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Violence and social cleavages in the 2015 /16 fees must fall movement: a case study of Wits University, South Africa

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2022

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Violence and social cleavages in the 2015 /16 Fees Must Fall movement:

A case study of Wits University, South Africa

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements of degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Sociology)

Johannesburg, 2050

Declaration

I declare that this is my unaided work submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of Witwatersrand, for the fulfilment of the Doctor of Philosophy degree **(Sociology)**. It has not been submitted before for examination in any other university.

Date of Submission: May 20, 2022

Abstract

In this thesis, I present an intersectional analysis of the Black students' experiences of different dynamics of violence during the Fees Must Fall (FMF) movement in 2015/16 academic years. The overarching aim is to explore the various outcomes of interactions between the social phenomenon of violence and the intersectionality of the social cleavages of the students during FMF. I do this by exploring the repressive violence of the state, symbolic violence of the university authorities and the violence from within the movement between students. The intersectionality theory enables me to explore how the intersectional social cleavages of race, gender, citizenship and the different dimensions of violence illuminate the meanings of these intersectional social identities in moments of solidarity and conflicts. Violence makes intersectional social cleavages apparent, resulting in different alliances and tensions over time. Varied meanings are attached to the changing relations within the movement, and the different forms of violence shape and re-shape the intersectional social identities. The argument about violence is that it does not travel in a single direction, nor is it one-dimensional. Its fluidity means it constantly changes shape, size and direction and is never the monopoly of one group. Although temporarily, violence can be usurped from the normally dominant by the marginalized.

The scaffolding I use for the self-contained empirical chapters comprises the three cleavages. Firstly, I provide a detailed chronological narrative of the movement, showing how it rose, evolved and declined. This is the foundation for the three empirical chapters.

In the first empirical chapter on race, I outline the deep racial divisions structured by the hierarchies and practices of the institution, the state and attitudes between White and Black students, ranging from passive to hostile. In the analysis chapter, it comes clear that the mobilisation of students using race as an organizing principle did not sustain the solidarities because race is not homogenous. Blackness, for example, has an array of intersections of identity within it. These shape and transform one's experience of being black as well as their citizenship and gender.

In the second on gender, I trace the dynamics of gender shifts from outright exclusion to negotiated or contested inclusion. I also link the various confrontations and protest violence to concrete incidents and illustrate how these played out over time. The chapter also contextualises how the feminist struggle opened up new repertoires and new terrains of

contestation. Of particular note is that some of the Black women, despite being foreigners, ended up participating in counter violent acts to contest their exclusion. Black women challenged their male counterpart protestors and disrupted the latter's privileges of patriarchy. Part of this transition from outright exclusion at the onset to a negotiated and contested inclusion was negotiated through the appropriation of a *sjambok*, a whip associated with male dominance and violence. Black women's acts of resistance and pushback presents an analytical account of how feminism was mobilised to unify women of different sexual orientations and accommodate e their different struggles as marginalised gender groupings dominated by patriarchy, including marginalised foreign females.

The final empirical chapter on citizenship has two emerging themes. First, I explore a group of feminists who experienced and fought against male domination and aligned themselves with Pan-Africanism, thereby spurning exclusionary nationalist citizenship. The second theme relates to an exploration of how violence sharpened the experiences of exclusionary national citizenship, and I show the gaps and divisions between national and continental African students. What emerges from the experiences of feminists is that the deeper the gender and racial exclusion experienced by radical feminists, for example, the greater their chance to lean towards non-exclusionary citizenship.

Although the three empirical chapters on race, gender and citizenship are self-contained, they reveal an intersectional configuration of these social cleavages. For example, the intersections of race and gender showed a White woman at the apex of the hierarchy and a Black foreign woman at the lowest tier of the hierarchy. This captures the different set of experiences of blackness. Such intersectionality shows that the foreign Black woman's agency during incidents of violence is not only compromised by gender but also weakened by her citizenship, which complicates her participation for fear of deportation. White foreign males could equally be deported, but evidence shows that they had the advantage of masculinity and patriarchy over foreign black women. A Black South African woman's main concern was to disrupt patriarchal dominance. The drive to assert her agency would have been successful had that been achieved. However, a foreign woman would still need to confront her foreignness. The South African

Black feminist has the choice to engage in radical feminism. Some foreign feminists' only option is to explore standpoint feminism, which is anti-violence or anti-militancy, resulting in them being another target of victimisation or exclusion by radical feminists. Blackness is a different struggle for various blacks, and violence and intersectionality opened up the spaces from which I drew the meanings of diverse experiences and actors.

I achieved all this using participant-centred data collection methods wherein all interview sessions became conversations which empowered participants to be as expressive as possible. During in-depth interviews, I requested all participants to imagine that I had fallen blind and deaf during the FMF protests and had neither seen nor heard anything. This imagined positionality gave the participants a feeling of ownership and control of the conversation. The blind man-deaf man metaphor became an excellent icebreaker that also presented participants with an opportunity to be true and natural in their recounts of FMF events. In this study, I assumed the title of 'brother' that participants assigned me and which I fitted due to age and sex. This further enhanced rapport with and trust of participants. I show how they embraced my study as a platform to speak out and as another avenue of fighting their struggle. For the same reason, some males preferred to address me as *bafo, which means brother or bhuti omkhulu,* or *bhuti omdala* which means big brother and elder brother respectively.

Key words: violence, social cleavages, race, gender, nationality, patriarchy, black feminists, black queer activists, fallists.

Dedication

To all the fallists, black feminists, queer activists, and all the allies of the FMF movement who fought all odds to revolutionize higher education and bore the brunt of police brutality.

To my special wife, Thobekile Baleni, my boys Brandon (Simisani), Brandlyn (Basimisi), Bradley (Banele) and Bryson (Bongolwethu), this is the highest order of achievement that I place before you. This must always inspire you, my grandchildren and the entire Baleni clan to be resilient achievers who can bear all manner of challenges and rise above all pain, as I have done in this long journey.

What then shall we say about these things if God is for us, who can be against us?
(Romans 8.31)

Acknowledgements

With no hesitation or reservation, my first acknowledgement goes to the Almighty God for His mercies and guidance through this long journey. Through His unconditional love, I have completed my doctoral dissertation, for which I will remain grateful all my life.

I have also achieved this milestone because of the help of many people and institutions who committed themselves and their resources; I am deeply indebted to them. I am sincerely indebted to my two supervisors – Professors Karl Von Holdt and Loren B. Landau, for their very challenging, critical and insightful feedback. I thank them for the agreements and disagreements we had for these long years that stretched all of us to the limit. All their robust engagements have paid dividends. Without their intellectual support and guidance, it would have been a lonely journey without a destination.

I am also indebted to the generous funding institutions whose financial contributions did not only support this project but my well-being during this long struggle. The National Research Foundation through the Department of Science and Technology (DST)-National Research Foundation (NRF) under the South African Research Chairs Initiative (SARCHi). The project was initially funded through the DST-NRF SARCHi Chair in Critical Diversity Studies held by Professor Melissa Steyn for the first one and half years in 2015-2016 for which I am truly grateful.

I am also thankful to Professor Loren B. Landau for nominating me for the DST-NRF SARCHi in Mobility & the Politics of Difference for 2017 to support the restarting of my project after the first year and half did not work out.

The financial assistance of the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences in collaboration with the South African Humanities Deans Association (SAHUDA) towards this project is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NIHSS and SAHUDA.

I also thank Professor Ruksana Osman, who in her then capacity as Dean of Faculty of Humanities, for saving my then collapsed project through NIHSS-SAHUDA funding initiative, which sustained me for the greater part of this project (2017-2021). I am also thankful for her

undying and unconditional support and interest in my work even in her current capacity as Senior Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Academic, which has inspired me to soldier on.
The two year funding (2018-19) from Andrew Mellon Foundation through the Violent States, States of Violence project led by Professors Garth Stevens and Karl von Holdt spared me great moments, and I am so thankful. The several workshops hosted by the Violent States, States of Violence project provided me with an intellectual support system and became a platform where new thoughts for my resuscitated project were gained in very critical and constructive ways that refined, reshaped and refocused this project.

I am also indebted to the Vice Chancellor's Postgraduate Merit Award, which became handy at a time I needed it most. The Department of Sociology Postgraduate Committee, thank you for accepting and supporting my transfer registration into the Department. This revived my thesis. I would also like to thank the support staff in the administration and coordination linked to my Postgraduate Merit Award duties, Sedzani Malada, Josephine Mashaba and Ingrid Chunilall – you were wonderful. Professor Dickinson, I am sincerely thankful for the many contextual conversations we had regarding my study in general and the protest specifically. Your perspectives were helpful and inspirational through the journey of my thesis.

Professor Jo Vearey, you deserve a special mention for your unwavering kindness in organizing the DAAD PhD Mobility Grant, which supported my 5 months writing retreat in the formative stages of this project. Your kind extension to foot my flight expenses to Germany and your liaison with the host Dr Lydia Potts who then became a good friend of mine deserves special mention. Thank you Naledi Mazibuko and Lenore Longwe for your attention to detail and warm hearts towards my travel arrangements and other assistance you provided. Thank you both once again for receiving me warmly upon my arrival at the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) to restart my PhD and for arranging that I attend the Research Methods course conducted at ACMS.

Dr Lydia Potts thank you so much for your warm reception and hosting at Oldenburg University. I am also thankful for the Office space at the European Master in Migration and Intercultural Relations (EMMiR) under the Working Group Migration –Gender –Politics and the resources you supported me with for my writing retreat to flourish. We discussed so many things about life, the history of Germany, your family, mine, our friendship grew, and we reconnected each time you visited South Africa thereafter. Thank you so kindly again for meeting my wife and son when you had left me behind in Germany and for assuring them that, I was well and busy. All colleagues and students at EMMiR my many thanks for sharing with

me the Office space and your time for the rest of my writing retreat. Claudia Rosman a special thanks for going further to teach me basic Germany.

Dr Sylvia Pritsch, I was so honoured for your entrusting me to deliver a guest scholar public lecture entitled: *The Global Designs and Diversity Literacy* hosted by the Centre for

Interdisciplinary Women's and Gender Studies (ZFG) that was well attended and engaging. This contributed immensely to my public lecture presentation skills and to my handling of the question and answer sessions, which I currently continue to enjoy.

Mr Roman Behrens at the International Student Office of Carl von Ossietzky Universitat, Oldenburg, the many appointments and advice you rendered me were most useful. I am equally thankful for your facilitation of a scholar semester card that allowed me to travel the length and breadth of Germany.

Professor Morgan Ndlovu, I am forever thankful for your kindness to link me with Drs Jeannie Kerr and Kristie Kenyon at the University of Winnipeg, which culminated in me being awarded the Queen Elizabeth II Jubilee Award Visiting Scholar Research Fellowship. This dual site research fellowship for a comparative study of student-led movements to decolonise higher education at University of Winnipeg in Canada and Wits University South Africa contributed immensely to some insights that emerged in my PhD dissertation. Thanks again for always checking on me and on my progress, your words of encouragement can never be understated.

Dr Jeannie Kerr and Kristi Kenyon, I express my profound gratitude for appointing me to my highest research fellowship as a Pre-Doctoral visiting scholar under the Queen Elizabeth II Jubilee Award research fellowship. Although this fellowship could not see itself through due to initial March 2020 Covid-19 national lockdown protocols here in South Africa, the field work that I had completed at Winnipeg has a special place in my heart. Thank you for affording me this rare opportunity for 6 months of stay in Winnipeg. Colleagues at both the Global College and Faculty of Education, the Research and Human Resources Office at the University of Winnipeg thank you so kindly for facilitating everything during my fellowship stint.

Global College colleagues I am indebted for your love. Flavio Flosenca your collegiality was amazing and you always had all the answers and solutions of the challenges I faced, for that I am indebted to you. Dr Lloyd Kornelsen thank you for the support, conversations and above all for arranging the brown bag lecture series slot for me to present my public lecture at the Global College on 2 October 2019 entitled: *Decolonizing higher education a global human*

right – the perspective of FeesMustFall. Nivin Abdalla your welcome note that you sent me and copying all colleagues set the tone for the good and collegial relationship that we enjoyed during all my stay. Thank you for going beyond your call of duty to ensure my entire research fellowship stint was well taken care of. Dr Dean Peachy thank you for my first coffee outing, which became so symbolic of the warm and good hearted Canadians I continued to interact with.

Professor Kimberly Ducey thank you for arranging classes for me to be a guest lecturer for your Sociology students and for the many topics on race and racism that I facilitated, this has gone a long way to be one of the key themes of this thesis.

Rod and Susan Reyner you took me in at your student housing for a greater part of my stay in Canada. I am indeed thankful for integrating me into your multicultural and caring facility. Rod you were the very first person I met when I touched ground at the Winnipeg James Armstrong Richardson Airport on 6 June 2019 and the rest became endless stories of joy and happiness at your residence and student boarding facility.

Professor Adam Muller of University of Manitoba, Canada, thank you for the connections we made and discussions we had regarding possibilities for future collaborations and commitment to host me.

Professor Eliakim 'Kim' Sibanda my stay in Canada cannot be complete without mentioning you. You embraced me so much that you could even leave me in your Office while I did my research and writing for doctoral dissertation and allowed me to use your books as I wished. The day and after hours dinners we had with colleagues and the intellectual discussions we had about nation and tribe were so stimulating and so important for my own work.

