cannot use Hitler as an example for the mobilisation of our people, but we support Mcebo on many issues he had raised in relation to the condition a Black child is subjected to.

6.6.3 Voices of the Africans are suppressed

The #RhodesMustFall participants noted with disappointment that the post-apartheid government was still characterised by so many colonised and suppressed minds. According to Panashe Chingumadzi, an activist from Wits noted the South African government claimed to be effecting changes and empowering Africans in institutions of higher learning but failed to decolonise the minds of the people they wanted to transform. She said transformation could not materialise for so long as the people who were supposed to make it happen were still overpowered by the minority communities, [specifically referring to the Africans who form part of Senate councils but fail to be independent and decisive]. She further indicated that seven (7) out of ten (10) individuals at the management level at Wits were black people who were still colonised and continued to perpetuate racist institutions and the very same misery that Black students find themselves in.

I might be sitting in the Senate courtesy of my senior position but do I actually have power? That is why we problematise things like BEE. Because we have a lot of Black people sitting as CEOs but are not actually affecting any change.

Ms. Chingumadzi stressed that every time Africans tried to make their voices heard about issues of equality, the former president Nelson Mandela's voice was used to silence them. She said this when she was asked to give her opinion regarding Mandela's quote about building a rainbow nation. Participants claimed that those who could not bear to hear the pain Africans went through in the hands of the apartheid regime always used Nelson Mandela's voice to suppress them. She said;

I think it's very upsetting that Mandela's voice has been continually used to silence black voices. Every time we want to speak about the pain blacks undergo, he is used across the spectrum, like: "but Mandela would have wanted this."

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented findings based on the data extracted from the dialogues and discourses deliberated by various individuals who represented different institutions and student groups as well as social movements. These groups were active in the agitation for transformation and decolonisation of universities in South Africa. The information used in the chapter was secondary data from a televised show on the #RhodesMustFall campaign - Big Debate Show on E-tv - and the newspaper reports. Quotations from the participants were used to substantiate findings presented in this chapter. The next chapter will present findings on youth activism and protests with a focus on access to affordable and quality education.

CHAPTER 7

YOUTH ACTIVISM AND PROTESTS:

CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS AND ACCESS TO FREE HIGHER EDUCATION:

A CASE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented findings on youth activism and protest in South Africa, with a focus on the transformation of the higher education sector. This chapter makes a shift to the study of the trend of youth activism and the struggle for affordable higher education. As such, the findings of data analysis are based on this topic, with graphs and direct quotations from respondents used to present the substantiated findings. False names are used to protect the identity of participants.

Recently, the post-apartheid South Africa has been clouded by numerous student protests demanding free and increased access to higher education. These violent protest actions started at Wits University early last year (2016) before spreading to other universities across the country. This was a major national student protest action since the 1976 Soweto uprisings in the history of South Africa. Singh (2015) noted that agitation for affordable access to free higher education was first made popular by the #FeesMustFall protest. The #FeesMustFall campaign is a student-led protest action that was brought to the national attention after the Minister of Higher Education, Dr. Blade Nzimande, announced that fees were expected to increase by 11.5% in the academic year 2016. Nompandolo Mkhathshwa, the SRC president at Wits University,

unapologetically said that the protests would continue until the voices of disadvantaged Black students were heard. She further reported that the year 2016 had its new hash tag - #AccessToEducationRise” (Singh, 2015).

The longevity of #FeesMustFall protest actions came as no surprise to the South African universities because universities were warned that protests would continue should there be any fee increments. #FeesMustFall protests resumed at Wits University immediately after the higher education minister announced that fees were expected to rise by less than 8.8% in 2017.

To critically examine the trend of violent protest actions in agitation for free access to higher education in the country, the study explored aspects of the research objectives that aimed to examine why violence and destruction of public infrastructure have become a trend in youth protest in South Africa.

As stated in Chapter 4, data for this chapter was collected through two email interviews with key figures at the University of Limpopo - university spokesperson and SRC president. A focus group discussion with the University of Limpopo students was also used to collect data regarding opinions of students on issues of affordable access to higher education. The university was chosen as a case study because of the #FeesMustFall protest actions that transpired in 2015 and 2016 respectively.

In October 2015, student protest actions were conceived at the University of Witwatersrand and spread to other universities in the country. These protest actions were motivated by the exorbitant fee increments in institutions of higher learning. The #FeesMustFall protests attracted media attention and were reported by most of the media. Formal engagements took place between students’ structures, management of the affected universities and the government and the president of the state publicly announced that there would not be fee increments in the academic year 2016.

In September 2016, Dr. Blade Nzimande announced that university fees were expected to increase by 8.8% in 2017. He further indicated that the country might encounter

economic breakdown if the call to increase fees was neglected (Laureen, 2016). Student protests against fee increment coupled with agitations for free tertiary education broke out in the country and many universities were shut down. According to the SRC president at the University of Limpopo (UL), the protest action was motivated by the high fee increment that the majority of the students could not afford. The call for free tertiary education also played a role in pushing students to demonstrate. He claimed that the call for free education has been long overdue and it was the right time to fight for it. The SRC president at UL was purposefully chosen to participate in the study because he was directly involved in the #FeesMustFall protests while the university spokesperson was chosen by the virtue of his office as the communicator for this institution.

Some of the questions asked during the email interview were to examine whether students followed proper communication channels before protesting, whether the university management engaged about the grievance and at what stage did they decide to demonstrate? What were the reasons for the protest? How did the protest action spread to other universities? Did students think the government could afford free tertiary education for all students? Some of the questions directed to the UL spokesperson were to investigate whether the university had any communication channels through which students could use to raise their grievances and if free tertiary education was possible in the country. Some of the questions that were discussed by the focus group sought to explore the possibility of free higher education in South Africa and to examine the rate at which success or failure of their protest action could be assessed.

In the analysis of data collected, six (6) major themes emerged, namely reasons for protesting; access to education as a right; the possibility of free education in South Africa; social media as catalyst for the #FeesMustFall campaign; violence as a tool for communication; and the failure of the #FeesMustFall campaign.

7.2 Reasons for protesting

Almost every protest action is always motivated by unresolved issues or communication breakdown with the relevant bodies in charge. It was no surprise that the factors that contributed to protests were the first and paramount themes identified during the data analysis. The #FeesMustFall participants (both the focus group and the SRC president) at the University of Limpopo highlighted that high university fees and drastic fee increment were the major reasons for their protest. They stated that university fees keep increasing and have reached a point where students who received funding from educational sponsors could no longer afford to cover all university expenses. Financial exclusions of poor students who could not afford to pay have become unbearable in institutions of higher learning. The SRC president argued that the fee increment was a problem in universities because even students who could afford to pay for their own education complained to the SRC offices about their inability to keep up with the ever-increasing fees. The SRC president highlighted that these were the challenges facing students, not just at the University of Limpopo but in all institutions across the country. He claimed that these were the reasons that motivated the student protest action. He also hinted that his office was the relevant structure to champion students' interests, hence they saw it fit to demonstrate.

The prices of fees that increase drastically to a level where the funding we get from educational sponsors end up not covering all the expenses, even for those who pay from their own pockets also complained that the frequent increment of fees was straining to their parents.

The focus group participants also concurred with the SRC president that high tuition fees and the frequent increment of university fees were the major factors behind the #FeesMustFall campaign. A female participant in the focus group argued that the majority of students at the University of Limpopo came from disadvantaged families and the fee increment was a burden to their families. She said:

Our reasons for the protest are that we cannot afford to pay the fee increments that usually go up on a yearly basis. Most of the students in this campus come from disadvantaged families who earn less income.

Another participant from the focus group also added that students from poor socio-economic backgrounds were excluded from higher education because they did not have money to pay for their own education. He said;

High fee increments and academic exclusion are the major reasons for our protests. Year in and year out students from poor backgrounds are denied access to tertiary education because they do not have money to pay for their fees.

7.2.1 Underfunding by NSFAS/Government

The concerns of high fee increment in institutions of higher learning and underfunding by both the government and the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) has long been on the agendas of political parties and student structures before the existence of the #FeesMustFall movement. In February 2014, the University of Limpopo spokesperson reported that they only received R89 million from NSFAS which was below what the university expected. He highlighted that the university expected R200 million in order to support all financially deserving students. The university spokesperson claimed that the total number of students who relied on NSFAS surpassed the available resources that NSFAS could offer. He added that underfunding by NSFAS in historically disadvantaged universities like the University of Limpopo was prevalent as the university had a larger number of students who came from poor family backgrounds. He explained:

The demands placed on NSFAS far exceed its available capacity across the sector, particularly for the historically disadvantaged universities, which are the main caterers for students from poor family backgrounds. This has forced some of the universities to top-slice NSFAS funding in order to cover a majority of the students who are eligible. In that situation, NSFAS has not been able to cover the full cost of study for all the eligible students.

The focus group participants acknowledged that they were aware of the existence of NSFAS loans but argued that the resources allocated to universities or rather to students were not enough to cover all expenses needed. They maintained that the limited funding from NSFAS impelled poor students to borrow money to clear outstanding balances owed to universities. The debts were made by students who either wanted to register in the next academic year or graduate. A male participant from the focus group said:

We are aware of NSFAS loans but the government does not allocate enough resources to fund all those who are eligible to receive the loans. Even in the cases where eligible students receive NSFAS loans, they are still faced with outstanding fees because it does not cover for both the fees, books, residences and meals.

Another student from the focus group also asserted that the NSFAS loan was not sufficient and could not meet the expectations of academically deserving students:

Yes, I am aware of NSFAS loans but they do not cover everyone. Even those who are lucky enough to receive NSFAS loans are partly covered and they will still have a problem of settling their fees the following academic year, with the money they do not have.

The SRC president at the University of Limpopo said he was aware of the deficient allocations by the NSFAS. Conversely, he reasoned that the objectives of NSFAS would be irrelevant if university fees increase but the scheme's provisions remain constant.

We are aware of NSFAS but the truth is that it is not enough, when fees are increased on a frequent basis NSFAS fails to cover our fees. If fees increase on a yearly basis and NSFAS does not increase, this then makes the main aim behind NSFAS to be invisible.

Broadly, a major concern raised by the students was the limited funding for poor students.

7.3 Access to education as a right

The second major theme that emerged from the data was the notion of access to education as a right. The University of Limpopo spokesperson maintained that access to free higher education is a basic right to all citizens in South Africa and this is supported by the country's Constitution in the Bill of Rights. He highlighted that the state has been tasked to mobilise resources to fund free higher education. He also emphasised that stakeholders were urgently called to contribute towards this realisation and assist the poor and academically deserving students to access higher education and not be discriminated on the basis of their unfortunate socio-economic backgrounds. He said;

Access to Education for all South Africans is a basic right enshrined in our Constitution's Bill of Rights. Accordingly, the state has been called upon to contribute resources to the realisation of this right. It is, therefore, our view that no student who is academically sound should be denied this right purely on the basis of their socio-economic background. We call upon all the stakeholders to urgently ensure that all the poor and academically deserving students are supported to attain higher education, as one of their citizenship rights.

The SRC president at UL stated that education is a basic right to all citizens and they were not doing anything wrong in demanding it because it was their right. He argued that education as a right is stated even in the Freedom Charter and it is their right not to be deprived access to free education. He explained:

The Freedom Charter stipulates that all citizens of this country are entitled to free education. Now, it is not a wrong thing when we demand free education because it is our birth right.

The focus group participants also argued that access to free education was every citizen's right. One female participant highlighted that the right to free education as stipulated in the country's Constitution should be provided to all citizens without conditions. She said;

What I know is that access to free higher education is a right to every citizen. This means that every citizen of the country should have access to free higher education and that should not come with conditions. This is stated in the Constitution of the country.

A male participant from the focus group also argued that access to education should not be a privilege in the country but a right and every citizen should be entitled to it. He said;

Education is not a privilege but a right in South Africa. I, therefore, emphasise that all citizens should have access to free higher education.

Another male participant from the focus group:

Free access to tertiary education and citizenship rights are interrelated because when one speaks of a citizen's right to education, it does not make much sense if such right is limited to a certain extent. By access to free education, we are saying education should not be a privilege to the minority but a right to all who are referred to as citizens by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

7.3.1 Eligibility for free education

While free education as a right is debated among many South Africans or students in particular, there are questions regarding who should or should not receive free education in the country. Other #FeesMustFall participants argued that if the call for the provision of free education was to be endorsed, then all citizens, regardless of their economic backgrounds, should receive it. One female participant from the focus group highlighted that people should not be deprived of their rights because they come from financially stable families. She said;

Yes, if the government is to provide free education, it should be for all. No one should be discriminated on the basis of their parents or guardians having means (resources).

Another female participant from the focus group supported the notion that free education should be provided to all citizens, inclusive of those who can afford to pay for their own education. She explained:

Free education, as outlined in the Freedom Charter, speaks to all South African citizens and as such tertiary education should freely be provided to those who can afford to pay for their own fees.

However, in an interview with the president of SRC at UL, he underlined that free education should only be provided to those students who do not have adequate resources to pay for their own education. His view was that if education was to be provided free to every citizen, the state would experience bankruptcy and the quality of education would drop. He said:

No, free education cannot be for everyone. Taking that route would lead to state bankruptcy. Free education must be for those who cannot afford to pay for their own fees. Taking it to that level could affect the quality of education negatively.

From the responses, one would draw conclusions that the students held divergent perceptions regarding the eligibility for free tertiary education.

The University of Limpopo spokesperson pointed out that the university adhered to the regulations as provided by the NSFAS. Such regulations dictated to the university as to who was eligible to receive the study loans. He revealed that there were means tests that a student had to meet before he or she could be awarded the loan. He said that only South African students who came from low socio-economic backgrounds were eligible to receive the loans. He said;

The NSFAS means tests and applicable regulations are used to ensure that only deserving NSFAS students are supported. These are students who meet the following criteria:

- *South African residents*
- *Financially needy*
- *Academically performing*

- *Studying towards their first qualification*

7.4 Possibility of free education in South Africa

Another major theme that emerged from the analysed data was the possibility of free education in South Africa. In an interview, the SRC president at the University of Limpopo said free education was possible in the country. He claimed that a lot of resources were wasted on corrupt tender procedures. He is of the view that if the government revisited and revised how it conducted business, specifically tender business, there would be ways to fund higher education. He added that those who have money should be taxed more to accelerate the process. Looking at the riches found in the country, the president said it could not be true that the call for free higher education was premature.

Yes, it [South Africa] can afford it. All that must be done is to sit down and draft mechanisms that can be used to mobilise the resources to fund the process. For example, they can just tax those who have enough money a little more than others and that money be channeled to fund education. It can't be true that we can't afford free education in our country, as we are very rich. We have got a lot of money that is being wasted on tenders. So, if the state can cancel the issue of [illegitimate] tenders, I believe that we can manage to fund our dream of free education.

Some of the #FeesMustFall participants also shared the sentiments echoed by the SRC president that the government could actually afford to fund free education for all citizens if the state resources were well monitored. One male participant said:

The government can afford to fund free higher education if government resources are monitored through strict laws. The very same resources that are misused by politicians should be channeled towards free education. The country also has many natural resources that can be produced and sold to other countries, but how do we do that if the country's gold, wool, platinum and other minerals get extracted and export to other countries for refining, only to return back in the country as expensive finished goods?

Another participant from the focus group said the government could afford free education if strategies to mobilise resources were employed. He said;

Yes. I believe that the country has more resources to fund free higher education. Only if the government can make strategies to mobilise. Our position is that in the context of an unfavourable micro and macro-economic climate and the competing socio-economic development demands placed on the national focus, free higher education will not be feasible in South Africa in the short to medium term. However, building on the successes of NSFAS over the years, free higher education for the academically deserving poor is what the nation should be striving for. Our sense is that there is a commitment from both the government and the higher education sector to make it a reality.

One female participant from the focus group contended the notion that government could actually afford to fund free education for all, pointing out that tax payers would suffer because the money would be deducted from their salaries. She said:

No, the government cannot afford to pay for every single student in each university countrywide. Remember, the public primary and secondary schools in South Africa are already free, starting from fees to meals. So, if universities and colleges are free, there would be a problem in a long run. All workers who are eligible to paying tax will feel the pinch of free education because the money will have to come from them (tax payers).

7.5 Social media as catalyst for the #FeesMustFall campaign

The use of social media was another major theme that emerged from the data analysis. The social media played a very significant role in spreading the #FeesMustFall protests to universities across the country. Although the student protest actions received national attention and were covered by most of the media houses, some participants claimed that it was through social media that the call for fees to fall was spread rapidly to other institutions and gained momentum. One of the male participants from the focus group said:

Many students are active on social media and that is how the protest actions were spread. SRC representatives from different universities fought tirelessly to ensure that students join hands in the struggle for free higher education.

Another male participant from the focus group supported the argument:

SRC representatives from different universities communicated every day on social media, and I think that was how the protests actions were spread.

The SRC president at UL believed that the media played a major role in spreading the 'fees must fall' message, despite joint SRC meetings that were held regularly with other institutions.

The media played a vital role in spreading the messages on the call for free education. We could see what was happening in other institutions and that triggered our stance as students on the ongoing rise of fees. But, also, there were SRC structures that met regularly to reflect on issues that affected students across all institutions all over the world. This was how the ideology was passed to us. Now we also reached a consensus that as UL student body, we must also support the call for fees must fall which is embodied by the free education cap.

7.6 Violence as a tool for communication

As in other forms of youth protest actions, violence as a tool for communicating grievances was also identified as the major theme in this chapter. Young people across the country have adopted a habit of using violence as a means to voice out their concerns. Destruction of the limited public properties that are meant to assist people is common in protests. While the spokesperson of the University of Limpopo welcomed student protests, he condemned violence, saying such reflected negatively on the financial planning and sustainability of the university.

The violent protest actions for no fee increase consequently had an impact on the financial planning and sustainability of the university. My opinion is that while government intervention on the matter is welcomed, it must be conducted and

concluded in a manner that does not adversely impact on the financial sustainability of universities, which are being underfunded by the state.

While violence and destruction of public property were highly condemned, the #FeesMustFall participants from the focus group highlighted that they only resorted to violence when peaceful negotiations regarding their grievances were ignored. One male participant explained:

Negative answers would usually lead to strikes. When peaceful interactions are not fruitful, students will always resort to more aggressive measures.

Another male participant from the focus group claimed that the university management pushed the protesting students to the edge. He said students engaged the management and nothing fruitful came out of the interactions. Such futile negotiations led to protests as students felt like they were not taken seriously by the upper structures.

The protest actions were initiated by students whom I believe were in their sober minds. Once students feel that they are not taken seriously, they strike like cobras. I think the SRC representative got tired of having futile discussions with university management and decided to demonstrate violently.