Back home the Society, Work and Politics Institute (SWOP) administration staff Lucida Becorny, Gugulethu Mabena and both Mondli Hadebe and Ntombenhle 'Enhle' Khanyase – you all were so great. I am so indebted many staff and student meetings initially under the directorship of Professor Karl von Holdt and later, Dr Prishani Naidoo. This became an academic and intellectual platform, which contributed immensely to my critical thinking and reshaping of my resurrected project.

Professor Bridget Kenny, I cannot understate how much your intervention assisted this project to find traction. My humble thanks; I owe it to you for the new energy that reignited this project.

I battled this painful but also exciting as well as challenging journey where some friends were lost and some made, relationships broken and some fixed. I am indebted to all my many friends who when I was at the deep end remained torchbearers that gave me needed light and energy when it was not fashionable for many to do so. Dr Rob Maseko 'Bhuti' *ngiyazibongela mntakababa* you cried with me and consoled me but above all encouraged me never to give up. Sharing with me your own experiences was fascinating and resuscitated my lost zeal.

Dr Primus Tazanu, thank you sir for believing in me and always playing it safe to keep our friendship glowing for the years and for sharing every publication you made in very inspiring ways and also for nicknaming me 'philosopher'. Our countless calls between Denmark and Germany, Denmark and Canada as well as Denmark and South Africa is something that kept me inspired.

Dr Stanford T. Mahati you always understood me more than I could ever do. The amount of time and intellectual resources that you invested in this study deserves my million thanks. Calling me even from the United Kingdom, reaching out to check on me, and helping me out selflessly to make some critical decisions is something that has made me regard you so highly.

Dr Crispen Chinguno 'Com', my many thanks for sharing with me some of the experiences you went through during your own doctoral journey and how you navigated the challenges.

That was so helpful, encouraging and a source of inspiration for my own aspiration.

Professor Lonias S. Ndlovu you have remained an inspiration and good friend over the years. I remember vividly one of the longest calls that lasted about 6 hours when you were in Brazil, I was in Canada, and again several times when I was in Germany. You always listened and encouraged me never to give up. Your belief in my abilities always propelled me and for this reason and others, I am profoundly thankful. Your ability to appreciate my struggles from your perspective as an executive in higher education was also fulfilling.

My fellow PhD colleagues in the carrels – we burnt the midnight oil together with joy but at times with sorrow. Nonku Mabaso, thank you my sister. Sister Dr Macdelyn Mosalagae our connection again in Germany was such a blessing. Thank you for sharing the pleasure of life and scholarship with me. Comrade Kgomotso 'KG' Mogoshi, thank you my friend and brother for going beyond just intellectual support. Fikile Masikane, thank you sincerely for taking care of the bigger part of my wellbeing and for arranging interventionist discussions with Deans of the Humanities Graduate Centre.

For all the radical feminists, fallists and queer activists as well as every other participant who took part in this study, you all deserve special recognition. This study would not have been possible without your generosity and will to go beyond normal interview schedules. It remained an engaging and ongoing struggle as many of you also described it. I am also so thankful for those of you who had ongoing follow-ups and continuous conversations with me.
Your bravery and outright demand not to be anonymised because you were taking a decolonial stance made this project a unique one in all ways.

Busisiwe Seabe, special thanks for agreeing to participate in my research fellowship interuniversity dialogue that I hosted while in Canada. Your insights gave me a sense of perspective that became critical and significant in this dissertation. Nhlanhla Moyo, you also became a good friend during and after my fieldwork. Your grounded knowledge of the movement was so helpful; thank you for your advice and assistance with the necessary connections from your contacts to kick start my fieldwork.

I have been so fortunate to have a wonderful extended family support system from my paternal, maternal and in-laws at least those who were privy to this battle that I deliberately kept discrete for many years to avoid undue pressure. As I had anticipated, the pressure became unbearable and I cannot list all the amazing supportive roles that you all played. For this reason, my elder sisters Nomsa and Virginia, the seeds you sowed many years in supporting my lower and high school education finally come to bear.

A special mention to you my brother in law, Dr Mthoko, *sibali*, I am so thankful for the unwavering support you rendered me. Of all the good things you did for me, your steadfast and unshaking trust in the Almighty that I continuously drew from kept me going particularly during moments of storms. You always reminded me of His mercy and for that reason; I have arrived at this destination.

Another special mention of note to you my cousin, Mr Howard Hindoga, for literally taking over my welfare and that of my children both in my presence and in absence. Your kindness, support and emotional understanding of what I have been going through during my doctoral studies remains amazing.

Ho lelapa lohle laMothudi PhD ena e tsoa lithapelong tsa lona, ka mosa. Makamu ose amuhango yoBukalanga ndomuboka mihingo yenyu noludo gwenyu gwandisenga gukandiswikisa pano. Ndzimu ngape mmaha. Angizibongele kini nonke mdeni wami omuhle kwaZulu nasezweni lonke jikelele umusa nothando ukungibeka kulelizinga, iNkosi ma

inisikelele. Kubo bonke abasekhweni lami ngibonga kakhulu uxhaso eninginike lona kule mpi enzima.

To all my lower and high school teachers, I am so thankful and in particular, Sir Joseph Sitsha thank you so kindly for always checking on me and encouraging me as well as telling me how much you were ready to read this dissertation. This even spurred me to greater heights. Mfudisiwami, Bekithemba Ncube angibonge imithandazo. Moruti Geze Ncube nawe ngokunjalo. To my friends Tracy, Nwabisa, Namhla, Sisy Thembi, Sisy Jabue, Bongie all your support towards my welfare has made me pull through this long journey.

Empire girls (friends of my wife) you rock, your support on the sidelines made this achievement a success and for that, I am forever grateful.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACMS	African Centre for Migration & Society
AIWA	Asian Immigrant Workers Association
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
ASAWU	Academic Staff Association of Wits University
BC	Black Consciousness
BFW	Black Women's Federation
CBD	Central Business District
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
Com	Comrade
CUSA	Congress of Unions in South Africa
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ExCo	Executive Committee
FEDSAW	Federation of South African Women
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FMF	Fees Must Fall
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme

NEHAWU	National Education and Health Allied Workers Union
NSM	New Social Movement
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
Nusas	National Union of South African Students
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PiG	Postgraduate Club
Pkv	Parktown Village
PYA	Progressive Youth Alliance
RMF	Rhodes Must Fall
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SAPS	South African Police Service
SASCO	South African Students Congress
Saso	South African Students Organisation
SET	Senior Executive Team
SRC	Student Representative Council
UDF	United Democratic Front
UN	United Nations
US	United States
UKZN	University of Kwa Zulu Natal
UCT	University of Cape Town
TUT	Tshwane University of Technology
WASP	Workers and Socialist Party
WHW	Wits History Workshop
VC	Vice-Chancellor
TV	Television

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Chapter 1

1. Introduction and research question

1.1 Statement of introduction

> The #FeesMustFall movement transcended nationalities regardless of gender and race, Whites also protested. The initial perspective at inception of the movement was that it was a class struggle against injustices[1].

The above citation captures key aspects of the problem that I grapple with in this dissertation following the unprecedented rapture of #FeesMustFall (FMF) movement. I use The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, (Wits University) as a research site and case study of the FMF movement that occurred in the 2015-16 academic years in South Africa. FMF formally started on 14 October 2015 at Wits University as a contestation of Council's finalised 10.5% tuition fee hike for the 2016 academic year. Some Wits University students protested at the main campus in Braamfontein and disrupted University operations. The protest was initially organised through blockading University gates resulting in scuffles between protesters and the campus protection services guards. The movement spread to other universities becoming a nationwide student protest that resulted in university shutdowns. Wits executive authorities eventually tightened security measures on campus through the introduction of armed South African Police Service (SAPS) officials and hired private security personnel. In spite of that, students disrupted classes and examination sessions, which prompted the university authorities to deploy security personnel at strategic points, including outside examination halls.

The protest scaled down temporarily at the end of 2015 and resurfaced at the beginning of the 2016 academic year. Ultimately, entrance to Wits University became extremely difficult particularly for some Black students in 2016. Black students in the main were subjected to frisking by the hired private security guards while White students were treated differently and preferentially. They were neither frisked nor harassed in any way. This sparked some of the recurrent contestations and pitted the private security officials against Black students. These different experiences of repressive violence from the university authorities and the state as well

[1] Interview Thoko, 28 February 2018 Wits University

as the violence from within the movement itself are further explored to show how different strands of violence interacted with the social cleavages identified in this study and how it also provided different meanings and experiences.

Violence took shifts and turns, escalated and deescalated. The movement also moved back and forth, punctuated by negotiations between management and students, followed later by worker uprisings, tensions from within the movement and external violence from the authorities. As an activist researcher, the situation challenged me to understand the movement from the lens of violence and how the type of violence was determined by certain identities. Accordingly, I employed a theoretical framework that could distil meaning from intersectional aspects of participants' social realities of race, gender and nationality which emerged as factors that shaped the movement.

1.2 Brief overview

The 'Black child struggle' narrative underpinned the FMF movement. This racial connotation emerged from protracted raced poverty, emanating from South Africa's colonialism which was maintained by violence. The broader colonial context that shaped the South African apartheid regime before the democratic transition was organized through race and class. This resulted in insurgent liberation and labour movements by Black people characterised by various forms of violence, resulting in banning of political parties and trade unionism. Underground political organisations, student movements and uprisings emerged alongside apartheid government's separate education system where the research site, Wits University, had already been established as an English only university.

The institutionalisation of separate education system deepened the racial cleavage in the country and gave rise to national student politics. The educational system thus became a contested terrain. Rivalry between black and white students led, in many of the black campuses, to a break away from National Union of South African Students (Nusas) to form the Black Consciousness-supporting South African Student Organisation (Saso) which had been established in 1968 under Steve Biko's presidency. Struggles of Black students became part of the politics associated with violent uprisings such as the June 1976 Soweto massacre. Decent employment remained scarce and prohibited for Black people, because of low quality education and job reservation. Thus, student politics emerged from a history of colonial racism and trade union struggles into the democratic South Africa. Under apartheid, racism was used as a proxy to determine the status of one's citizenship while Black women were subordinated in liberation struggle movements.

1.3 Research problem

The research problem of this dissertation is two-pronged. Firstly, it is a theoretical one and secondly, a pragmatic one. At a theoretical level, the social movement scholarship and social movement approaches have laid the foundation for possible outlets for further contribution to the nuances and meanings that can be drawn from the intersecting multiple social identities that constitute groups and collective experiences in movements. For example, Mati (2012) illuminates my assertion and posits that one of Charles Tilly's greatest contributions to the social movement theory relates to his systemic socio-historical approach to the study of protests and collective action. For that matter, Tilly's work, as Voss and Williams (2011) cited in Mati (2012), also concurs by asserting that social movements as modern phenomena emerged from a system of the advancement of capitalism, especially in light of the development of the modern state.

One of the additional conceptual gaps in dealing with the multiplicity and intersectionality of social identities of the converging and diverging movement actors as part of the mobilisation and demobilisation of collective action in social movements is in the conflation of analysis. della Porta and Diani (2006) attest that this conceptual lapse affects the treatment of social movement actors among the collective behaviour theorists as homogenous entities in their struggles or as if they were a single unitary actor. This amounts to a conceptual shortfall because such an approach obscures the different actors and various actions that make up a social movement.

Social movement actors, on the contrary, have multiple social identities framed through historical and social contexts, which makes their experiences, although similar, different in meaning and context. The social movement literature, particularly in a South African context, does not adequately address these intersecting multiple social identities in their intersectional relationships. In this thesis, I refer to them as social cleavages either at a theoretical or empirical level. For example, Beinart's (2010) edited book and chapter contribution looks at the broader popular politics and resistance movements in South Africa and dwells on a range of political ideologies and repertoires from1970 to 2008. Brown (2010) focuses on the political identities of workers within a labour movement protest of the Durban strike of 1973, while Carson (2010) explores mass resistance within a labour movement where workers of Fatti's & Moni's pasta and bread factory in Cape Town stopped work and organised a boycott of the company's products. The rest of the contributors focus on popular political mobilisation, violent strike action and struggles of various social justice movements since the 1970s. Bienart (2010) concludes that his co-edited book's collection of essays on popular politics and resistance

movements highlights the continuities and changes in the character of protests and shows the continuing strength of grassroots mobilisation.

Ballard, Habib and Valodia's (2006) edited book on Voices of Protest: Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa is a significant contribution to the post-apartheid social movement literature. I highlight their observations of the limitations of the political model and the resource mobilisation approaches to social movement studies in the literature review. Other South African scholars, von Holdt (2003), Langa and Kiguwa (2013), to mention a few, explore popular movements in the context of trade unionism and violent community service delivery protests and violent labour strikes.