The students generally maintained that they resorted to violence and protests after university management had failed, or ignored, to acknowledge student challenges. Otherwise, the protests would have remained peaceful demands.

7.7 #FeesMustFall campaign fails

The last major theme that emerged from the analysed data was the failure of the #FeesMustFall protest actions. The #FeesMustFall participants claimed that the victimisation of the protesting students by police and university securities led to the failure of the protest. They said that protesting students were threatened with suspensions from their universities while others were shot and injured by police officers. The protesting students said that, they consequently feared for their lives and stopped demonstrating. The University of Limpopo was forced to suspend academic activities

indefinitely, following violent situations. A male participant from the focus group summed it up as follows:

Our protest action was not successful. We stopped protesting because the university management threatened us with suspensions. Protesting students were forcefully evacuated from the university by police officers who arrested and shot others with rubber bullets. The protest action also failed because at the end of the strike, the Minister of Higher Education announced that university fees will still increase in 2017, despite the fact that students are opposing such increments.

Another male participant from the focus group explained the failure of protests as follows:

Victimisation of our leaders and fellow students led to the failure of the student protests because our objectives were not met. Fees are going up next year and the decision is final.

One female participant from the focus group said regardless of the concern students had regarding the fee increment, fees were still going to rise in the academic year 2017. She said;

We stopped protesting as we were being shot and arrested. We were also sent off to our homes by the university. Our protest has failed despite the grievances from the students, fees were still going to increase in 2017.

While the focus group participants believed that the protest action was not a success, the SRC president at UL begged to differ. He said it was successful because the university management eventually submitted to a no fee increment call for the year 2016. He added that even the anticipated rise in 2017 would not exceed the 8.8% mark [as compared to the 11.5% increment that was initially announced by the Minister of Higher Education, Dr. Blade Nzimande].

However, from the university management perspective, the university spokesperson highlighted that the university has an open-door policy that welcomed the student

challenges and successively addressed such challenges. He indicated that the university also has security measures in place to safeguard university property and ensure the safety of the university community.

Security measures have always been in place to protect the rights of all members of the university community, i.e. students and staff. These measures are always coupled with management's high level of responsiveness to ensure the safety of the university community, stakeholders and property.

7.8 Conclusion

The findings presented in this chapter were based on the data extracted from the University of Limpopo Executive Director of Marketing and Communication and spokesperson, the SRC president, and the focus group participants in a discussion on student protest for free education. Quotations from the participants were used to substantiate findings presented in this chapter. The next chapter will present a summary of all the findings, recommendations, and conclusions.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a summary of findings, conclusion, and recommendations based on the data analysed in the previous chapters. This chapter also affirms the consummation of the study objectives and research questions. Phenomena under study were addressed through a summary of findings against each of the objectives studied. Three key areas of youth protest actions were identified and studied, namely service delivery; affordable access to education; and transformation of institutions of higher learning. The effectiveness of activism as a communication for social change was studied with few limitations. Also, the limitations to this study are pointed out in this chapter.

8.2 Summary and interpretation of the research findings

The study sought to examine the pattern of youth protests in South Africa. According to Managa (2012), the post-apartheid South African government made notable efforts in an attempt to provide better lives for all citizens. Conversely, this study found that there still are a number of challenges confronting millions of youth in South Africa. Amongst others, the data discovered a few main themes, and a couple of sub-themes, as key factors that shaped the trend of youth protests in South Africa. As presented in the detailed analyses in chapters five, six, and seven, youth protests are triggered by, but not limited to, a lack of service delivery; a shortage of employment opportunities; and state corruption.

The study further investigated the protests that pushed the decolonisation and transformation of the academic agenda. There were a few factors being studied and produced thematic findings as follows: decolonisation as Africanisation; decolonisation as a racial inclusion; limited access to education; removal and renaming of colonial and apartheid symbols; violence as communication; and the effectiveness of protests as a communication tool.

Equally profound, the study, from the #FeesMustFall protests, revealed a few substantial themes that prompted the said protests; underfunding by the government/NSFAS, access to education as a right, the possibility of free education in South Africa, eligibility for free education, and how the #FeesMustFall campaign failed.

The findings also discovered additional three major themes that contributed significantly towards the comprehension of patterns of youth protests. The themes are occurrences of violence during protest actions, effectiveness of protests as a communication tool, and the lack of communication.

8.2.1 Pattern and trends of youth activism in post-apartheid South Africa

A lack of service delivery was found to be the major concern for many young people in South Africa. The concern was reflected in the case study of the then Greater Tubatse Municipality, now Fetakgomo-Greater Tubatse Municipality. Data pointed out to two major setbacks in the municipality; poor access roads and half-tarred roads referred to as “the bermuda road” by protesters. The study further found that a shortage of employment opportunities, especially amongst young people, was a challenge within the municipality. The Greater Tubatse Municipality had the highest rate (26.9%) of unemployment amongst the youth between the ages of 15 and 34 as compared to all the municipalities in the country. The outcomes of this research validated a study by Dawson (2014) on unemployment rate amongst young people in Zandspruit. Dawson (2014) stated that 50% of the youth between the ages of 25 and 29 were unemployed in Zandspruit.

Rights and social service provision also emerged as a theme from the findings of the study. The findings of the study revealed that it is the responsibility of the government to provide basic services to residents. As such, residents believe they are entitled to free basic services as stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. For this reason, it is within their rights to demonstrate and demand basic services from the government. Although the protesters were not necessarily aware of the rights and citizenship theory that guided the study, their actions reflected the core elements of the said theory. The study found that corruption by some of the government officials also played a huge role in contributing to issues that unsettled the Tubatse Municipality residents. The protesters defended their actions on the basis that they had to reclaim what, by principle, belonged to them, or else “corrupt officials” would have utilised the resources for self-enrichment.

Drawing from the findings around youth protest actions on the transformation of universities, the study revealed that the #RhodesMustFall protesters do not approve of the slow pace of transformation and decolonisation in South Africa. Although some protesters endorsed the call for the transformation as another form of fighting racism, it is understood that the decolonisation of institutions of higher learning, according to a majority of protesters, should mean racial inclusion. Decolonisation should mean greater representation of African staff, academics and students in previously white universities. As racial inclusion, it should also mean greater representation of Black staff in senior management positions.

Decolonisation as Africanisation also emerged as a remarkable theme for this study. This theme essentially intends to review the curriculum content in the South African education system in order to integrate African epistemologies. The findings of the study indicated that Black people needed to be taught to embrace and honour the marginalised African cultures and languages from childhood. As part of transformation, the study revealed that the removal and renaming of colonial and apartheid symbols should be considered. Statues, such as that of Cecil John Rhodes, that were honoured by the apartheid system should be demolished and allow for African heroes and heroines to be affirmed.

Additionally, the government's failure to speed up the transformation processes was studied as another theme. The researcher discovered that the post-apartheid government has failed to transform universities after 22 years of transition to democracy. Two decades since the dawn of democracy in South Africa, the majority of Black students were still faced with exclusions from accessing tertiary education on the basis of poverty. The study found that limited access to education remained a challenge that needed to be addressed as part of transforming universities in the country. Regardless of the country's commitment to opening doors of learning, deprived African students faced the challenge of limited spaces in institutions of higher learning, and therefore discriminated on those grounds. For example, the University of Witwatersrand received 54 000 applications with only 6 400 spaces available. These were some of the

issues that motivated youth protest actions as a way of communicating their dissatisfaction with the slow pace of transformation.

Another factor that triggered and perpetuated youth activism was the high cost of higher education. This study found that high tuition fees and drastic fee increments were the core reasons that provoked young South Africans. The #FeesMustFall student protests sought to shield deprived students from the sharp axe of higher education. The underfunding by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) and the government were identified as a major theme during the #FeesMustFall protest actions, and supported by data from this study. The study revealed that the drastic fee increments faced by students in institutions of higher learning have become so unbearable that even the funding mechanisms provided for poor students, such as NSFAS, could not cover all their academic needs. This finding confirmed the results of the literature that was reviewed previously by Singh (2015), who noted that university fees have become exorbitant and even NSFAS loans were struggling to cover up all expenses incurred by students.

Another major theme that emerged was the notion of access to education as a right. Findings from this study indicated that the youth perceive access to education as a right that is guaranteed by the Bill of Rights in the Constitution. Although the youth might not be entirely aware of the citizenship and rights theory, they are fully aware that they are still acting within the parameters of their rights by demanding free and quality education from the government. The actions of the student protesters reflected the core elements of the citizenship and right theory that was discussed by Marshall (1950). Marshall noted that this theory, amongst other things, included citizens' right to education, housing, and other basic social needs.

Eligibility for free education also emerged from the findings of this research. The researcher discovered that while protesters knew that every citizen was entitled to free education, the majority believed that underprivileged students should be prioritised on matters of free education. The argument was that students whose parents or guardians earn beyond the set means should pay for their own education.

Another theme that emerged from the findings was the possibility of free education in the country. Some youth agitating for free education suggested that free education has to be a policy goal. On this note, the findings of the study confirmed that the government has the potential of funding free education. The greater need towards attaining a free education is, according to the findings, mobilisation of resources and extinction of illegitimate issuing of tenders. The protesters believe that unlawful awarding of tenders rob off the education purse.

Lastly, the #FeesMustFall's failure emerged as one more key issue. The study has shown that the youth campaign against fee increment was initially, or so it seemed, a success until the government pronounced an 8% fee increment for the academic year 2017. This largely, notwithstanding national student protests, consigned the movement to insignificance as fees were expected to increase the following year, nonetheless.