A closer look at some social movement literature shows that some movement approaches tend to explore resources or political opportunities that are either mobilised or that constrain social movements (Ballard et al. 2006). The resource mobilisation or political model approaches have a different focus from the intersectional matrix of individuals or collective group social identities in social movement studies. I elaborate further on this assertion in the subsequent literature review chapter. One factor that is left out in some of the contemporary social movement analyses is the presence of foreign nationals. Those deemed outsiders or foreign nationals are excluded and their agency weakened because as outsiders they are differentiated from insiders. Insiders and outsiders further have other identity dynamics, tensions and differences which cannot be captured by resource mobilisation or political model approaches. The tensions and confrontations that emerge in social movements usually employ violent tactics or are violent themselves. Violence as a social phenomenon in social movements has not been fully explored by most social movement scholars as a significant unit of analysis to understand contemporary social movements. There is instead, a history among some political scientists and sociologists from the 1950s, of dispelling violence in social movements as a form of irrationality and the meaning of its interaction with social categories that intersect and constitute social actors remains unexplored. This is the general overview of the problem within the contemporary social movement scholarship which calls for a suitable theoretical framework of analysis.

At a pragmatic level, FMF evolved within a terrain of contestations, tensions and conflicts between students and state police, as well as students against private security guards. In its forceful tensions and conflicts, violence transformed the social categories of identity. The race, gender and nationalities of participants and activists of the movement shifted between conflicts and solidarities. Forms of oppression and marginalisation started to show up in the early days of the beginning of the movement. Some feminist activists and some queer activists mobilized

and aligned with Pan-Africanist ideologies to challenge patriarchal dominance. As the movement evolved, violence against women shifted to repressive patriarchal violence unleashed by police and private security in which the majority of women and queer students were at the receiving end. Women and queer activists appropriated patriarchal symbols of violence and threatened males with violence, making this transformation and shift a significant one to explore regarding its role in social movements.

The dynamics of violence also shifted and manifested differently over time, with race determining where violence escalated. White students and academics were treated differently from Black students and Black academics by police and private security guards. This brought race to the fore, creating tensions largely characterised by Black students questioning White solidarity. At the same time, tensions between students mounted as international students became anxious that their student permits would lapse, thus rendering them illegal in the country and prone to deportation. In this way, the legal status of foreign students meant they had limited rights and affected their level and continuity of participation in the movement. Within South African students themselves, some withdrew from the movement and mounted a counter protest through a petition to go back to class whereas some local students still pressed on with the protest. On top of this, political tensions erupted and divided students along political party affiliations. This made the Student Representative Council (SRC), aligned to the ruling African National Congress (ANC) unpopular because it was perceived as affiliated to government, seen as the "enemy" and barrier to free education.

The contestations that erupted and shaped the movement became part of the experiences of the participants of this study. The cleavages suggested the manner in which contemporary social movements can be understood. This called for me to craft research questions that explored these intersections of experiences that were imbedded in different dynamics of violence. This is also indicated in the aim of the study, research question and its sub-research questions as indicated below.

1.4 Aim of study

The overriding aim of this study is informed by the intersectionality theory, which enables me to explore the social cleavages of race, gender and nationality, particularly their overlaps. The theory enables me to grapple with the social cleavages of inquiry and their interactions with violence, which shapes and transforms hierarchies of power relations. The intersectionality theory helps me to find out what meanings and conclusions can be conceptually drawn from the relationship between violence and social cleavages. The main research question below elicits meaning in that regard.

1.5 Main research question

How did the multiple dynamics of violence during the FMF protests affect the FMF movement and the subjectivities of the study population?

1.6 Sub research questions

1. How did the dynamics of violence impact and transform the social cleavages of race, gender, citizenship/nationality of the study population during the movement?

2. How did the dynamics of violence advance, retard or undermine FMF as a social movement?

I employ a qualitative approach to explore this study. The subjective experiences of the study populations is the primary data set from which I explore the research questions and draw different meanings. I employ relevant and flexible data collection methods which capture the participants' experiences. These are in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The flexibility of my data techniques manages to accommodate Nash's (2010) assertion that individuals are non-solitary subjects as their actions are impacted by group identities. I employ ethnographic observation, use field notes, individual in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The flexibility and fluidity of my data collection approach assists me to grapple with the research problem and to arrive at informed conclusions.

1.7 Summary of research argument

The emerging argument that I advance in this thesis is that violence is neither unidirectional nor one dimensional. Its fluidity means that it cannot be monopolised by one group all the time. It can be usurped from those that are normally dominant by those marginalized, although temporarily. This makes violence and solidarity interdependent because, as I illustrate in the concluding chapter, if violence erupts from within, it causes social cleavages to pull at each other, rubbing uncomfortably and causing frictions with others. However, if violence is external, social cleavages may temporarily transform into mutual solidarities. For example, non-South African Black women participate in counter violent acts to contest their academic exclusion while simultaneously challenging their male counterpart protestors to disrupt their privileges of patriarchy. This example reveals intersections of race and gender power relations that placed a White woman at the apex of the hierarchy and a Black foreign woman in the lowest tier of the that hierarchy, pointing also, to different forms and experiences of blackness.

The foreign black woman's agency during incidents of violence was not only compromised by gender but also weakened by her citizenship, which complicated her participation for fear of deportation. White foreign males could equally be deported but they enjoyed the upper hand of masculinity and patriarchy over foreign black women. A black South African woman's main concern was to disrupt patriarchal dominance and her field of asserting her agency would have been levelled, but a foreign woman would still need to confront her foreignness. The South African black feminist had the choice to engage in radical feminism. Some foreign feminists' only option was to explore a standpoint feminism which was anti-violence or anti-militancy, resulting in them being another target of victimisation or exclusion by radical feminists. Being black or blackness was a different struggle for many blacks and the violence and intersectionality lens opened up spaces to draw various meanings from the experiences of different actors.

There were different forms of violence ranging from repressive violence, violence from authorities, patriarchal and anti-patriarchal violence and to an extent, intra-student xenophobic violence that characterised the FMF experiences. Each of these various forms of violence impacted differently on the various groups and individuals of the study population and brought different meanings and experiences. The racial cleavages were shaped and transformed for example, by the violence from the authorities, repressive forms of violence and to an extent, counter violence from the students. Although there was no interracial violence, that is, violence by blacks (students or police) against Whites, and no violence by whites against blacks, violence had an impact on these raced social groupings. Blacks encountered and experienced different forms of violence, differently from their White counterparts. A salient instance is when black males required a white human shield constructed by among others, white females to mitigate police violence.

Most of the violence that interacted with the social cleavage of gender was of a patriarchal and anti-patriarchal nature. This type of violence emerged from within the movement itself except for the repressive forms of violence instigated by security personnel and the state police. The experiences of black females and queer women were those of subjugation by patriarchal dominance and humiliation by some of their male counterparts within FMF. At some point, males described them as 'smelly pussies' which was an instance of gender humiliation and one that compromised their dignity. Intra-student violence brought these differences and contestations to the surface. While Blacks were confronted with institutionalised racism based

on the manner protesters encountered police and private security sanctioned violence, Black feminists and queer women struggled with gender disparities. This violence defined the different dynamics of the 'Black child' narrative which Black students appropriated as activists to identify with the movement. Thus, blackness was not universal but it meant different experiences in the same struggle. The other different experience of blackness relates to other forms of repressive violence which emerged from contestations over citizenship between students. The precarity of foreign students and in contrast, the safety of local students under repressive violence revealed different meanings of the interactions between violence and citizenship. This setting presented a different set of black experiences between local and foreign students. There was, although limited, an account of an intra-student xenophobic violence where some of the local students instigated violence and the threat of violence against some foreign students. In this study I have demonstrated that social cleavages like race and gender, including citizenship can closely interact but are impacted and transformed by different forms of violence during social movement protests.

1.8 Organisation of the dissertation

I organized this dissertation into three main sections. The first entails the introduction and literature review which are chapters 1 and 2. The second deals with methodology and the chronological narrative of the movement in chapters 3 and 4. The third one constitutes the empirical findings and conclusion of the dissertation made up of chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

1.8.1 Section 1

Chapter 1: introduces the statement of the problem and briefly presents the overview of the research problem, giving context of the main research question and its sub-research questions. I briefly mention the data collection methods that I employed to address the research problem and arrive at an informed conclusion. In the chapter, I also present a summary of the main argument.

Chapter 2: In this chapter, I present a literature review that unpacks some of the existing knowledge within the relevant area of social movement studies and violence. I cite briefly, the challenges that research approaches such as resource mobilisation and political process model have in dealing with contemporary social movement studies. I introduce intersectionality model as the study's theoretical framework and outline its relevance in dealing with a case study of the nature and magnitude of FMF. I also introduce key concepts that are relevant in guiding the

theory of the study and which also enabled me to fulfil the objective of drawing from the varying perspectives and perceptions of the experiences of the study population.

1.8.2 Section 2

Chapter 3: Presents the methodological approach and methods that I employed in this study as well as the contribution of my positionality. I deal with the case study approach and its merits in relation to the emphasis and objective of this study, which is to elicit meaning from the subjective experiences of the study population. I show the relevance of the methods of data collection in keeping with the importance of employing a case study design, including how positionality contributed and shaped the manner in which I executed my data collection. I also deal with other relevant aspects such as confidentiality, ethics and the participants' consent to participate in the study while I also discuss them in detail as key informants of the study. I further outline the benefits of my data analysis which was bound by my sensitivity and observation of the potential sensitivity of my research topic. This enabled me to code my data into research themes emerging from the data set, which avoided allocating research participants into pathological categories they were not comfortable with. Finally, I briefly introduce the reader to Wits University as both a case study and research site.

Chapter 4: The narrative chapter provides a background to the empirical review of the study. It provides a connecting thread between Section 1 and 3 because its chronological narrative brings more information on the character of the research site and the type of study population that become revealed in the empirical findings dealt with in section 3. Its narrative paradigm is a foundation for the three empirical chapters contained in section 3. As a foundation, it provides an introductory overview of the broader and specific social cleavages that I explore in the three empirical chapters. The narrative mainly captures the evolution, rise and decline of the FMF movement. In particular, the narrative outlines the beginning of the movement and how it declined at the end of 2015 and resurfaced in 2016 with violent tensions escalating.

1.8.3 Section 3

In the three self-contained empirical chapters under this section, I specifically explore the emerging contestations and contradictions in perspective, from the lived experiences of research participants. This is in relation to the social cleavages of inquiry that constitute race, gender and nationality, in particular their mobilisation into solidarity and social conflicts in relation to different dimensions of violence at play.

Chapter 5: In this chapter, I explore the racial dynamics as experienced, contested and negotiated by the research participants. The findings contextualise the differential treatment that Blacks and Whites received from the police and private security. What also emerges from this chapter are the manifestations of violence and its impact on race. Matters of how some participants conceived blackness and being black during FMF, contribute to the narrative that emerges from this particular chapter in relation to the intersectionality of black identity.

Chapter 6: I explore the dynamics of gender that came to characterize part of the movement in their interaction with violence. Patriarchal domination was contested by women and queer activists who disrupted the dominant idea that the movement was controlled by males from the onset. Some of the highlights from this chapter include the naked and *sjambok* protests as forms of gender mobilisation to challenge patriarchy.

Chapter 7: Violence and the social cleavage of nationality also interacted, providing another dimension and third layer of the ramifications of violence and their impact. One of the particular highlights is the manner in which international students found themselves confronted with the potential consequences of proceeding with protest against their expiring study permits. This among others, is a dynamic of being a foreigner in social movements, in this case, the context of FMF. Nationality and how foreignness impacted the agency of foreign nationals in relation to violent protest action are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 8: This marks the general discussion and conclusion of the study. I summarise the findings and highlight the contribution of the study to the body of knowledge within the scholarship of contemporary social movement studies. This summarised discussion stems from the empirical findings of the study as informed by the intersectionality theoretical framework and represents the dissertation's contribution to knowledge.

Chapter 2

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review is not a general survey of the field of social movement studies but a very brief review of selected literature on the theoretical framework that I adopted for this study. It is also a brief highlight of the key concepts that I use to explore the findings of this study. Thus, I introduce and explore the concept of intersectionality and highlight its conceptual merits, which assisted me to navigate the broader social movement studies literature. I provide the basis to my adoption of intersectionality approach as my theoretical framework for this study. The basis of adoption of intersectionality was premised on my realisation that the various pursuits of the social movement approaches, for example, the understanding of political opportunities, resource mobilisation and the cycles of protest within a movement could be complemented through an intersectionality approach. This is because participants of this study had numerous intersecting identities, which contributed to the configuration and reconfiguration of a myriad of social power relations in their oppressive and subordinate dimensions. The intersectionality approach in my view encompasses some of the key components, which are generally explored separately by the different approaches to social movement studies. These intersecting relations and social identities are crucial in dealing with the complexities and dynamics of a study such as this one. The intersectionality approach enabled me to contribute to the violence scholarship because it helped me to explore how violence affects and transforms social cleavages.

The key concepts that I explore in this chapter are social cleavages, solidarity, violence, patriarchy, feminism and I explore fallist movement literature. These provide the foundation and basis for the subsequent chapters, in particular the empirical ones in which I discuss the meaning of the findings and introduce the theoretical framing of this study. In my review of selected literature on these concepts, I realised that there is no extant literature relating to the concept of violence and its interactions with aspects of social cleavages and solidarity. Where extensive literature on violence exists, it makes no mention of social cleavages although it does engage the mobilisation of solidarities through violent means. In this study, I have used von Holdt's (2003) extensive study at Highveld Steel on popular movements and politics of resistance to explore violence and its contribution to solidarity building. Although von Holdt has an intersectionality analysis in some of his works, he does not pronounce it as such, and his

focus does not include gender, for example. However, his analysis of tensions and violent solidarities is helpful as a conceptual base and reference in this study. I also use Langa and Kiguwa's (2013) work on service delivery protests at Kungcatsha and Azania municipalities in Mpumalanga to gain insights on violence that essentially reasserted masculinities of marginalised black young men. These works provided me with the necessary background on how violence and its impact have been approached from a social movement perspective in South Africa.