8.2.2 Protest as communication for social change

Youth activism, according to findings in this study, is believed to be a powerful tool for communicating social concerns faced by residents across South African communities. Previous studies also confirmed that youth protests have been utilised prior to the transition to the democratic government to communicate dissatisfactions with the apartheid government. The 1976 Soweto uprisings remained pertinent examples of youth protests that brought about change in the country.

The researcher found that lack of communication channels between the municipality and community members was another aspect that motivated the service delivery protests in the Steelpoort area, Greater Tubatse - Fetakgomo Municipality. The protesters indicated that the municipality did not have adequate communication mechanisms for residents to communicate their grievances to the municipality. On the contrary, the municipality countered the claims, saying ward councillors were deployed in every ward mainly to interface with residents and provide feedback to the municipality.

The study further explored the effectiveness of using protest actions as a vehicle for raising grievances. It was found that the government generally did not prioritise

negotiations. Hence, the residents resorted to demonstrations as the only effective method to force the concerned structures to address community challenges. While this method was considered effective, the study confirmed that such actions have the potential of tarnishing the image of the government and scare investors away.

The use of protest actions to communicate dissatisfactions was also found to be a common deed amongst university students. The use of protests as a tool for communication emerged from the #RhodesMustFall protests as an effective tool for raising grievances students had about the existence of the Cecil Rhodes' statue. Findings indicated that peaceful negotiations between the university management and students existed concerning the existence of Rhodes' statue at the University of Cape Town. Yet, nothing was done to address the challenge. The university management only tried to address student demands after protest action broke out.

The same approach was used by the #FeesMustFall protesters and the university management turned a blind eye on students' demands. The management was only alerted of the magnitude of the student demands when things turned ugly on the campus. Nevertheless, the #FeesMustFall protests did not have much impact, and were largely ineffective, compared to the other protests studied in this research.

8.2.3 Violence and youth activism

The occurrences of violence in protest actions have become a prevalent method of communicating grievances to the responsible authorities. The results of the study indicate that public infrastructures estimated at R5 million were destroyed in the Tubatse Municipality during the service delivery protests. This finding substantiates the literature review in previous studies. A certain study conducted in 2016 revealed that 29 schools were set alight and destroyed by fire during service delivery protest actions that were reported in Vuwani, in Vhembe District alone. These findings confirm and expand the theory utilised in this study - the citizenship and rights theory. The theory is of the notion that *citizens only become caring and morally accepted beings if the communities they live in have the capacity to uphold the rights of its members*. This study, therefore, deduces that the actions of the protesters were in line with the said theory because their

violent actions (indirectly referred to as immoral in the citizenship theory) were motivated by a number of shortages in their communities.

With reference to the issue of violence, violent protest actions have proved to elevate grievances to the responsible structures and accelerate change. The use of violence during demonstrations is gradually becoming more of a culture amongst young people in protest actions. From the #RhodesMustFall protests, the study found that the violence among student protesters in an attempt to remove the statue was justice rather than vandalism, according to those in support of maintaining the existence of Rhodes statue. These findings also indicate that protesting is a human right and that no one has the right to determine how people should protest.

As in other forms of youth protest actions, violence as a tool of communicating grievances was also identified as a major theme during the #FeesMustFall data analysis. The study found that young people across the country have adopted a habit of using violence as a means to voice out their concerns and to make demands. Public infrastructures usually become easy targets of destruction by protesters. During the student protests at universities, high cost of damages was inflicted on university infrastructure. According to Nkwanyana (2016), an estimated cost of damages emanating from the 2015 student protests is roughly R145 330 541.72. The University of KwaZulu-Natal had the highest cost of R82,000,000 while the University of Stellenbosch stood low at R352 000. Other studies, for example, indicated that estimated costs of damages resulting from student protests in South African public libraries (Mequeleng Library outside Ficksburg Township in particular) amounted to R26 million with at least R2.9 million incurred in each library (Van Onselen, 2013).

8.2.4 Addressing youth concerns and recommendations

The final trend that emerged from the findings of the study was the formulation of policy suggestions and strategies on how best youth concerns could be addressed. In the case of the Tubatse Municipality, the study found that the municipality has representatives (ward councillors) in each village as contact persons. As such, residents have a person nearby whom they can engage with whenever they have dissatisfactions.

Meetings are held regularly and ward councillors provide feedback to the municipality. This means the municipality allowed for a reciprocal communication. From these findings, the researcher believes that measures to address this anomaly are in place in the municipality under study and, therefore, recommend that young people make use of the channels provided for them to communicate grievances.

The South African government has, since the transition to democracy, worked on numerous programmes to address challenges facing students in institutions of higher learning with an intention to minimise occurrences of protests. As part of reducing student protests, new policies on how to expand funding of higher education were formulated. Such policies included the New Funding Framework, access with success were introduced by the study that was conducted by Wangenge-Ouma (2010).

The study submits that additional resources should be allocated to universities where in more students rely on NSFAS to further their education. The findings of the study found that 70% of the students at the University of Limpopo relied on NSFAS funding/loans. If the government fails to allocate more resources to the university, students are likely to protest. I suggested that the South African government should have a working committee that will be responsible for identifying potential investors and raise funds for students who cannot afford to pay for their own tertiary education. There should also be a strict criterion to be followed which should guide the use of public funds in terms of student funding. For example, students who get 100% pass rate in their modules should be catered for. Frankly speaking, the call for free education in the country defeats its own logic because only a few students progress to the next level while larger proportion either fail or drop out before completing their first degree. This translates to a wasteful expenditure by the government. Therefore, this study suggests an instigation of strict monitoring and evaluation measures around the funds allocated to tertiary education.

The questions asked during the #RhodesMustFall were not necessarily tailored towards reducing protests or addressing the challenges faced by students but were to investigate the reasons behind the protests. Therefore, the #RhodesMustFall debate failed to address and provide policy suggestions on how to address and reduce student

protests. However, the researcher is of the opinion that an attempt to address the inequalities in institutions of higher learning might come in handy.

The South African government should speed up the transformation of institutions of higher learning. The #RhodesMustFall participants revealed that government has failed them in this regard and that more work still needs to be done. The study suggests that the presence of symbols of colonialism or apartheid is mainly the cause of protests in universities. The demands that students are making should be addressed in order to reduce student protests. More Black students should be recruited into former white universities, there be greater representation of African staff in senior management positions, all symbols representing colonialism should be removed and/or renamed. The curriculum content should be Africanised if student protests are to be reduced.

The researcher believes that the culture and habit of resorting to violence each time protesters do not agree with government procedures could be curtailed if the arm of law stretches a bit further. The study found that violence culprits get arrested but are never detained as their community often gather and mobilise for their release. Hence, the habit of using violent protests as a key driver towards expedited service delivery and change spread has been a norm. The researcher proposes a revision of laws around mob justice to ensure that offenders pay for their actions.

The researcher, with a strong condemnation of violence, notes that while the protests are in the name of service delivery and social change, the destruction of public property leaves the country poorer and in the dire state of affairs. The funds that are supposed to be channeled towards advancing youth employment, free education, and new infrastructure, poverty reduction agendas are funneled to refurbishing the destroyed properties. Violent protests directly impact negatively on transformation.

8.3 Recommendations for future studies

- This study largely focused on youth protests in universities and does not represent the needs of all youth in tertiary institutions. Investigations on issues

affecting other higher education students, such as FET colleges and TVET colleges can be explored further.

- The study focused on one municipality in Limpopo and did not consider the wider geographical space of the province. Additional service delivery protests studies should be conducted in other municipalities of the province to provide a deeper understanding of all the various factors that contribute to poor services and service delivery protests nationally.
- More studies on how the #RhodesMustFall protests can be addressed and reduced should be conducted in order to gain deeper understanding of students under the banner of transformation and decolonisation of institutions of higher learning. The views of selected participants in the #RhodesMustFall protesters alone cannot be generalised, although the participants were representatives from the majority of universities in South Africa. The study found most of the views to be politically inspired and, therefore, more students should be interviewed in the future to strike a rich perspective from all levels of participation.
- The call for free education has been tabled and welcomed by the majority of South Africans. Thorough investigations on how this will impact the South African economy should be conducted.
- The transformation of universities should, amongst other things, include greater representation of African women. The racial inclusion should automatically beseech structures that will capacitate them to become thoughtful leaders. By and large, the representation of African women in senior management posts is low and the number of Black women with Ph.Ds. is very trivial. Studies identifying and defining strategies that can be used to empower African women and increased access to education should be conducted.
- Africanising the curriculum content of the South African education system was briefly stated in the study as an integral part of decolonising the higher education sector. The study did not discuss in detail the strategies of how Africanisation was to be carried out. Further research on the topic of the construction of epistemological frameworks from which Africans ideologies can be explored is a strong recommendation.

8.4 Contributions of the study

This study, given the relevance of and preserved student and community protests across the country, added a substantial quota to the body of knowledge around the phenomenon of youth protests in the post-apartheid South Africa. The study has presented profound insights into the subject of youth protests by investigating deeper into direct accounts of youth concerns. The problem was investigated in the context of current social demands that young people have raised and provided suggestions on how some of the concerns could be righted in an attempt to reduce protest actions driven by the identified themes or concerns. The study further brought to light the demands that matter most in the lives of young people. Although the demands investigated in the study were already known to the government and university managements, the study has made in-depth investigations on the factors that contribute to government delays in terms of implementation and how best such delays can be rectified.