2.2 Intersectionality approach

A brief historicization of the intersectionality theory and its workings is important in two ways. Firstly, it illustrates its geography of origin and intellectual genesis and maps out how it evolved and travelled across the world. Secondly, it enables the reader to understand my basis for adapting and adopting the concept as the analytical framework for this study in relation to the complex and multi-dimensional social identities of difference that emerged during FMF. Although Kimberle Crenshaw, according to the intersectionality theorists such as Yuval-Davis (2006), Anthias (2012), Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays and Tomlinson (2013), Tormos (2017), Collins (2012) cited in Montoya (2021) and many others coined the term intersectionality in 1989, its articulations and workings have a preceding history. This historical context became very important for me as a researcher to be conscious of the nature of the oppressions of Black women and their continuities over time from different contexts that one can take for granted. Thus, Tormos (2017) reiterates that, although Kimberle Crenshaw coined the term in 1989, the notion of intersectionality had already been articulated in Sojourner Truth's 1851 speech at the Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, and it was also enacted by Savitribai Phule's advocacy in India. He also mentions that its articulations featured in Maria Stewart's writings in the 1930s.

The concept of intersectionality expanded and gradually entered the social movement arena primarily through the women of colour's social and economic justice works of activism. For example, according to Chun, Lipsitz and Shin (2013), the Chicana feminist mobilizations in the 1960s and 1970s started to mount complex campaigns around the issues of race, gender, or class isolation. Although the Chicana Feminist Movement and Chican/Mexican history are subject to many debates, Dicochea (2004) puts the significance of a momentous anthology by Alma Garcia, *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings'* into perspective. This publication on the Chicana Feminist Movement challenges the idea that the Chicanas[2] were not

[2] American women or girls of Mexican descent or living in the US whose parents came from Mexico.

as involved in the movement as were men. This non-recognition of women's role and participation against the various dimensions of discrimination at workplaces and in society in general and during the Chicana Feminist Movement is, according to Dichochea (2004), a 'traditional' view, which is a figment of a patriarchal imaginary. Against a traditional patriarchal imaginary, Asian American activist Mirian Ching Yoon Louie also recalls how significant the concept of the "triple jeopardy" of race, gender, and class which the Third World Women's Alliance formulated, was significant to her political development and activism in the 1960s (Chun et al 2013). Combahee River Collective (1995) and Kelley (2002), all cited in Chun et al (2013), indicate that in the 1970s, Black women became active in various campaigns against sterilization abuse, for their reproductive rights, and in support of those defending themselves against gender violence. These Black women formed the Combahee River Collective, upon which they released a "Black Feminist Statement", which underscored the interlocking nature of social identities. Thus, Brah and Phoenix (2004) cited in Tormos (2017) argue that Sojourner Truth's 1851 speech foreshadowed campaigns by Black feminists more than a century later. Various Black feminists referenced Truth's challenge of black women's double-blind, which had countered notions of women as weaker than men and also suggested that enslaved black women were not real women (Brah and Phoenix 2004, cited in Tormos 2017). This is particularly interesting and instructive for the FMF case study. As I later show in chapter 6 of this thesis, black radical feminist students and queer activists contested with aggression the notion and practices of some male students to dominate and lead all aspects of the movement and present females as the 'roses' of the movement.

In light of historical articulations of the concept of intersectionality in the works of Sojourner Truth (1851), Maria Stewart (1930) and the Chicana Feminist Movement (1960s and 1970s), scholars like Denis (2008) cited in Tormos (2017) and Gillborn (2015) concur that the concept has a long history. It has been widely used in social and economic justice feminist movements and later in the broader field of social sciences. Relating to the attributes of origin and usage of intersectionality, Denis (2008), cited in Anthias (2012), relates its origins to the anti-feminist struggles in the United States (US), upon which it was initially concerned with the particular forms of oppression which racialized women experienced. In one of her initial accounts of the introduction of intersectionality to the academic realm of debates, Crenshaw (1989) used three court cases as her case studies relating to the motor, aviation and pharmaceutical industries. In these case studies, she showed how courts had failed in their rulings to acknowledge the intersectionality of racial and gender discrimination experienced by Black women at their workplaces in the US. One of the cases she examined was about five Black women who brought a case against General Motors with an allegation that the employer's seniority system

perpetuated the effects of past discrimination against women. The evidence adduced at trial revealed that General Motors had not hired any Black women before 1964. Additionally, all Black women hired after 1970 lost their jobs in a seniority-based layoff during a subsequent recession.

This analysis marked a watershed moment and breakthrough for the theorisation and application of the newly coined concept of intersectionality from a civil law academic perspective. This is because the court's rulings (see Crenshaw 1989, p. 141), for example, against the five Black women plaintiffs in favour of the defendant General Motors suggesting that there was no evidence of race and sex discrimination or either of the two and that they must not be combined is very critical. The critical nature of the court's judgements, as illustrated in one of Crenshaw's (1989) analyses, reveals the extent of the then US judiciary's institutionalisation of the erasure of Black women and the non-consideration of their intersectional forms of discrimination and prejudice. For example, part of the court's ruling was that although General Motors had not hired Black women before 1964, it hired female employees (white women) for many years before the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The court did not view this in the context of sex discrimination perpetuated by the seniority system of employment but instead refused to consider the plaintiffs' sex discrimination claim and dismissed the race discrimination complaint (Crenshaw 1989). The court dismissed the plaintiffs' race discrimination claim and recommended a consolidation with another case that also alleged race discrimination against General Motors. Crenshaw (1989) clarifies that the Black women plaintiffs challenged the court's recommendation because they believed that such a consolidation defeated the purpose of their suit since theirs was not a race claim but a case on behalf of Black women who alleged race and sex discrimination. Her overall conclusion on the analysis of the court's refusal to acknowledge that Black women encountered a combination of race and sex discrimination was that it implied:

> That the boundaries of sex and race discrimination doctrine are defined respectively by white women's and Black men's experiences. Under this view, Black women are protected only to the extent that their experiences coincide with those of either of the two groups. Where their experiences are distinct, women can expect little protection as long as approaches such as that in the *DeGraffernreaid* (General Motor's case), which completely obscure problems of intersectionality prevail (Crenshaw 1989, p. 143).

Crenshaw's analysis and conclusion on how the court dismissed Black women's sex and race discrimination claims without acknowledgement through the focus on white women and Black

men's experiences as benchmarks for the determination of discrimination is important. This particular literature assisted me in gaining conceptual insights on how some social movement activists and scholars previously articulated and conceptually engaged the concept of intersectionality to resist and understand the nature of the dimensions of discrimination faced by Black women in the US and eventually across the globe. The chapter on race in this thesis elaborates how Black women's experiences of sexism and racism, for example, became part of the FMF while the Black private security guards treated white female students preferentially. Accordingly, Crenshaw (1991) clarifies that her early usage of the term intersectionality denoted various ways in which race and gender can interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's experiences. In her use of Black women's employment experiences of sex and race discrimination in the US, she illustrates how the intersectionality of the discrimination and oppression of women became normalised and institutionalised at the level of the US judiciary system. She emphasizes that the objective of her coinage of the term intersectionality was also to illustrate that many of the experiences of Black women remain subsumed within the traditional boundaries of race or gender discrimination.

On the contrary, Crenshaw's (1991) view is that the intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women's lives in ways that cannot fully capture overlapping intersections by merely looking at the women race or gender dimensions of those experiences independently or separately. This became her basis for exploring how race and gender intersect in shaping structural and political aspects of violence against Black women (Crenshaw 1991). I also noted that, Yuval-Davis (2006) relates that intersectionality emerged from Crenshaw's analysis of Black women's employment in the US. Crenshaw's early usage of the term intersectionality, according to Yuval-Davis (2006), saw her being invited to introduce the notion before a special session on the subject in Geneva for a preparatory session to the World Conference Against Racism in September 2001 in Durban, South Africa. Yuval-Davis (2006) states that Radhika Coomaraswamy, the special rapporteur of the United Nations (UN) Secretariat on violence against women, acknowledged that the term 'intersectionality' became tremendously popular and used in various UN and Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) forums. For example, on 23 April 2002, at the 58th session of the UN Commission of Human Rights, the resolution on the human rights of women stated that it:

> … recognized the importance of examining the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination, including their root causes from a gender perspective (Resolution E/CN.4/2002/L.59) as cited in (Yuval-Davis 2006, p. 194).

Post-Crenshaw's coinage of the term intersectionality in 1989, there has been wide theoretical engagements of the concept of intersectionality by various scholars such as Yuval-Davis (2006), Chun et al (2013), Tormos (2017), Gillborn (2015) and Anthias (2012). For example, Anthias (2012) mentions that, in the United Kingdom (UK), the works of Brah (1996), Anthias (1998, 2001, and 2002) and Yuval-Davis (1996, 2006) were central in the introduction of intersectionality approaches within the European context. She indicates that the emphasis of the scholars who introduced intersectionality to the European context was on the location and articulation of the intersectionality of social divisions within the context of power relations and the state.

Meanwhile, Chun et al (2013) explored the intersectionality experiences of Asian immigrant women employed in the low-paid manufacturing and service jobs in the San Francisco Bay Area through the works of the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA). AIWA was established in 1983 in the City of Oakland, California, as one of the first community organisations created to address the pre-dominance of Asian immigrant women employees in the San Francisco Bay Area (Chun et al, 2013). According to the analysis by Chun et al (2013), AIWA's interventions for social and economic justice for Asian immigrant women beyond its members' 'wounds' of racism, sexism, imperialism, class exploitation and language discrimination have been helpful to the organisation. AIWA's workings beyond the single-axis approach has helped the organisation see how power works and how new identities are needed to combat its intersectional reach and scope' (Chun et al 2013, p. 918). These scholars further elaborate that:

> This approach rejects the subordination of one oppression to another. It does not focus solely on gender, class, race, or language, nor does it organize along single-axis identities such as Chinese, Korean, or Vietnamese immigrants, Asian Americans, women, or workers. Rather, it offers participants many different points of entry and engagement at the intersections of their diverse and plural identities (Chun et al 2013, p. 918).

AIWA's intersectionality approach to social and economic justice works for Asian immigrant women has resulted in the conclusion by Chun et al (2013, p. 918) that it has helped its members to:

> … envision their transformation from a subordinated state of voicelessness and devaluation into an empowered state of self-representation and self-activity.

Related to the workings of AIWA cited above of self-representation and self-activity as a transition from subjugation, Tormos (2017) explored intersectionality from the context of its theoretical rigour and application as an organizing strategy in social movements. For example, Tormos' (2017) proposal for an intersectional approach to the study and analysis of solidarity in social movements is an important consideration for this thesis. The different definitions and understandings of solidarity from the context of shared identities, shared interests and shifting opportunity structures, as discussed by Tormos (2017), remained integral in dealing with the intersectional solidarities that emerged and mobilized FMF.

The pre-Crenshaw articulations of intersectionality and post-coinage and introduction of the concept's expansive works to study different forms of power relations and the state, and social identities, including various feminist and activist movements, have been acknowledged and critiqued. For example Knapp (2005) cited in Anthias (2012) describes intersectionality as a 'fast travelling concept'. Anthias (2012) posits that in the early 1980s, the links between gender, race and class have been topical subjects of social debate and commentary. Such observations of a long history of origin and wide usage of the intersectionality theory afforded me as a researcher of FMF an opportunity to appreciate how intersectionality has travelled globally and evolved over to a South African context. Its wide usage and global travel coincides with Tilly's (2004) cited in Mati (2012) own observation that social movements have a long history on the political scene of over two centuries. The literature on the long history of social movement struggles and that of the global travel of intersectionality and its wide usage and concerns influenced my adoption of the concept as the theoretical framework for this thesis.

However, my embrace of an intersectionality approach for this study was not devoid of what scholar Anthias (2012) who has written so extensively on social divisions and identities with focus on gender, ethnicity, 'race', and migration postulates. For her, 'there cannot be a singular definition of an intersectionality framework as there is a great deal of diversity in the way it is theorized and applied' (Anthias 2012, p. 125). I also took note of Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays and Tomlinson's (2013) raise in relation to intersectionality. For them, it is imperative to pay attention to the fact that the movement of intersectionality helps to clarify that the theory is not done, nor exhausted by its prior articulations or movements but it is always an analysis-inprogress. Carbado et al (2013) relate that such an understanding informed Crenshaw's description of her intervention in 'Demarginalizing the Intersection' as 'provisional,' 'one way to approach the problem of intersectionality. I also took heed of Carbado's et al (2013, p. 304) advice that, 'any analysis must necessarily limit itself to specific structures of power'. For example according to Carbado's et al (2013, Crenshaw's initial work contested the juridical

erasure of women but did not interrogate Black men's intersectional marginalization in the criminal justice system.