Most decisively, the study confirmed and added to, to some degree contradicted, some of the existing literature on the topic. For example, previous studies on the transformation of the higher education sector revealed that representation of Blacks in senior management posts in former white universities was still at lower levels. The results of this study affirmed such findings. In relation to theories, the study noted that the very same theories that were used to guide the formation and the decline of protest actions in previous studies were still relevant and applicable, although protesters were not necessarily aware that every action they took during and before protests was studied and documented. The researcher is confident that this study has contributed immensely to the study of communication in general. This is on the basis that the research revealed to other scholars, particularly those whose interests are in communication, that there are many ways of studying communication issues rather than the rigid, traditional fields of communication. Communication involves all human action and non-action and, as such, protest is another form of communication. The study confirmed that people resort to protests, destruction of property, and violence to communicate where verbal and written communication fail.

8.5 Limitations of the study

- Out of the three patterns of youth protests studied in this research, only a total of 36 participants were selected to participate in the study. Therefore, the population used did not qualify for generalisation. For that reason, the population sample used in the study was not enough to generalise the findings of the study to the whole country.
- Limpopo Province, the geographical area of the study, comprises five major district municipalities which are in turn divided into twenty local municipalities. The data collected in the Grater Tubatse – Fetakgomo Municipality alone cannot be used to make general findings for the whole province nor the Sekhukhune District. The data on service delivery is only a representation of one municipality in a district that has five municipalities.
- South Africa has approximately 26 universities and all of them were involved in the #FeesMustFall protests. Therefore, data on #FeesMustFall protests is a representation of the University of Limpopo and the data cannot, therefore, be used to generalise findings across other universities.
- For a comprehensive understanding, the opinions of the ordinary citizens of the country (non-students and non-protesters) could have been obtained, particularly for service delivery protests.
- The main focus of the #RhodesMustFall protests was to find ways of accelerating the transformation and decolonisation of higher institutions of learning. The study attempted to come up with suggestions on how such can be achieved, however, the researcher believes some of the suggestions offered in this study are useful, but minimal. Thus, the researcher suggests that further studies on strategies to decolonise both historically white and black universities are needed, and in decolonising South Africans from the legacies of colonialism.
- The data used in the study, starting from the service delivery, #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall are all a representation of the youth. For more views on issues relating to poor service delivery, free education, and transformation of

universities, equal representation of data from people of different age groups should be collected.

8.6 Conclusion

This study sought to investigate and establish underlying factors for youth protest actions and what the protests can reveal about the current social demands as well as the effectiveness, or ineffectiveness, of the state in addressing the identified demands. The study further explored the prevalence of violence and destruction of public infrastructure as a common trend of the South African youth protests.

The aim of the study was to examine the concerns that shaped the trends and nature of youth protests in the post-apartheid South Africa. Also, to provide suggestions and recommendations about how best the youth protests, violence, and destruction of property can be reduced. The researcher purposively selected participants who were in possession of valuable, first-hand information about the phenomenon under study. The convenient and snowball sampling methods were employed to select some of the participants who were best positioned to provide exclusive, trustworthy information. The findings were structured thematically, presented in three separate chapters to discuss each of the patterns of youth protests under investigation, namely #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall, and service delivery.

The study has adequately discussed the literature on previous studies and attempted to compare and contrast the relationship between the findings of previous studies with those of the study at hand. The study noted that the use of protest actions as an effective tool of communicating grievances has always existed in the history of the country. Theories that were used to guide the formation and the deterioration of protest actions in previous studies were studied and confirmed in this study while subsequently drawing the similarities, contradictions, and validations that could have existed.

Data supporting all the three patterns of youth protests studied in this research were collected and analysed exactly as collected from the research participants. Findings

emanating from data analysis were carefully interpreted using qualitative content analysis and findings were accurately presented. Research questions and objectives were used to guide the researcher in interpreting the findings of the analysed data. The study noted that loopholes created by both the apartheid and post-apartheid governments were identified as the major barriers that delayed the provision of quality basic services to citizens. This problem affected the pace of transformation, not just in institutions of higher learning but to that of the country as a whole. As a result, the post-apartheid government suffers the consequences, not of their own making. The study has further provided suggestions on how service delivery and student protests can be addressed and reduced. The limitations and recommendations for future studies were identified and discussed. The study also discussed the possible contributions of this paper to the academia and in the South African society at large.

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Appendix A

Interview schedule

Area of study	Participant/s	Date
#FeesMustFall Protest	SRC President at University of Limpopo (UL)	2 September 2017
	Spokesperson at UL	4 September 2017
	Focus group UL	9 September 2017
Service delivery	Focus group service delivery (Tubatse Municipality)	13 September 2017
	Spokesperson (Tubatse Municipality)	15 September 2017
#RhodesMustFall protest	Rhodes Must Fall (In possession of 47 minutes interview/show from eNCA)	Transcript of the show is attached.

Appendix B

Interview questions (Focus group on service delivery protest)

This is a basic guideline. Follow-up questions will be asked based on the responses from the focus group participants

1. What are the reasons for your protest?
2. To whom is the message (protests) communicated to?
3. What message are you trying to communicate through the protest actions?
4. Explain to me how the protests started? Who initiated the protests?
5. How did the communication spread to other protest participants?
6. At what stage (when) did you decide it was the right time to demonstrate?
7. Why do you think you are entitled to receive social services?
8. Does the government has to provide every social service to the citizen?
 - a. Why do you think so?
 - b. But then, what is your opinion about the citizens providing some services for themselves?
9. Explain to me why you think the government (municipality) is responsible for social service provision
10. Why do you engage in violent protests? How does the destruction of public infrastructure assist your demonstrations?
11. Can you explain to me your opinion about the fact that why you are protesting, and you destroy public property, you are also infringing on other citizen's rights to use those properties.
12. Did you raise your dissatisfactions with the relevant body before you decided to protest?

- a. If yes, what communication strategy did you use ? How did you raise your dissatisfaction?
 - b. What was the response you received?
 - c. If No, why did you not communicate your dissatisfaction to the necessary authority?
13. In your opinion, what is delaying service delivery in this municipality?
14. Are you informed about the Integrated Development Plan (IDP)? Does it not address your challenges?
15. Why did you stop protesting? Would you say your protest was successful or you just got tired of toyi-toying?
16. In your opinion, what can be done to reduce service delivery protests?
17. Do you think protesting is an effective way of communicating dissatisfaction with government – local or national?
- a. Yes? Why? Please explain
 - b. No? Why? Please explain

Interview questions for (Municipal spokesperson in Tubatse Municipality)

1. Mr Mayor, this municipality has recently been experiencing regular protest actions, what is it that these youth are protesting about?
2. Did they communicate their dissatisfaction with you before resorting to protest actions? Or they use protest actions as the first way of communicating their issues?
3. Is there any communication mechanism or system set up by the municipality for citizens to use in order to communicate concerns to the mayor and the municipality?

4. It has been 22 years since our transition into democracy and yet service delivery remains a challenge not just in Tubatse but the whole country, how would you explain the reason behind this national concern?
5. How did the protest actions affect the image of this municipality and what effect will they have on the upcoming local government elections?
6. How effective is the 2015/2016 IDP in addressing the challenges raised by the protesters?
7. What strategy did you use to stop the protest?
8. Are there any precautionary measures in place to ensure that such acts do not happen in future?
9. Can you explain to me your opinion about service delivery and citizen's rights?
10. What's your opinion about the violence that is present in the service delivery protest?
11. How active are the councillors in redressing challenges in their respective wards?
Any monitoring systems to ensure councillors are doing their jobs?
12. Mr. Mayor, according to statistic South Africa, the current unemployment youth rate in this municipality stands at 26.9% and Fetakgomo has 26.6%, which means that after the 3rd of August when the merger is made official, Tubatse alone will have 53,5%. This is a very huge percentage Mr. Mayor, how would you try to address this challenge?
13. What are your suggestions on how to reduce service delivery protest, and also curb the violence during these protest actions?

Appendix C

#FeesMustFall Protest Action: University of Limpopo

Interview Questions for SRC president and Focus Group

1. What are the reasons for your protest?
2. To whom is the protest communication directed to?
3. This protest started at Wits, why did you mobilise University of Limpopo to join the protest?
4. How did the protest action start and who initiated the protest?
5. How did the protest action spread to other universities?
6. Did you communicate with the relevant body about your grievances before protesting?
 - a. If yes, what was the response you received?
 - b. If no, why did you not engage the relevant management structure before protesting?
7. At what stage did you decide to protest?
8. There were demands for no fee increase in 2016 and for free education, which of these was your actual demand for your protest?
9. Are you aware of the NSFAS loans/funding? Does it not cover your needs as students?
10. Can you explain to me in your opinion, the relationship between free access to education and citizenship rights?
11. Do you think the government can afford free education in tertiary institutions for all students?
12. Do you think every citizen is entitled to receive access to free education?
 - a. If yes, explain why
 - b. If no, explain why
13. Do you think the government should provide free education to those who can afford to pay for their own education?
 - a. If yes, explain why

- b. If no, do you not think you are depriving them their rights to receive free education like other group of students?
14. Why did you stop protesting? Would you say your protest action was successful or has failed? Explain why

Appendix D

Interview questions for the spokesperson of University of Limpopo on students protest

1. Mr. Chancellor, this university experienced violent protest action last year for no fee increase, how did this affect the university and what is your opinion on the issue?
2. Did the students engage the university management regarding their dissatisfactions prior the protests?
3. Is there any communication mechanism or system set by the university that students can use to raise their dissatisfactions?
4. What strategy did you use to stop the protests?
5. Are there any safety measures in place to ensure that such actions do not happen in future?
6. Is free education for university students possible in South Africa?
7. Can you explain your opinion about the relationship between access to free education and citizenship rights?
8. Can you please explain the extent to which NSFAS loans covers for students' educational needs?
9. According to the university statistics, how many students in terms of percentages are using NSFAS? What about other bursaries, what portion of the student enrollment do they cover?
10. Does the university have any monitoring systems in place to ensure that NSFAS funding only caters for the needy students?
11. What criteria does the government use to allocate NSFAS funding to universities?

Appendix E

THE BIG DEBATE: 05 SEPTEMBER 2015 ON eNCA: DURATION, 47 MINUTES AND 51 SECONDS

Debate participants

1. Masechaba Lekalake: Presenter
2. Mahlubi Mabizela: Department of Education
3. Bandile Masuku: ANC and ANCYL spokesperson
4. Adam Habib: Vice Chancellor at Wits
5. Panashe Chingumadzi: Wits activist
6. Max Price: Vice Chancellor UCT
7. Shaeera Kalla : Acting president Wits
8. Ernst Roets : Afri-Forum
9. Chuamani Maxwele: Rhodes Must fall initiative
10. Mazibuko Jara: United front
11. Mpho Moralane: EFF student command
12. Mzwanele Jimmy Manyi: Progressive Professionals Forum
13. Boipele Boikhutso: Wits Vuvusela newspaper
14. Zamantungwa Khumalo: Youth lap
15. Mcebo Dlamini: Former SRC president at Wits
16. Bethuel Mokoena: SRC president NWC
17. Paul Masuku: transform Wits
18. Beauty Mtheiwana: deputy president VUT
19. Thandeka Mayane : UJ graduate
20. Ntokozo Qwabe: Oxford University
21. Nathi Mthethwa: Minister of arts and culture
22. Rudolph Piet: Video Clip
23. Masixole Mlandu: Rhodes Must Fall Activist
24. Simankele Dlakavu: Transform Wits

Masechaba Lekalake

Rhodes has fallen or rather his statue at the University of Cape Town is gone. Thousands of black students and some white students were sick and tired of being watched over by the main man of the British colonialism in the Cape. But will Rhodes's removal help black students to get a college education? What does Rhodes's falling mean for the way in which South Africans live together? You at home can also join the debate on Facebook and twitter. But before we begin, let's take a look at this.

Introduction of the debate

Voice over :(video clip insert) a short documentary on the life of Cecil Rhodes.

Cecil Rhodes arrived from Britain in 1870 and made his fortune from De Beers, the diamond company that he founded. An hardened colonialist, he once told the Cape parliament that the native is to be treated like a child and denied the franchise. Fast forward to March 2015, thousands of students staged protests and saddened demanding the statue come down.

Panashe Chingumadzi

What the students are demanding is that the universities become African and that means we need to change who writes the text books, who gets to teach the text books, how courses are structured and who gets to be part of these lectures. But importantly what we need to understand is that you cannot decolonise the university if you have not decolonized South Africa.

Narration

Africans make up less than 10% of teaching staff at UCT. At wits, white people hold up to 55% of teaching jobs and 575 of senior management posts.

Max Price

Transmission is many dimensions and I want to meet it like knowledge. That the area where we are making the least and slowest progress is in the area of academic staff.

Narration

The Rhodes Must Fall movement ignited a spark on campuses across the country. Other Afrikaners took offence.

Piet Rudolph

If people think that they can destroy statues and wipe away our history, then they are making the biggest mistake of their lives.

Narration

The ANC government was caught on the back foot.

Nathi Mthethwa

If you go to union building today, there is a huge Mandela statue where change has to be effected. Change is effected. But the question is how you do it in such a way that even those who believe in the kind of symbols and persons you don't believe in don't feel that they are treated as unimportant.

Narration

Even some students question the movement pointing out that Rhodes donated money to establish Rhodes University as well as the fellowship at Oxford. But finally, on the 9th April 2015 UCT gave in and Cecil Rhodes's statue came tumbling down. Despite Rhodes's demise, the majority of black students in South Africa are still excluded from higher education by poverty and discrimination. Rhodes 'legacy lives on in companies like De Beers and even Mandela had supported a project established in Rhodes's name.

Panache Chingumadzi

I think the message from the Rhodes must fall is a very clear push back against Mandela's rainbow nation project and I think what this says to the powers that be and implicates the ANC white monopoly capital. It says that we need to do some real accounting; we need to make sure South Africa is the one that actually affirms the black majority.

End of the video documentary insert.

Presenter

Right Mahlubi, clearly there is a very tangible sort of anger on the ground and it doesn't seem to be going away, the idea of rainbow nation doesn't feel to have

trickled down to where it matters the most with the youth of South Africa. Has the government failed in its idea of transformation?

Mahlubi Mabizela

Well to me my response will be in as far as the department has done. No, we haven't failed but we will be the first to accept that there is still a lot that needs to be done.

Presenter

How long do you envisage will take to transform the staff and management within South African universities?

Mahlubi Mabizela

In some aspects, it should have changed already and in some aspects our institutions have been very slow and reluctant some of them. But in some aspects, we need to be very careful, you don't just want to transform and replace professionals who are there or the academics who have got the skills, knowledge and experience.

Presenter

There is absolutely no excuse for Wits to be so white. When can we begin to see a bigger representation of black teachers and management of over 50%?

Adam Habib

Let's decode them, there are couple of things. First the staffing level, we probably have about 80% black at the administrative and professional staff.

Presenter

What about the management level?

Adam Habib

At the senior management level: the top 10 positions, seven are black at the moment. At the top end, senior management level is 50% white. Academic level, probably 65-70% are white. But the question is why 21 years after transition into democracy are we in that position? First, you cannot have professors and

associate professors if you do not have black PhD and Masters Students. In the 1990s, we were putting too little money into post graduate scholarships. So, the only people did post graduate were the only people who could afford it and the upper middle-class people in the South African context are white and Indians. And then it seems to me that there has not been enough pressure from unions and others in changing that. It seems to me that this is a shared problem.

Presenter

How do you feel about this? Do you buy the story?

Chumani Maxwele

As Rhodes must fall, we are not pleased with that, the very notion of transformation. What do you mean professor by transformation? We do not know. I am sure you have a different meaning of transformation than that of ours as lack students with lived realities, so you are speaking vague to us.

Ernst Roets

What do you mean by transformation Chumani?

Chumani Maxwele

Hence for us we are using decolonization, decolonise. The transformation term is not ours. The moment the term becomes embraced by white people, then that becomes a problem. Now we are re-inventing decolonization and when we re-invent, we are saying blacks first. That is our position, our point of departure.

Ernst Roets

Whites out. Where does that live us?

Chumani Maxwele

No, don't speak on our behalf. One of the successes of Rhodes must fall was to be able to tell white people what we want them to do. We told UCT to remove the statue and it was removed within a month. Because to us as black students it was insulting and as part of that, those progressive white students within us, we told them to sit down and listen and they did. And those who were not prepared, we kicked them out without an apology. That is our success. Now when we say decolonise, transform

and transform the whole structure of the university, we are saying at UCT, the Senate, the council is the problem. At UCT, we have got Hugh Amor (Registrar) who was the Registrar during apartheid, how do you expect such a person to transform a university? Hence, we are saying transform and decolonise that.

Presenter

You seem to be slightly uncomfortable with that? Am I reading your sign language wrong?

Ernst Roets

No, you are not reading it wrong. Personally, I have an interest in the history of Cecil Rhodes because my grand-grandfather was almost killed in one of the British concentration camps. So, I believe that Afrikaners as a community also have a very strong negative opinion of Cecil Rhodes but despite my personal opinion, I was not pleased when I saw Chumani on the news vandalising the statue. I was not rejoiced by UCT's decision to remove the statue because I think is disingenuous.

Presenter

What do you mean disingenuous?

Ernst Roets

First, this campaign was inundated with racist and anti-white slogans and Chumani was expelled from UCT for that. (**Crowd booed at him**)

Presenter

Come on; let's give him a chance to speak.

Ernst Roets (continues)

Chumani said that white people were not welcomed on campus and should leave and be killed but he later denied that. The second reason is that I have never heard Chumani complaining about names or statues that are offensive to minority communities where they really have a reason to complain. One

example, the renaming of the main street of Amanzi Mthatho to Andrew Zondi. Andrew Zondi was a member of the ANCYL who planted a bomb in a shopping Centre that killed two ladies and three children. Now they renamed the main street after him. That is an offensive name because there are people living in that town who have been murdered by the man after which the main street has been named.

Presenter

But Ernst do you accept that things must change?

Ernst Roets

What do you mean things must change?

Presenter

I mean exactly that. I mean it is high time we see a greater representation of black people in senior management positions, more black students in universities. Do you accept that?

Ernst Roets

Let me qualify because you are going to quote me out of context. Yes, universities must be inclusive. Black people need to have access to universities. But the problem with this transformation debate is that the focus is on the wrong place. It is an out-bid based focus. If we are saying 90% are black and 8% are white and so forth then we have achieved equality.

Presenter

No. we are not saying that. We are saying let us give students who have worked so hard to make into universities an opportunity not to isolated from these institutions because of money? Shaeera help us.