Taking into consideration of the above insights relating to intersectionality and its viability when limited to the analysis of specifics and also understanding it as a non-exhausted framework, made me to turn into its various definitions. For this thesis, it became apparent to consider a definition of intersectionality which is suitable working definition and limit my analysis to the specifics of the various ways in race, gender and citizenship interacted with one another during moments of different dimensions of violence. The definition by Collins and Chepp (2013) cited in Tormos (2017) highlights some of the specifics I chose to explore for analysis in this study:

> [I]ntersectionality consists of an assemblage of ideas and practices that maintain that gender, race, class, sexuality, age, ethnicity, ability, and similar phenomenon cannot be analytically understood in isolation from one another; instead, these constructs signal an intersecting constellation of power relationships that produce unequal material realities and distinctive social experiences for individuals and groups positioned within them (p. 708).

The above conception of intersectionality is important particularly for this study because of its emphasis on the interconnectedness of the social categories of identity. The definition points out that socially constructed categories of identity intersect and usually shape power relations that in turn define distinctive social experiences of individuals and groups. This goes beyond the traditional collective behaviour approach's focus on considering social movements as 'anomalies' (Hannigan 1985) or 'disruptive forces' (Touraine 1985). Under the intersectionality approach, instead of being disruptive forces, groups and individuals provide the dynamics of social relations and their unequal power relations provide a lens from which to explore realities of the social world.

The resource mobilisation approach also has a limitation according to Ballard, Habib, Valodia and Zuern (2006) in that it fails to explain why social movements emerge and develop. This presented me with an opportunity to incorporate the intersectionality approach so that my analysis could make consideration for social cleavages that become salient at particular times of social movements and become helpful to understand social experiences because of their thrust and focus. The resource mobilization approach's focus is confined to the importance of financial, organizational and human resources available to social movements (Kuumba 2001).

The resource mobilisation approach's inclination towards rationalism and instrumentalism and its focus on financial resources provides a pathway to theorising the interactions between individuals and groups. This is because social cleavages and their relations result in the making and unmaking of particular identities that become central in the meaning of a movement. Nash (2010) relates that the approach's excessive focus on rationalism and instrumentalism tends to see actors as only acting from their rational self-interest while it ignores how actors are always socially situated. Nash (2010) argues to the contrary that:

> Individuals are not detached and solitary, with merely instrumental relationships to others, but always members of groups and communities, with feelings, beliefs, ideas and values about shared, collective identities (p. 100).

The above conception by Nash (2010) has an intersectionality inclination that otherwise is not a central focus in both the traditional collective behaviour and resource mobilisation approaches as already discussed above. Nash's (2010) view echoes intersectionality in refuting the notion that individuals are detached and solitary and that they have instrumental relationships with others making them to only act because of rationality. Intersectionality provides alternatives of analysis besides the rationality perspective and asserts that instead, individuals become members of a group or community and share collective identities, beliefs, feelings and ideas (Nash 2010). Chun et al (2013) who argue that, no one individual lives every aspect of their existence in a single identity category hold another intersectionality perspective. They reiterate that, on the contrary, an individual is a crowd and is characterized by multiple identities, identifications, and allegiances.

The conceptions of individuals by Chun et al. (2013) and Nash's (2010) as intersecting, interlocking and with multiple identities makes us understand individuals as intersectional subjects as an alternative to view and analyse them as detached or solitary. The conceptions of these scholars suggest that individuals become members of groups and communities. Their feelings, beliefs, ideas, values and identities become influenced and shaped by their membership to groups and communities where they can also develop allegiances. This idea of individuals goes beyond the idea of rationalism, self-interest and instrumental relations to others. It understands that individual feelings, beliefs, ideas, values and identities intersect with those of others in groups or society from which meaning of the social world can be drawn.

The political opportunity/process model approach also limits its focus to particular specifics and does not encompass intersectionality perspectives. The model limits itself to the structure of opportunities and constraints within which movements may and may not develop. Kuumba

(2001) observes this and argues that the political opportunity/process model makes two assumptions about social movements, which tends to be a conceptual limitation when it comes to a study of this nature. The political process model approach assumes that social movements are political in nature and ignores psychological or cultural aspects (Kuumba 2001). This assumption does not encompass the totality or intersectional nature of social aspects. Individuals' feelings, beliefs, ideas and values about shared, collective identities make them socially situated and with multiple identities from which various meanings can be drawn to explain the social world.

The contrary argument to the political process model is that social aspects such as social categories of identity in social movements shape social outcomes (Marx 1995). It is therefore important not to lose sight that socially constructed categories of multiple identities such as gender, race, class, sexuality, age, ethnicity and such others cannot be analytically understood in isolation from one another. This is because according to Collins and Chepp (2013) as cited in Tormos (2017), these socially constructed multiple identities provide a signal for the intersections of the constellations of power relationships from which unequal material realities are produced and social experiences are performed. The research question I explore in this study relating to the impact of violence on the social cleavages and how they also in turn impact on violence itself require a nuanced sociological analysis. By this, I mean going beyond the confines of single-issue and single-factor analyses to factor in the constellations of power relationships of socially constructed multiple identities that define movement actors.

One of the helpful approaches to view intersectionality is as articulated by Gordon (2016) that:

> Intersectionality has come to signal both a new militancy and a challenge to single issue, single-factor analyses [and suggests] that multiple forms of domination interact and even fuse into new forms (p. 340).

We have since established from earlier conceptions of intersectionality that the various socially constructed categories of identity interrelate with one another and show inequalities of the intersecting constellations of power within social movements. Different categories of identity interrelate within the matrix of power in such a manner that some become subordinated and subjugated while others assume dominant positions. This unequal matrix of power according to Collins and Chepp (2013) as cited in Tormos (2017), produce unequal material realities and distinctive social experiences for individuals and groups positioned within them. Within this context of a power struggle, particular categories of multiple identities emerge to challenge the status quo, to subvert the hierarchies and structures of power. Thus, according to Gordon's (2016) conception, intersectionality pays attention to the new militancy that is emerging in

contemporary movements to challenge multiple forms of domination. It is against the backdrop of these intersecting constellations of power relationships from which distinctive social experiences for individuals and groups can be seen, hence Gordon (2016) challenges the idea of single-issue or single-factor analyses. For her, an intersectionality approach appreciates that within this matrix of power are multiple forms of domination that emerge, interact and even fuse into new forms of social categories of identity.

Intersectionality approach signals new militancy from particular groupings that seek to challenge ongoing multiple forms of domination in contemporary movements (Gordon 2016). One of the signals of this militancy is the New-Left socialist feminist perspective as articulated by (Gordon 2016). Her submission is that intersectionality allows the broadening of units of analysis beyond the Marxian approach which focuses on class domination in the main. An intersectionality approach becomes instrumental in the New Social Movement (NSM) paradigm in that it focuses on other realities of a socialist nature, which are beyond class domination. Gordon (2016) clarifies that the New-Left socialist feminist perspective signifies a feminism that recognizes that there are many vectors of domination that must all be challenged. Chun et al. (2013) argue that the reason women of colour embrace intersectionality as a radical and viable strategy is that the core problems that they face are themselves both intersectional and radical.

The intersectionality approach is also embraced by women of colour because they use it as a radical strategy to expose and diffuse the differential nature of interlocking forms of oppression (Chun et al. 2013). The militant and radical strategies that women of colour employ can fit into Gordon's (2016) conception of the socialist feminist articulations of intersectionality. For her, it is vital to understand the socialist feminist version of contemporary intersectionality work from the feminists' terms as part of a multi-pronged campaign against injustice. Socialist feminists according to Gordon (2016), 'believed that sex/gender inequality contributed to class, race, sexual, militarist and environmental structures of injustice, soon adding in disability and various forms of sex and gender queerness' (p. 343).

A realisation that sex or gender inequalities can contribute to the mobilisation and shaping of some of the social cleavages and some forms of injustice including new considerations of disability and various forms of sex and gender queerness, is important. The socialist feminist inclination to intersectionality according to Gordon (2016) is the New-Left feminism which rejects the Marxian notion that class is the root of all other oppressions. An intersectionality approach widens the scope of analysis beyond class domination or single-issue/single-factor analytic approaches. Lewis (2009) posits for intersectionality that, 'it can work to expose both

structures and dynamics of social subordination and discrimination' (p. 206). This perspective regarding the efficacy of intersectionality fits well in the context of the NSM paradigm. This is important because the NSM paradigm has a social constructionist imperative whose emphasis is on social changes in identity, lifestyle and culture (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2009).

In view of the different perspectives relating to the intersectionality approach and its theoretical contribution to social movement studies, in particular the NSM paradigm, Chun et al. (2013) insist on a nuanced understanding and deployment of intersectionality. This is because these scholars find fault with many scholars who use intersectionality without its specified definition and clarification of efficacy. This has, according to Choo and Ferre (2010) cited in Chun et al. (2013), resulted in intersectionality's 'underutilized potential' yet it is a robust mode of sociological analysis. Thus, Tormos (2017) acknowledges the efficacy of intersectionality as a robust mode of sociological analysis because of its genealogy. He points out that intersectionality was designed by Crenshaw in 1989 to emphasize the importance of accounting for multiple strands of identities when one explores the manner in which the world is constructed.

Another critical relevance of the intersectionality theory is better elaborated by Montoya (2021). The intersectionality theory is helpful towards scholars of social movement studies because it provides a framework to understand the nuance of power dynamics in movements (Montoya 2021). One of the crucial forms of violence that characterised FMF movement (see chapter 6) relates to contestations of gender disparities and politics of gender. Horn (2013) makes an important assertion that contemporary social movements are framed according to challenges to definitions of identity and belonging in contrast to earlier ones whose focus was on structural inequalities such as social class. This shift of focus in the history of social movements with current emphasis on identity politics and contestations of belonging is critical. I further elaborate on this point in one of the subsequent sections where I specifically deal with identity social cleavages later in the empirical chapters.

2.3 Some intersectionality perspective considerations

This knowledge on intersectionality as a theoretical framework informs the subsequent sections of this chapter. Intersectionality approach's thrust and consideration of an individual not as solitary being but more like a crowd characterized by multiple identities is part of the foundation for this literature review. Thus, individuals as actors and key informants of this study are regarded as socially situated within multiple identities that intersect and are shaped by constellations of power relations, leading to unequal material realities.

The study recognizes and acknowledges from an intersectionality perspective that socially constructed categories of identities cannot be understood in isolation. This is because multiple forms of domination can interact and fuse into new complex realities. Some of the literature on social movement studies has shown that socialist feminists have emerged over time to challenge patriarchal forms of domination as part of the New-Leftist radicalism (Gordon 2016). The concerns of intersectionality regarding identities and the emerging tensions of resistance to dominance provide a basis to engage literature that explores how fracture lines are established, negotiated, and broken down. The multiple collective identities that emerge during processes of collective action are not necessarily physical similarities but ideological – shared beliefs and ideas that make groups identify as a collective. Put in another way, movements produce multiple collective identities and those identities are causes of movements (Weldon 2006).

In this study, I take into account that some scholars have discussed the implications of intersectionality for different forms of collective action under different titles. My understanding of intersectional approaches within concepts such as social cleavages, solidarity and coalition building was integral for this study as it empowered me to trace ongoing processes of the creation of ties and coalitions across different social categories of difference and identity. This applied in particular to the social cleavages of inquiry in this particular study – race, gender and citizenship. An intersectional approach has the theoretical rigour to show how negotiation, contradictions and tensions facilitated by the social construction of the power asymmetries in the categories of identity were perceived during FMF.

The intersectional approach to social movement studies provides the researcher with the recognition of the representations of marginalized groups because of the multiple intersections and linkages between different social cleavages and lived experiences. In this regard, I observe that the manner in which people organize their interactions during social movements is important, 'whether people organize as aggrieved citizens, advocates of special interests, religious congregations, local municipalities, ethnic groups, suppressed nation, women gays, veterans, or something else' (Tilly 2003, p. 31). This also relates to the various ways in which alliances form and identities intersect or diverge within social movements. The narrative chapter provides an account of and context in which FMF emerged and organized itself into a movement. Following an understanding of the origins, travel and wide usage of the intersectionality framework in social movement studies scholarship, it is imperative to briefly explore social movement literature to relate FMF to the social movement paradigm.

2.4 Wits FMF as an intersectional social movement

'Any social movement is situated within a particular nexus of time, place and history'
(Chovanec and Benitez 2008, p 40)

In the narrative chapter of this thesis, I succinctly captured the nexus of the 2015/16 Wits FMF protest moment in the form of a detailed chronology of events. I outlined a historical account of the intersectionality theory in the preceding section of this chapter, which captures the theory's past articulations, origins, travel, and global usage. I have thus provided an outline that shows that there is and has been some interactions between the concept of intersectionality and social movements where social movement scholars have adopted the theory across the globe. I have no intention in this particular section of the thesis to historicise the trajectory of social movements or its literature thereof. It is imperative nonetheless, that I state from the onset that there has been different theoretical approaches, which evolved and various scholars used them widely towards the study of social movements over time. For example, Ballard et al (2006) presents a survey of social movement approaches and state that, investigations of social movements commonly build on three central aspects of mobilisation. The three include the structure of opportunities and constraints within which movements may or may not develop, the network structures and other resources that actors employ to mobilise supporters and finally the ways in which movement participants define and frame their movement.