Shaeera Kalla

Firstly, I disagree with Ernst's terminology of saying that Cecil Rhodes's statue was vandalised. Ideologically if you look at the person Cecil Rhodes was and what he stood for, black students throwing poo at him is not vandalising, it is justice. It is justice because he deserved every bid of poo that was thrown at his statue.

Mazibuko Jara

What Ernst has just done is absolutely out of order. We cannot allow the likes of him in the Afri-Forum to take our focus away from decolonisation and tell us lies about our history. There is no way Andrew Zondi can be regarded as a terrorist and Ernst knows that. Rhodes must fall has put decolonization on the table and we must attempt to in a very substantive way. There must be a clear focus on how we finance education and such must be that it should be free up to university level.

Mpho Morolane

One of the successes of colonialism and apartheid was the destruction of the indigenous languages. When we want to deal effectively with matters such as transformation, it would mean that it must start when children are still at “kinder gardens”, as to how we can groom children in an African way and we must not listen to the honorable man from the department of education because he is misleading the country and misleading young people. It is disingenuous of him to say that as the government they have achieved. They have not achieved anything. In the University of Witwatersrand where professor Habib is the Vice-Chancellor we have had 54 thousand applications and spaces that were available was 6400. And now if you say doors of learning and education are opened to young people for this country what do you mean?

Adam Habib

So, let me give you the real figures. We had 60 000 applications and 5800 spaces were available. And you think that is bad? The medical school alone had 9000 applications and spaces available were 200. That replicates itself in universities but I think we need two sets of conversations. The first one should be on transformation questions. I believe in decolonization, I believe in majority rule at both student and staff level. I believe that we should decolonise the curriculum. In having said that, I think we must do so thoughtfully because somebody said in the opening panel that you cannot decolonise the university if you have not decolonized the society. And that is what I find when people throw rhetorical tools and transformation, indigenous languages without thinking how you do it. How do

you finance education in a context where the state has been under funding higher education for 20 years?

Presenter

Panache it isn't Adam's fault, is it?

Panache Chingumadzi

First of all there is condescension of saying students do not think through what they are saying when they say decolonise. Then to use it to say hold on, just wait; it's a problem. I would not like my words to be used out of context because we have been waiting for 21 years.

Presenter

Should we not partly blame the government for not funding enough students?

Panache Chingumadzi

Beyond funding, I think we have issues that started in 1994. When we are saying transformation, we are not saying add black sense there. We do not actually change because Habib is saying 7 out of 10 in the management are black and we understand that those blacks are still colonised. Because those are the same kind of people who continue to perpetuate the same kind of racist institutions. When we talk of decolonisation, we are talking about a mind-set and all the intangible things.

Presenter

So you call yourself a coconut Panache, why is that?

Panache Chingumadzi

When I speak about coconuts, I understand that I am the kind of person who the rainbow nation loves because I speak so well. People like me are often co-opted into these things. People say I speak so well and I am not like other black people and I enjoy those positions because I like being different from all other blacks.

Presenter

Are you saying 7 out of 10 senior management staff are being used?

Panache Chingumadzi

I might be sitting in the senate, have a position but do I actually have power? That is why we problematise things like BEE. Because we have a lot of black people sitting as CEOs but do they actually have any power to effect change? No, they don't.

Mzwanele Jerry Manyi

One of the challenges with universities is that they undermine black academics. Universities do not give black academics an opportunity to become professors, but to think that a colour is a proxy transformation, that is very dangerous. For instance DA, the fact that we have Mmusi Maimane does not mean transformation, it means assimilation, and you must understand the difference.

Presenter

Not every black student is in support of Rhodes must fall, why is that?

Boipelo Boikhutso

I do not like how it was conducted. I feel like it could have been done in a less undignified manner.

Presenter

How so? Do you mean defacing the statue or defacing the statue with poo?

Boipelo Boikhutso

I do not think they should have defaced the statue. I think that there should have been conversations first.

Bandile Masuku

You cannot determine how people should protest. If you decide that your form of protest is to throw whatever, like throwing poo is your form of protest, then let it be.

Presenter

But Bandile the ANC has to take responsibility for not transforming universities and societies?

Bandile Masuku

I think it's important to say I agree with Prof Habib to say people who undermine the complex's nature of 1994 breakthrough in necessary fact do not understand what is happening in the country. The good thing about the Rhodes must fall is that little transformation has been done and how best can we accelerate that.

Presenter

What impact will the movement that brought down Rhodes have on race relations, our societies and our economy? It is very ridiculous to hold on to old statues.

Ernst Roets

That is a killer statement to make with all due respect. We have this vandalism that many people disagree with. The argument that we often hear is that but yes it happened in other parts of the world, where the Germans took off the statue of Hitler and so forth. The difference is those statues were taken down by the person whose forefathers put them there, that's one difference. The other difference is that the debate is narrated in by what is happening in politics in South Africa at the moment. We might in 10 or 15 years have a situation where for example the EFF governs the country and decide that Nelson Mandela was a sellout and decide to deface the statue of Mandela.

Mazibuko Jara

That would be complex but however, the democratic right of the future generation to represent itself in however way it feels. As long as it is rational, democratic and thoughtful. However, the point that I want to make is that the Afri-Forum has made it irrelevant to this debate. Because what it ignores is that the Rhodes must fall movement actually challenged a number of white thinking students to really think through their privilege, history, acknowledge and take a decision to move on. That is the kind of white people we need in this debate not the Afri-Forum we have.

Mandela's quotation

"We are sometimes still asked by people how we could agree to have our name linked to that of Cecil Rhodes in this Mandela Rhodes initiative. To us, the answer is easy. For us to come together across historical divides, to our country together. I am sure Cecil Rhodes would have given his approval to this effort to make the South African economy of the early 21st century appropriate and fit for its time".

Presenter

What is your thought about this quote?

Panache Chingumadzi

I think it's very upsetting, that Mandela's voice is continually used to silence black voices. Every time we want to speak about black pain, he is used across spectrum by those who do want to say "but Mandela would have wanted this". That is what we continue to hear time and time again and I am starting to feel upset right now, it is suffocating. I think Rhodes would have approved because it preserved his wealth. We all want non-racialism but it is not feasible to speak about it as long as black people are on the back foot, as long as you are on top of me I cannot talk of equality.

Presenter

As a trans-gender woman you say transformation is not just about race. Tell me about it.

Thato Pule

Nelson Mandela was a black-cist gender like a heterosexual man. I don't think he was the way that words code on my chance reality as a black-square woman. So we have to be cognisant of the fact that in this revolution, we are standing up against oppression not just as black people but as square-people.

Anonymous

I personally think that we have to clarify one thing here. Black love does not mean white hate. So by loving my own does not mean I hate white people. The late father Fanon teaches us that each generation must discover its mission and fulfill it. Now our generational mission is more of the psych than that of the late Biko. Theirs was to revolt against the system, ours is to

discover national culture. The way in which we can live together. So in saying that we want to shy away from the western modernity or Euro-centrism or to accommodate more black students in institutions of higher learning, I do not see it wrong to say black people first and whites after because black people have been oppressed for more than 500 years.

Mahlubi Mabitsela

In us moving forward, it does not mean that you rubbish what was done in the past because I think some of the argument here is taking that direction. Mandela was in a certain era and he did what he had to do at that time. You must live now and try to craft your way forward.

Zamantungwa Khumalo

Rhodes must fall has been headed by young people who have access to tertiary institutions; their parents did not have access to these institutions. These are young people who are born into democracy and all people would have us believe that you must be grateful that you live in a democracy and even have access to tertiary education. Why should you complain? We are not buying this rainbow nation project and that is something that is very important and being into tertiary institutions where the space is violent and you feel you cannot learn, you cannot go forward and you have a professor who does not want to call you by your African name. For instance, where you wrote an essay that is worth 90% and you cannot get that 90% because they think you did not write the essay by yourself. It is very problematic. Rhodes must fall actually means that we should have a conversation as young people and not have people to silence us. We are grateful to what Mandela has done for us but we are angry because when a black and a white person apply for a job, the white person is likely to get that job than the black. Even in cases where they all get the job, the white people are still paid more than black people.

Presenter

We are talking about student activism on racism and inequality and the fall of Cecil Rhodes. Now here in Johannesburg a student hit the headlines recently when he made some very controversial statements about Adolph Hitler. Some accused him of hate speech. His name is Mcebo Dlamini. Now listen to this.

Video of Mcebo Dlamini

We said that we love Adolph Hitler. Certain elements of that man, he made the nutty youth to be disciplined behind an ideal whether the ideal was right or wrong. I am pushing black supremacy and black power. In that I want to see the black youth taken out of abject poverty. The very same abject poverty that they are pushed into by white supremacy. It is difficult for me to speak about white youth because they are enjoying white privilege. They have businesses, they own assets. We as blacks do not own any businesses, assets or land. In as much as we graduate with them in the universities. When we go to work places, they still earn better than blacks.

Mazibuko Jara

Mcebo is very right to be angry as a black student. However, it is very wrong of him to appreciate Hitler. Biko, Sobukwe, Sizulu never made that mistake, but also Biko, Sizulu and others did not stand for black supremacy. In fact, they spoke of humanity and liberation of human beings and Africans playing their role in that regard. So I think as much as we are angry and oppressed, we need to avoid populism of the kind that could be opened by what Mcebo has said.

Presenter

Mcebo was dismissed from Wits SRC though we have to acknowledge that it was not for his statement on Hitler but certainly you and many others found the statement to be abhorrent.