The argument relating to the aspect of the structure of opportunities and constraints within which movements may or may not develop although equally an old one is helpful in relating to the conditions at play during the evolution, rise and decline of FMF at Wits University. However, what is import at this stage is to note from Mati's (2012) theorisation of social movements that in the absence of a single theory referred to as 'the' social movement theory, is a nested collection of theories and models that some scholars advance in social movement studies. According to Tilly (2004) as cited in Mati (2012), we can trace the term social movement in sociological literature back to Lorenz von Stein's (1850) *History of the French Social Movement from 1870 to the present.* At this point according to Tilly (2004) as cited in Mati (2012, p. 25), von Stein's use of the term social movement was meant to convey the 'the idea of a continuous, unitary process by which the working class gained self-consciousness and power'. The FMF during 2015/16 period had alike moments of continuous strategies of mobilisation of common identities such as framing the movement as a 'Black child' struggle in an attempt to forge unitary or collective identities. However, as noted in the earlier section scholars such as della Porta and Diani (2006) warn us against some conceptual lapses that usually emerge. For them, the treatment of social movement actors among the collective

behaviour theorists as homogenous entities in their struggles or as if they were a single unitary actor usually result in conceptual and theoretical lapses. This exists as a conceptual call to intersectional consciousness as a researcher in dealing with collective labels such as the 'Black child' narrative that emerged during FMF as a form of mobilising movement members. Although social movements generally have a long history of existence and works which according to Tilly (2004) as cited in Mati (2012), predate von Stein's 1850 publication, the usage and meaning of the term 'social movement' is still highly contested. Mati (2012, p. 25) argues that, 'there are still conceptual and theoretical contestations on how best to define and study social movements' and that this emanates from the different theoretical models that have been used in the study of social movements over time. In spite of this definitional and conceptual challenge, my intention here is to show my basis of framing FMF as a particular type of a social movement and to reveal its uniqueness. This is helpful for the reader to appreciate my case study, Wits University, in relation to the broader context of the structure of opportunities and socio-economic and political constraints that generally constrain or enable social movements.

In putting the above to perspective, Horn' (2013, p. 01) definition states that:

> Social movements are forms of collective action that emerge in response to situations of inequality, oppression and/or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands.

The above definition sets the tone of the narrative chapter and subsequent empirical ones in its realisation of the situations and causal conditions that generally spark the emergence of social movements. In its simplest terms, Horn's definition refers to any form of collective action, which emerges by way of response to various situations of unequal power relations that may oppress other groups. The collective action according to Horn's definition above may be due to unmet demands of a social, political, economic or cultural nature. This locates FMF within this framework of being a mobilised form of collective action by local and international students supported by some academics, administrative members of staff and ordinary workers. The narrative chapter puts in detail how the unmet call for decolonisation and transformation by students including the unaffordable tuition fee hike resulted in the conception of the #FMF as the name of the movement.

The element of self-defining as 'oppressed' to borrow from Horn's definition for example, is helpful for the reader to appreciate the context within the broader theorisation of social movements from which FMF emerged. The majority of Black students in the movement who identified as poor in relation to campus life and tuition fee demands for example mobilized into

a collective student body and executed different forms of collective actions (see narrative chapter 4). I emphasize the term 'Black' students for the reader to appreciate the dynamics of race and other unequal identities that eventually emerged in an attempt to clarify the type of social movement that FMF came to be. I relate to inequality in this regard from social class base perspective. As part of the framing and contextualisation FMF it is important to take note of Buechler's (1953) contribution to the *New Social Movement Theories* debate on social identities which I later refer to as 'social cleavages' of identity. For him, 'if old social movements presupposed a solidly working-class base and ideology, then new social movements are presumed to draw from a different social class base' (Buechler 1995, p. 453). Although there is no consensus on this view by Buechler relating to how we should define social base or even, whether the concept of class should remain central in defining a movement base, I adopted his thesis for this study. A class orientation in answering this question according to Buechler (1995) is itself a residual effect of an economistic reading of social movements where the social base of movement actors is automatically defined by a social structure. For him jettisoning such economistic notions enable us to appreciate the extent at which new social movements are currently 'defined by the dynamics of race, ethnicity, culture, gender, or age' (p. 453).

The economistic reading or classed orientation of FMF is not helpful for me to explore the nuances that emerge from the broader social base of the various social cleavages of identities that constituted FMDF. Buechler (1995) conquers that social divisions (social cleavages) are imperative in reading contemporary social movements. He argues that, social divisions in reality have well transcended class in their relevance for shaping collective action. As part of framing FMF and relating it to the new social movements discourse, I adopted Buechler's (1995, p. 453) thesis that, '…the group identities undergirding collective action have shifted from class to status, race, gender, ethnicity, or nationality'. This thesis by Buechler's is confirmed by my methodological approach (see chapter 3) from which I formulated the research themes (social cleavages of inquiry) from the preliminary analysis of the empirical data. The theme of class did not feature much from the analysis of the participants' conceptualisation of their experiences. Instead, more or less similar social divisions that Buechler argues have transcended class in their relevance for shaping collective action became distinct for the FMF case study.

Aspects of identity-based mobilisation in the theorisation of social movements' collective actions in recent resource mobilisation approaches according to Hannigan (1985), have revealed that the major task in mobilization is to generate solidarity. This is equally important

in relating FMF to some of the recent theorisations of social movement characteristics and elements. FMF for example, used many tactics to generate solidarities during its moments of evolution, rise and decline. The mobilisation of Pan-Africanist ideology, MbokodoLead feminist group, and the use of the Black child narrative symbolize the manner in which the identity-based social base of FMF emerged and evolved in response to the different conditions that confronted the movement. More than the economistic reading of FMF, the social base of group identities such as gender, race, nationality and the status of the hierarchy of inequalities in the form of patriarchy and female subordination and exclusion characterised FMF at different moments. Tormos (2017) expresses a view that, one of the explanations for solidarity is that shared identities are the basis of solidarity mobilisation, which means that, it emerges in contexts in which social movement actors share identities.

The correlation of the existence of solidarity in social movements and the aspect of shared identity means that in the event that shared identities cease to exist, solidarities would hardly sustain or will breakdown. Feminists, queer theorists and some social movement scholars according to Tormos (2017), contest this notion of the correlation between solidarity generation and shared identity because social groups and their members' identities are not homogenous. This is because Tormos (2017) clarifies that, social movement actors instead identify in relation to multiple intersections of gender, race, sexuality, nationality and other social base categories of identity. In essence, this means that within these social categories of collective identities, there are various dynamics of intersections of inequalities and differences. For example, people within the social category of gender have different sexual orientations, experience different gender disparities and have feminine and masculine roles in everyday life. These differences of social identities of movement participants are shaped and influenced by race, nationality, age and other social identities. This has led to Tormos (2017) proposing an intersectional approach to solidarity, which means an intersection, ally conscious approach, which recognizes and represents intersection ally marginalized social groups. The marginalized groups emerge from multiple interactions and linkages between different social structures and lived experiences.

This brief outline has related FMF within the various aspects and elements that characterize social movements in general but more interestingly the fact that, FMF had features of the mobilization of collective identities, which were not homogenous but contested and negotiated. There were hierarchies of social inequalities of power relations and differences in the form of gender, race and nationality. In the section below, I briefly explore 'fallist' paradigm of the

'Must Fall movements' that emerged in South Africa which further contextualise the Wits FMF that I explore in this study. The section below is conceptually, linked, to the preceding first two, which outline the overarching concepts of intersectionality and social movement. This linkage is helpful to relate and map the intersectionality of FMF as social movement located in the paradigm of fallism.

2.5 Fallism and Wits FMF

There has been a growing and captivating academic literature on 'Fees Must Fall' and Hodes (2016) accounts for FMF as a subject of acute academic interest and a rapidly growing literature. According to Taghavi (2017), academics such Healy-Clancy (2017) and Nyamnjoh (2016) have chosen to use the hashtag form of the fallist movements such as #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall and #Shackville. FMF as fallist movement used various platforms and sites for its mobilisation and struggle. Taghavi (2017) confirms that, the movement's operations and presence was not in any way restricted to social media, where these hashtags were primarily used. As such, for this thesis I do not prefix FMF with a hashtag. Similar to Taghavi's (2017) experience, my case study participants did not mention or restrict FMF to a hashtag or media activism.

According to Booysen (2016) students used the term 'movement' in relation to their multicampus, cross-province and international action under the banner #FMF- and several derivatives and variations of Fallism eventually emerged over time. These variations of Fallism included #RhodesMustFall in early 2015, #RhodesSoWhite, #OpenStellenbosch, #TransformWits, #KingGeoargeMustFall, #FeesMustFall, #NationalShutDown, #FeesWillFall, #ANCMustFall, #FeesHaveFallen and #PatriarchyMustFall. It is important to state from the onset that Maluleka (2021) states that, 'it should be noted that there is no single all-encompassing definition of what fallism is' (p. 74). This is because fallists interpret, reconstruct and represent fallism differently in different sites, many of which are generally intersectional (Maluleka 2021). Nonetheless, Maldonado-Torres (2017) accounts for fallism, with reference to the South African student-led FMF movement, as a 'major earthquake that moved the foundations of South African consciousness and society…' (p. 14). He notes that, as a text, the *Rioting and Writing: Diaries of the Wits Fallists* written by student-activists themselves, sheds light on the complexity of FMF movement that sought to transform the bases of South African society and that it helps us to appreciate the multi-layered dimensions of the movement.

In relating and locating Wits FMF in the broader wave of Fallist movements which Maldonado-Torres metaphorically describes as a 'major earthquake' it is important to note from Hodes (2016) that, a cluster of student activist groups emerged at South African universities. The broader multi-campus, cross-province and international action of fallism according to Booysen (2016) found its major antecedent in the #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) movement while the epicentre of the national FMF was Wits University (subsequently referred just as Wits). Hodes (2016) states that, FMF became a national movement because of its success in the mobilization of mass numbers across various university campus locations across the country. 'The notion of fallism highlights the demand for far-reaching change' (Booysen 2016, p. 04) and that it is defined by student activist Athabile Nonxuba as an 'oath of allegiance that everything to do with oppression and conquest of black people by white power must fall and be destroyed'. Wits as the epicentre of what became a national movement which took an oath of allegiance to confront all forms oppression and racial inequalities, also encountered tensions of an intersectional nature from within. For Mazibuko (2020), fallism is developed with the benefit of having engaged intersectionality and from this context makes room for us not of to only recognize our complex positionalities, but to craft various strategies that equip us in doing the work of actively disabling normativities. Molefe (2015) as cited in Chen (2017) contributes that, 'fallism names the heuristic [self-teaching and learning-my emphasis] process through which students are opposing dominant stances, practices and subjectivities, and expounding new ones in their wake …' (p.01).

Dlakavu (2016), was a key figure of the movement, a feminist and one of the Fallists based at Wits, she points out that, during the establishment of the Fallist movement Black women, queer activists and gender non-conformists held placards stating that 'This revolution would be intersectional or it will be bullshit' (p. 101). This does not only speak to the promise of commitment to confront all forms of oppression including the variant of fallism such as #PatriarchyMustFall but relates and locates Wits FMF in a particular perspective of the Fallist movement. In other words from Mazibuko's narrative above, fallism takes into account the different intersecting positionalities and it is a pragmatic intervention that embarks on relevant practical strategies to disable normalised social structures of power relations. This is the context in which FMF emerged and evolved into various Fallist movements based on different experiences of oppression and exclusion of Black students that sought to confront all interlocking forms of oppression. Dlakavu (2016) puts the fallism at Wits to context by stating that:

> I was part of the group of black feminists at Wits University who engaged in solidarity protests entitled #IamOneInThree in support of the #RUReferenceList, also prevalent on social media. The #IamOneInThree protest was also a space for us to share our own experiences of patriarchal violence, in the form of rape, and how the system has failed us (p. 101).

Dlakavu's citation illuminates the intersectionality nature of Wits FMF as a social movement. It also relates to Horn (2013) and Hannigan's (1985) theorisation of how solidarities are generated through the mobilisation of collective identities responding to situations of inequalities and oppressions. In practical terms Black student feminists at Wits mobilised solidarity though social media platforms and created a space for sharing their experiences of patriarchal violence and supported the victims of rape culture prevalent at Rhodes University at that time for example. The experience of patriarchal violence is echoed by another Fallist, Mabaso (2017) who reiterates that she felt being disciplined by the violence of patriarchy which meant that she had to dress in a particular unfeminine way to avoid exposing her body while moving around on campus. She said this was her experience of the violence of patriarchy prior to the rise of #MbokodoLead, which she describes as a moment when women of the Wits FMF mobilised and came to the forefront by asserting the legitimacy of femininity within the movement. MbokodoLead which Mpofu-Walsh (2016) describes as one of the strongest political forces that emerged during FMF was a 'solidarity feminist group' that was mobilized to encompass all women of different sexual orientations to challenge the patriarchal dominance of males. Shange (2017) narrates Thenjiwe Mswane, a queer feminist and Wits FMF student activist's experiences of the mounting tensions between male students led by the male leadership and what she described as 'reactionists' referring to mainly queer activists and feminists. Mswane's pictures in a tussle with Chumani Maxwele, a University of Cape Town student by then, went viral on social media platforms.

Shange (2017) narrates from Mswane's perspective that male leadership of FMF had taken a unilateral decision to exclude feminists and queer activists and had mobilised a contingent of male students from other universities to reinforce against reactionists. She quotes Mswane narrating what one of the male leaders said:

> We asked one of our student leaders within PASMA [Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania]…, my leader who has been included and who has been excluded? He said feminists are not allowed, queer bodies are not allowed… (Shange 2017, p. 64).