Adam Habib

Yes, I absolutely do. I find it abhorrent when somebody says that I identify even in partial terms. I find it problematic the people who describe themselves as progressive. We can identify with that thought. I can imagine that people are entirely accurate that they have the right to be angry, that there has not been enough transformation. Mcebo is right when he says when black students are in majority and leave universities; they are in an unequal play field.

Shaeera Kalla

I think I want to thank Mcebo because he highlighted the very fundamental problem with the society that we live in. that is his statement, his freedom of

expression whether you agree with it or not and I disagree. his statement about Hitler received more attention than that of a child who fell in an open toilet and drowned in it. It got more attention than that of more than 2000 students being financially excluded from universities that is the problem with our societies.

Presenter

Are you going to distance yourself from Mcebo?

Chumani Maxwele

At a Rhodes must fall meeting that we had in Johannesburg with Mcebo, we told him that we disagree with him on the position of loving Hitler. We cannot use Hitler as an example for the mobilization of our people, but we support Mcebo on many issues he had raised in relation to the black child condition. The VC is being disingenuous here. He disciplined Mcebo on the basis of bad conduct which is basically a fight between a black student and him. The question is, who are you acting on behalf when you are dismissing Mcebo?

Adam Habib

I am acting on behalf of the SRC constitution which says that if you are found guilty of an offence by an appropriate structured disciplinary hearing, then you are no longer allowed to be a member of the SRC. By the way, just imagine what we have done, we asked Mcebo to step down, not asking him to step down as a student because there was a request of expulsion. We argued that there was an error and that he must be accountable and particularly accountable as the president of SRC. And if we are talking about transformation and you want to put Rhodes on the limelight, We released a statement, a 50 million fund for the appointment of African and Coloured staff. A new process for the curriculum reform. Last year, 20% of the seats in the medical school were reserved for rural students and another 20% of seats were reserved for the quintile 1 and 2 students.

Ramabila Mahaba

The first thing is that the VC is not the person to implement SRC constitution and the council can hold the SRC accountable, but as the student governance you would be holding yourselves accountable. There is a separation of power. What you should have done was to send the SRC a letter to say that this is the outcome of the tribinion and the SRC constitution says this, what you have to say about it.

Simankele Dlakavu

Decolonization to me has to be some kind of double movement. So as we destroy the statues that represent colonialism, we need to affirm our African heroes and heroines. As a Wits student I have a problem with this university for not celebrating Robert Sobukwe who was not only a student at Wits but fought during apartheid. Not celebrating Winnie Mandela who was the first Health Social Worker in the country, these people need to rise.

Beauty Mutheiwana

I think for transformation to occur, we as students need to effect change within the management. They might be black because the VC is black but at the end of the day she is able to call police to come and gun down students who are financially excluded. Although the ANC might say we have NSFAS and the government is funding us, more than 4000 student are financially excluded and yet the government is not doing anything about it. When the statue is removed, we are having all sorts of media around us but when students are excluded from learning, future and from obtaining PhDs nothing is done.

Bethuel Mokoena

I believe that as young people we are responsible to define our own struggle. Standing here and being part of this debate, I do not know whether I would face disciplinary hearing or what, just for being part of this debate.

Paul Masuku

I would like to draw to the attention of the VC prof Habib that I am rhetorical on the hiring of white professors as a necessity. Secondly, Habib is a great guy and I would like to grap a beer with him sometime but I think his tactics using intimidations are unnecessary. Using emotions while debating is totally unnecessary, threatening us with exclusions and expulsions which is a daily occurrence at Wits is also unnecessary.

Thandeka Moyane

People like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sizulu fought for political freedom. Our struggle is now for economic freedom and freedom in terms of our minds. We need to be proud of who we are and understand who we are. We are politically free; let us now be economically free.

University of Pretoria

This university is what I call the epitome of black slavery. This is the university that oppresses black people the most in South Africa. We are facing a problem to an extent that we cannot even communicate with the securities and the cleaners around the campus because this university has strict policies in place that says students cannot interact with securities and cleaners. Mr. Mabizela right here says that the government has done something about it. The union building is just close to the university but they never come down to address our issues. I invite all the Rhodes must fall and Fees must fall movement to come and join us at UP to say enough is enough.

Ntokozo Qwabe

Can white people stop thinking that they are important, because Ernst is saying that in Germany what has got to happen is that the descendants of the people who put up the statues had decided that they will take them down. He is actually saying that we must wait for the descendants of white colonialism to come and say take the statue down. Actually, whose continent is this? In closing, I am putting a challenge. Do not take this personal because when we are talking about these systems, white people think we are taking it personal. I am talking about the system of white supremacy, whether you identify with it or not, you still benefit from it. So what you need to do is to open your minds and decolonise your minds. Decolonisation is for white people also.

Ernst Roets

Firstly, black students are not the minority at UP. Secondly, if you make statements saying Africa is the black people's continent and white people should behave, that is racism. I do not think you know what these things mean. If you want to suffocate, try driving every day on a street named after a man who murdered your mother, your father, sister etc. I want to give an example of a white student who received an acceptance letter from university of Stellenbosch and the letter was later withdrawn because they said they thought she was black, that is racism. In promoting equality, and transforming societies, we need to make a paradigm shift. We are arguing about statistics at university level while 80% of primary schools are dysfunctional and the majority of black students going to school for the first time do not understand the language that they are taught. Lastly I was asked to change my mind, neither me or Afri-Forum want to stand in a way of any young black student to fulfill their aspirations but in doing so we also need to protect the rights of the minority communities which is a basic

fundamental right of democracy and ensure that different communities can prosper in this country.

Presenter

Have you taken anything positive from this discussion? In light of the students who said that they are pleading with you to open your minds?

Ernst Roets

No, because the audience are hostile and are not open minded as they say they are. They are not willing to listen to what I have to say.

Chumani Maxwele

In the spirit of Rhodes must fall, I do not own the monopoly of knowledge. I would ask my fellow member to speak.

Masixole Mlandu

The mere fact that we quit transformation with decolonization and continue to have this discussion, as if the Rhodes must fall ignited this, this is not our debate. We are not here to speak about transformation because to transform is to adapt to a system that does not accommodate you. Even within the movement, we have pioneered the gender. I also want to speak about the role of the state within the institutions of learning. The government's constitution and policies are anti-black. From its inception, it was never meant to accommodate blacks but to perpetuate the very same misery that we find ourselves in. So, in trying to decolonise, we first start from the premises that the government is nothing but a committee to protect the interests of elites. The institution in its same thing is there to preserve the status quo in the society. So, what you find at UCT that is untouchable because of private funding and white interests are bumped into these institutions.

Shaeera Kalla

Cecil Rhodes belongs in our history but in the museum. He does not belong at the entrance of one of the best universities in the country. That is a place that belongs to someone who is respected and looked up to by students. There is a constant pattern of using money and government subsidies and the lack of those to justify the places that are unfit and I don't think it's fair. Our responses to the problems that are institutionalized

and structural in our country are not good enough hence we are throwing poo at statues.

Mahlubi Mabizela

There is still a lot that needs to be done and also from the government's side. You may have noticed that we have an advert that had logos of all universities in SA that is an initiative from the department of trying to transform the systems in terms of the appointment of academics within universities. We want to stop lip services, people must apply. Those who qualify to be academics and preference will be given to blacks and women in particular. We would like to hear as much student voices as possible. We do not muscle the student voices.

Bandile Masuku

I think this is a necessary debate and has long been overdue. I do not think transformation and change will happen if people do not agitate, change must be agitated. The ANC is a turning point, in actual sense; it is a base platform that invites all forces in our societies to advance change.

Adam Habib

In 2007, Robert Sobukwe was given an honorary doctorate that was before I joined the university. On the issue of admission, we have 5800 spaces reserved for first year students and 75% of this is reserved for black students. On transformation and decolonization, the question that I want to raise is how to do that in an unequal world. If you ignore that the opposite side has power, you run a risk of making a huge mistake. Let me give you two examples. What is the financing of higher education? Thousands of poor black students are left out of the system of higher education simply because of money. That we know for sure. NSFAS next year will give R11.5 billion, that is never going to be enough. We have to rethink the financing of higher education.

Appendix F

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT

Researcher: Makofane Maakgafedi Beauty

Title of study: Activism as communication for social change: A study of patterns of youth protests in post-apartheid South Africa.

I am a Master's of Arts (MA) candidate at the University of Limpopo (Faculty of Humanities). I'm currently conducting a research on the pattern of youth protest in South Africa for my MA research dissertation; I'm specifically examining the use of protest action as communication for social change among youth. I hope to understand the reasons behind youth protest actions in agitation for affordable access to higher education and the need for decolonisation and transformation in institutions of higher learning. I also want to understand how effective are protest actions in getting the relevant management structures to respond to grievances.

You are specifically selected as the potential participant in my study because you occupy a position that will enable you to provide unique and trustworthy information. I would like to interview you for my research. The interview will require at least about 30 minutes of your time. The information you provide for this study will be used for academic purposes only and not for any form of profit making.

The information you provide in the study will be accessible to me and my supervisor only. The interview will not require any form of identification such as names, contact numbers that might be used to track the information back to you as the participant. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are allowed to decline your participation

without any form of prejudice or penalty towards you. However, I will be grateful for your contribution to the understanding of the use of protest action as communication for change by youth through the information you will provide. Should you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at 079 3099 650 and makofanephodiso1@gmail.com or you may contact my supervisor, Prof T. Oyedemi at toks.oyedemi@ul.ac.za

I excitedly look forward to your participation.

Appreciatively,