These developments within the Wits Fallist movement can be explained by Meluci's theory of social movements that is widely used by Peterson (1989) that, the concept of social movement designates a specific class of collective phenomena which embraces three aspects. The three specific aspects being 'solidarity, conflict and transcendence of the limits of compatibility with existing social system' (Peterson 1989, p. 424). The feminist solidarities that emerged were directly in conflict with the overwhelmingly dominant presence of patriarchy which they sought to push to the limits by 'ripping men apart' (see chapter 6 on women's appropriation of symbols of violence usually associated with men). The narrative of how tensions erupted between male students and the various gender identities relates to Peterson's (1989) thesis that, social movements cannot be conceived as unified subjects. He argues that instead, they should always be seen as composite action systems in which widely differing means, ends and forms of solidarity and organization converge.

Cho, Crenshaw and MacCall's (2013) submit that, intersectionality was introduced in the 1980s to focus on vexed dynamics of difference and the solidarities of sameness in the context of antidiscrimination and social movement politics. Taking into account of this submission and relating it to FMF, it becomes clear that a similar approach still remained integral to the analysis of the dynamics of the politics of difference that emerged within the student body and social mobilisation of solidarities of sameness such feminists against patriarchs. For this thesis, I understand fallism to mean all processes and actions stimulated by the sense of different experiences of oppression, exclusion and subjugation that Black students undertake centred on intersectionality, Pan-Africanism, Black Consciousness, Black Feminism and any other decolonial philosophy as acts of self-liberation. Accordingly, fallist movements in general according to Chen (2017) have been 'described as a new brand of student politics in South Africa which rejects alignment with political parties and distrust hierarchical leadership structures' (p. 10). All interviews indicated that they were not politically affiliated to any political party and the narrative and empirical chapters make mention of partisan tensions that affected the FMF because it was shifting from the mandate of fallism.

In this section I have outlined how Wits FMF relates to the aspects of solidarity generation and mobilisation in contemporary social movements using fallism as to locate Wits FMF in the broader social movement discourse. This has partly revealed how gendered forms of discrimination, marginalisation and exclusion emerged with males pronouncing discrimination against female leadership, feminists and queer activists. This calls for the consideration some important conceptual imperatives which eventually become prevalent in subsequent empirical chapters due to the multi-dimensional complexities of FMF.

2.6 Patriarchy in a fallist movement

Violence against women (feminists and queer activists) during FMF across almost all university campuses' existence can no longer be a subject of debate but of theorisation. Hunnicutt (2009) makes an important realisation relating to past theorisations of the links between patriarchy and violence against women. She notes that, there has been criticism levelled against the approaches of this theorisation among others such as the implying of false universalism upon which the concept has been employed in ways that ignored the differences among men. According to her, such approaches resulted in casting men as a singular group while on the other hand the same approaches failed to show how the concept could account for violence by women or men against other men.

Beechey (1979) reveals that the concept of patriarchy has a long history within feminist thoughts and has been used by earlier feminists like Virginia Woolf and Vera Brittain although with a challenge in its theorisation and meaning. Hunnicutt (2009) concurs, that there is a history of radical feminist literature on violence against women that evoked patriarchy as a theoretical concept beginning with the pioneering works of Susan Brownmiller in 1975. Although early radical feminist literature evoked patriarchy, the concept became heavily contested and criticized for being under-theorized because there had been no fully developed gender-centred theory of violence against women (Hunnicutt 2009). This resulted in the term patriarchy becoming largely abandoned (Hunnicutt 2009) while Beechey (1979) had already noted a variety of different approaches to the analysis of patriarchy with no satisfactory analysis of the concept in any of the existing literature then. 'This raises the question of whether the quest for a theory of patriarchy is a mistaken one, and whether the concept should be abandoned' (Beechey 1979, p. 67). Mlotshwa (2021) also notes, that feminist scholars seem not to agree on the analytical value of the concept of patriarchy, as such some insist that it is old-fashioned.

Although there was a challenge in the theorisation, definition, application and consensus in the meaning of the concept of patriarchy in early feminist writings, Beechey (1979) elaborates that, it is not a 'single or simple concept but has a whole variety of meanings' (p. 66). However, at the most general terms, according to Millett (1966) as cited in Beechey (1979), the concept had been used to refer to 'male domination and to the power relationships by which men dominate women' (p. 66). Meade and Hagg (1998) as cited in Mlotshwa (2021) define patriarchy as 'the system of gender domination rooted in fatherhood' (p. 05). Barret (1980) also cited in Mlotshwa (2021) defines it as 'the rule of the father in a male dominated father' (p. 05). Walby (1990) as cited in Mlotshwa (2021) sees patriarchy as social structures and practices, systemic,

whereby 'men dominate, oppress and exploit women' (p. 05). In the main, the definitions of the concept of patriarchy have over time, pointed to male domination and women subordination dichotomy and that of Meade and Hagg as recent as 1998 begin to see patriarchy as a system of gender domination from the social power system of fatherhood. This is important particularly from an African perspective taking into account the symbolic stature of fatherhood and that it begins to move beyond biological determinism of male and female into a social construct of gender.

In spite of early thoughts to abandon the concept of patriarchy with some feminists like Kate Millett focusing solely on the system of male domination and female subordination, Marxist feminists started to push its boundaries of analysis Beechey (1979). They attempted to analyse the relationship between the subordination of women and the organization of various modes or production, in fact they adopted it and transformed the Marxist theory to account for the subordination of women as well as for the forms of class exploitation (Beechey 1979). In her analysis of some feminist works, Beechey (1979) identified a number of problems and made some critical observations on the Radical feminist, Revolutionary feminist and Marxist feminist approaches to the use of the concept of patriarchy.

For example, she analysed Kate Miller's work on *Sexual Politics* from the radical feminist approach, she concludes that Millett's *Sexual Politics* only provides a description of patriarchal relationships and some of their manifestations. The gap according to her is that Millett's work is unable to provide satisfactory explanation of the foundation of the patriarchal relationships. Beechey (1979) notes that Millett does realize that there is a basic division between men and women which involves relationships of domination and subordination. The gap in Millet's radical feminist approach is that she does not explain the different forms which male domination and female subordination assumes in different societies or how societies are organized to institutionalise such power relationships. Millet's approach as analysed by Beechey, would not be helpful to adopt for the analysis of FMF because it only reflects on the dichotomy of male domination and female subordination. This could miss the nuances that emerge from the intersectionality of the categories of race; ethnicity, nationality and gender, which are critical in FMF, and have provoked the interest of transnational feminist approaches (see Patil 2013).

In relation to Revolutionary feminism approaches, Beechey (1979) cites the problem in its development of a theory of patriarchy and sex class which is rooted in women's reproductive system. In her discussion of one of the papers reprinted in *Scarlet Women (Number Five)* to clarify the revolutionary feminist tendency, she notes that Sheila Jeffreys argues in *The Need*

for Revolutionary Feminism that there exists two systems of social classes. The two classes according to Beechey's (1979) review of Jeffreys' work are the economic class system, based on relations of production and the sex class system based on relations of reproduction. She notes that:

> It is the second system of classes, the sex class system, which according to Sheila Jeffreys, accounts for the subordination of women. The concept of patriarchy refers to this second system of classes, to the rule of women by men which is based upon men's ownership and control of women's reproductive powers (Beechey 1979, p. 69).

I concur and embrace Beechey's position on Jeffrey's revolutionary feminist analysis approach which roots patriarchy and female subordination in the reproductive differences of the sexes. Her take is that this approach raises many problems and questions, firstly it is biologically reductionist and therefore unable to explain the forms which sexual differences assume within different forms of social organization. 'Secondly, the concept of reproduction is defined extremely narrowly and it is limited to the physical act of reproducing children' (Beechey 1979, p. 70). Jeffrey does not locate the reproductive differences between men and women within any system of social relationships. She also does not relate these differences to any characteristics of particular 'forms of society which give rise to male aggression and domination on the one hand and to female passivity and dependency on the other' (Beechey 1979, p. 70).

In a study of gender relations within a study of the magnitude of FMF it is instead helpful to broaden the scope to considerations beyond the assumption of men's innate biological urge over women. For example, the inclusion of the analysis of mobilisations of feminist solidarities that emerged during FMF to challenge social power relations is critical beyond the conception and limitation of patriarchal relations to reproductive differences of sexes. This is a more or less similar approach to Mlotshwa's (2021) approach of exploring the concept of representation and patriarchy within an African politics and social movement perspectives. In his approach, Mlotshwa (2021) used four case studies to historicise the arch of patriarchy and argues that within the African political sphere patriarchy is seen as more than the rule of the son by the father. It is instead the rule of society by the brotherhood of males (Mlotshwa 2021).

The above notion makes patriarchy as a theoretical concept in understanding violence against women to remain central particularly in a study of a fallist movement such as FMF which, was characterised by gendered forms of violence. Hunnicutt (2009) argues that, in spite various critiques and questioning of the relevance of the concept of patriarchy, its terminology and

meanings were imported into terms such as *male-dominated society, sexual inequality theory, and nebulous feminist perspectives* (Hunnicutt 2009). What could be helpful to breach the ambivalence in theorisation of the links between patriarchy and violence against women is to adopt and adapt an intersectionality approach. For example, Moolman (2013) argues for intersectionality's ability to recognize the myriad and multiple articulations of social power. This is a similar approach that I embarked upon while being cautious against the universalisation of men as a singular and homogenous social group.

For this study, I remained conscious of the feminist and queer activists' actions, experiences and strategies that they employed during FMF, which invoked the images of gender hierarchies, dominance and power arrangements. This was in observance of Patil's (2013) reminder that, the central critique of patriarchy is in its unidimensional conceptualisation of gender which is its dichotomisation of gendered individuals into women and men, neglecting the differences of power relations within each category. According to Patil (2013) critiques of such an approach hold that social categories (cleavages) such as gender, race, and sexuality, while operating according to distant logics, are independent and interrelated. I concur. Patil (2013) accounts for intersectionality as having displaced 'patriarchy' because as delineated by Crenshaw and elaborated by various subsequent scholars, because it does not focus on patriarchy per se but on monolithic accounts of gender. The intersectionality approach as Patil (2013) also concurs, has the theoretical potential to addresses the shortfalls in patriarchy's usual dichotomous approach to gender. Through an intensive archival and case study historical research approach to the analysis of sub-alternization of women in African politics and struggles of feminist politics, Mlotshwa (2012) views patriarchy as present in many ways and places including in social movements, at times including those led by women. This calls for this study to engage patriarchy and its relations to social categories of identity. In the subsequent section, I introduce the concept of social cleavages, which will in the analysis chapters illuminate how patriarchy as a structure of power and ideology contributed in the evolution of the fallist movement.

2.7 Social cleavages

So far, I have demonstrated that intersectionality focuses on the socially constructed categories of multiple identities that can explain the life worlds of individuals and groups. What is important at this point of the study is to define the concept of social cleavage. The concept has been explored by different scholars over time. Chiavacci (2010) borrows from Bartolini and Mair's (1990) definition of social cleavage to highlight three elements from which it is conceived:

> (i) Division of society into groups along demographic or socioeconomic lines, (ii) collective identity and shared attitudes of such groups, and (iii) distinct organizational bases or forms of collective action of such groups (p. 49).

The above definition introduces us to socially constructed identities of difference earlier dealt with as central components of analysis in intersectionality approaches. I use 'social cleavages' as reference to the multiple identities, which intersect in their makeup of individuals or groups and interact within the matrix of power relationships. Of note in the above definition is firstly the need to understand social cleavages as oriented around various demographic divisions, which become significant in particular societies. This tends to organize and arrange society and its members into socioeconomic lines. I see these socioeconomic lines as fault lines that then divide society along social and economic categories of identity. These socioeconomic lines becomes what is commonly identified as social cleavages of race and class for example, among others. Once these socioeconomic fault lines are established, particular demographic groupings organise into collective identities and develop shared attitudes as groupings. Drawing from the provided definition to review literature, my understanding is that once fault lines are drawn and exist as demographic categories of identity, organised collective action follows these social cleavages.

The matter of individuals as constituted by multiple social identities is observed by many scholars. Posner (2017) reiterates this view and argues that, societies become divided based on multiple social cleavages. This suggests that the more social identities there are, the bigger the base upon which societies become divided. I indicated earlier on, basing on Chiavacci (2010) that collective action tends to be organized along particular lines of social cleavage. Posner (2017) elaborates that there are circumstances when social conflicts are organized along lines of some cleavages but not others. This raises a pertinent question for this study relating to the impact of violence on social cleavages. In this regard, the view held by Posner (2017) is that social conflicts are more potent along particular fault lines than others are.

To put the social cleavage-social conflict interaction debate to context, Posner (2017) identifies contributing factors and contexts to support his argument. Although he uses political salience, he argues that some scholars have found that colonial institutions tend to reifying particular social cleavages than others. Some of the scholars have identified emotions that drive certain cleavages in a sustained way (Posner 2017). This approach to understanding social cleavages and their salience over time as well as why they tend to be used during social or political conflicts is useful for this study. In a country like South Africa, the notion of colonial

institutions as reifying particular social cleavages coincides with Chikane's (2018) assertion that South Africa is a historically divided nation. The reality is that although the rainbow nation motif was mobilized as a unifier, the irony is that the colours of the rainbow never intersect but run parallel without integration (Chikane 2018). The cleavage of race in South Africa remains one of the core socio-economic fault lines given the country's history of formal segregation or apartheid.

Posner's (2017) earlier assertion that colonial institutions become significant in the reification of some of the social cleavages is echoed by Chikane (2018). The latter argues that, the rainbow nation narrative is an emotional ploy whose foundations are based on whiteness and that it perpetuates discrimination using some of the democratic institutions. What is evident from these assertions is that the salience and sustenance of particular social cleavages such as race in the context of South Africa has a correlation with institutionalisation. Posner's (2017) second assertion has something to do with emotions that become attached to a social cleavage. His assertion suggests that besides institutionalisation, there are other possibilities that can enhance the perpetual sanctioning of some social cleavages than others.

The social cleavage of race especially in a South African context is an emotive matter and according to Posner (2017), when emotions are attached to a social cleavage, they render its stability over time. This clarifies Posner's argument that some of the social cleavages have historical backgrounds wherein colonial regimes institutionalised them into systems of oppression and discrimination. In South Africa and in the broader British colonial Africa, the social cleavage of race has remained emotionally charged because as Erasmus (2017) points out, it has been used over time to exclude indigenous people and deny them access to resources. The manner in which the social cleavage of race has been framed in South Africa illuminates the question that has been explored by Posner (2017), that is, why some social cleavages become more important than others. Erasmus (2017) answers by writing that in South Africa

'race categories denoted degrees of citizenship' (p. 87), meaning classification has historically been used to deny some groups full citizenship.

The question relating to the racial categorisation of people in South Africa and elsewhere, and the institutionalisation and use of the race cleavage to denote the degree of citizenship and or to completely deny others of it, requires context. This confirms the argument that some social cleavages (race being one such) stem from historical and colonial contexts of institutionalised racism. Such social cleavages become part of the institutionalised systems of domination, subordination, discrimination and or racialization even after official racism has been

dismantled, as happened in South Africa in 1994. The cited example of how the race cleavage was mobilized by the South African apartheid regime to determine the degree of another cleavage (citizenship) or to deny others of it, illustrates an important point. It emphasizes the relevance and necessity of not isolating social cleavages in seeking to understand them. Adam and Moodley (1986) put this view differently in arguing that race and class for example, overlap greatly in South Africa. Thus, race and citizenship have certain degrees of overlap and cannot be analytically understood in isolation from one another, hence their intersectionality is important. Such existent and intersecting demographic socioeconomic lines of difference are at times contested through violent means. This is particularly important in light of studying social movements such as FMF within a context of colonially institutionalized social cleavages, with some associated with high emotional attachments.

Social cleavages as already argued can be sustained by long colonial histories of the institutionalisation of discrimination along particular demographic lines of identity. Some scholars also make a case for the extent to which emotions are inherent in particular social cleavages, drive such cleavages over time, and attract overt violent social conflicts. Mishra, Palai and Das (2016) make an interesting case relating to how social cleavages relate with conflicts, tensions and antagonisms using the cleavage of class as an example in India, a state similar to South Africa in terms of inequalities. For Mishra et al. (2016) although contentious, class can be represented by non-economic sources of social cleavage in the form of caste, religion or ethnicity but overall represents economic cleavages that systematically generate overt conflicts in society. Systems of inequality generated through individuals and groups' relationship to capital result in different lifestyles and these differences become consolidated into relatively stable identities (Mishra et al 2016). It is important to keep in mind that collective action is linked to perceived collective identities while any mobilised prominent identities can become forms of domination or subordination that can generate social conflicts.

The cleavage of class for example, more or less like that of race, remains an enduring feature of society (Mishra et al. 2016). The importance of enduring social cleavages as I have established so, lies in the extent to which they divide society into groups along demographic or socioeconomic lines, and also into collective multiple and significant identities. Race and class cleavages are central in the determination of social inequalities. For Mishra et al. (2016) 'inequalities in economic opportunities generate overt conflicts' while the cleavage of class generally 'represents a sorts of struggles against exploitation and oppression' (p. 4). This means class can be imagined as a cleavage of domination and subordination where struggles against exploitation ensue, usually through violent means. Race on the other hand in the context

of apartheid South Africa was mobilised to respond to the state policies of exclusion while exclusion itself defined and unified the subordinated (Marx 1995). Understandably then, social cleavages as systems of colonial or racial structures of domination and subordination have an enduring history in the literature of social movements in South Africa. For example, Marx (1995) argues that following official efforts to side-line Africans into false citizenship of the homelands, trade union movements propelled the anti-apartheid struggle based mostly on fighting against the oppression of the majority blacks when the United Democratic Front had been clamped down by the state. In the immediate following section, I reflect on social cleavages with focus on their intersectional and intersectionality relationships. I subsequently explore the concept of solidarity in relation to the broader theme of formation and mobilisation strategies of social movements.

2.8 Gender: its intersection and intersectionality in social movements

In this section I present literature relating to the social cleavage of gender and its intersection and intersectionality with others. I previously highlighted the broader South African context, specifically relating to race and class during the apartheid era. The social cleavage of race in apartheid South Africa, according to Erasmus (2017), was used to denote the degree of one's citizenship or denial of it. The determination of citizenship based on race had a social class orientation than a social identity one. Social movements have generally shifted focus from social class orientations to the mobilisation of solidarities based on social identity categories. However, it is important to reiterate the point by Einwohner, Kelly-Thompson, Sinclair Thompson, Tormos-Aponte, Weldon, Right and Wu (2019) that, social movements are not only characterised by difference within the ranks of activists but also by the power asymmetries reflecting the broader forms of domination. Any gendered distinction of activists in a social movement struggle shows the gender related power asymmetries which generally define the configuration of a patriarchal social stratification of the broader society.

Feminist activists or movements of feminist resistance have emerged to challenge patriarchal dominance. This has also resulted in the emergence of feminism or feminist activism in the context of social justice to reveal and fight against oppression and most significantly, to reveal the salience of intersectionality. According to Einwohner et al. (2019), women play significant roles in movements of feminist resistance in the context of the United States of America (US). The Women's March which was organised to protest the election of former US President Donald Trump and campaigns such as Black Lives Matter and movements for immigrants' rights in the US are recent topical examples of women's crucial roles in social movement

struggles for justice. This alerts us to the significant role of gender and violence in social movement studies.

Although the social control of women and other marginalised groupings through patriarchal social structures of stratification undermines their own subjectivities, it nonetheless stimulates their own gender consciousness. The anti-rape movement for example, according to Creek and Dunn (2011) emerged out of consciousness-raising groups of the women's liberation movements in the 1970s. The emerging women's liberation movements broadened and encompassed more nuanced and subtle realities of gender violence (Creek and Dunn 2011).

Creek and Dunn (2011) further state that, Murray Straus whose writings focused on 'wifebeating' as a form of gender violence, attributed the increase on the literature on domestic violence consciousness to increasing numbers of women who got influenced by women's movements between 1974 and 1988. However, studying social movements' intersection and social movements' intersectionality remains uncommon among social movement scholars. Instead, as Montoya (2021) reiterates, there tends to be single-axis analytic approaches in social movement studies such as focusing on just one facet of identity or oppression. The problem is that single-axis approaches, referred to by Gordon (2016) as single-issue or single-factor analysis, generally have conceptual inadequacies as they focus on a single facet of identity or oppression.

The aim of this study was to go beyond the single-axis and or single-issue approaches to capture a broader empirical reality. Accordingly, an intersectional and intersectionality approach to the study of social identities and different forms of violent oppressions within a patriarchal social system of stratification became paramount. This approach does not only address contemporary realities of gender oppressions since intersectionality encompasses gender and its intersections with other social categories of identity to capture a broader empirical reality. Gender remains an important factor and Horn (2013) states that gender and power relations in social movements have a long history. This is an important highlight of the social movement literature. The global and historical trajectory of gender-focused social movements provides an important baseline of literature on gender as social cleavage and its intersections with other cleavages.

The multiple social identities and their contestations over inclusion and exclusion signify the intersectional relationships of social cleavages that cannot be understood in isolation from one another. Montoya (2021) clarifies that intersectional analysis can be employed as a means of interrogating power and for clearer identification of inclusions and exclusions. In the case of FMF as a social movement, it became imperative to explore the different meanings and

understandings of how violence impacted and shaped the inclusions and exclusions of different social identity groupings. These social identity groupings constituted by the social cleavages of race, gender and citizenship interacted through inclusion and exclusion. Social cleavages are key social aspects that according to Marx (1995), shape social outcomes in social movements. The intention to factor in violence in the analytical matrix was to deepen the understanding of intersectional gender solidarities that emerged, transformed and collapsed in relation to other cleavages during FMF.

In relation to literature on gender power relations in social movement studies, Creek and Dunn (2011) argue that perceptions of women framed by scholars as victims of gender violence has over time remained central to feminist research. Understanding how violence impacted or transformed gender power relations during FMF equally remained central in this study. For Creek and Dunn (2011), social location and other social factors, in this case the configuration of gender and other social cleavages such as race and citizenship, within patriarchal systems stratification, do shape violence and victimisation. There is evidence that past studies on gender violence mainly focused on intimate partner violence, rape and child abuse, particularly of girls. However, current gender studies according to Creek and Dunn (2011) attempt to articulate various social constructions of the broader patriarchal stratification of society in relation to the changing discourses of gender violence. This patriarchal and asymmetrical hierarchy of power defines relations that tend to be contested in social movements. This is succinctly articulated in an interview of Barbara Smith conducted by Taylor (2017) cited in Montoya (2021, p.8), 'we have a right as people who are not just female, who are not solely Black, who are not just lesbians, who are not just working class, or workers-that we are people who embody all these identities'.

The gender activists and feminists or women liberation movements recognize the embodiment of intersecting identities and organise to challenge patriarchal systems. The above interview citation shows that gender, race, queer and class intersect and as such, a single-issue or single factor approach would not account for the above embodiment of multiple identities. Montoya (2021) has it that intersectionality originates in the activism of those at the intersection of racial, gender and sexual marginalisation and that some scholars have shifted their focus to work across and between feminist, LGBT and racial justice movements. An intersectionality approach is broader than a single-issue or single-axis approach and for this study it became helpful to explore the experiences of different actors embodying intersecting identities. Feminist ideologies and different approaches surfaced from FMF. Queer students' struggles and contestations of male dominance during FMF also illuminated the deeper meanings shaped

by different experiences of violence due to their queer identities. Montoya (2021) points out that while gender or race have been explored in some social movement studies, which are generally identity politics based, 'very little intersectional analysis has been applied' (p. 8). Einwohner et al. (2019) argue along similar lines, that in spite of the concept of intersectionality becoming well-established and a core one for feminist scholars, an important gap remains in its application to social movements.

The underutilisation of intersectional analysis in exploring key social cleavages such as race, gender and citizenship is what I have tried challenge in this study. A consideration of going beyond a single-issue analysis in dealing with the embodiment of race, gender and experiences of being citizens or non-citizens during FMF also contributed to the theory of intersectionality. This was as Montoya (2021) reiterates, through drawing attention to some of the under-recognised social movement actors that also emerged during FMF. The focus on gender and its interactions with other social cleavages relating to how it has been mobilized to challenge patriarchal structures of asymmetrical power, provided opportunities for the empirical chapters to explore how activists negotiated the politics of identity, power and structure.

In view of the general existence of a patriarchal system of social stratification that is also imbedded in social movements, solidarity among those intersection ally marginalised becomes imminent. For Einwohner et al. (2019), active solidarity is the engagement and mobilisation of marginalised groups to participate on an equal footing to craft movement goals, strategies and tactics to counter the effects of unequal power. The intersection ally marginalized groups such as women, queer women, immigrant or foreign black women and even queer males can engage in active solidarity to disrupt the dominance of patriarchy. In the next section I turn to solidarity and its role in social movements. I later account for the very reassertion of masculinities through a review of a case study of marginalised black young men by Langa and Kiguwa (2013).

2.9 Solidarity in social movements

> The lack of cooperation across national, ethnic, and cultural fault lines is consequential for human prosperity in a globalized economy as well as for our ability to tackle global challenges, including climate change, public health and mass migration (Bader and Keuscchnigg 2020, p. 415).

For this study, an understanding of how participants from different social categories of identity and socioeconomic demographic lines mobilised or failed to do so across national, ethnic and cultural faultiness to tackle some of the challenges FMF sought to address, is central. Solidarity, in particular how participants built, contested or challenged it through continuous processes of

active mobilisation and their individual or collective agencies is an important empirical element of analysis for this thesis. Thus, an overview of how solidarity has been conceived and conceptualized in existing literature illuminates aspects that are critical for consideration in this study in order to strengthen ongoing arguments or to fill some theoretical, methodological, and or empirical gaps.

By way of definition, Breton (2010) uses The Oxford English Dictionary of 1996 which defines solidarity as 'unity of feeling or action, especially among individuals with a common interest' (p. 36). This definition accounts for a feeling of unity in a collective struggle, particularly among individuals with common interests. This suggests that solidarity is emotionally oriented and is anchored on common or shared interests. However, Tormos (2017) points to multiple, complex and at times contradictory definitions of solidarity. Tormos (2017) observes that some scholars like Taylor and Whittier (1992) explain solidarity as resulting from shared identities, a view slightly different from shared interest. He identifies, among those who put emphasis on shared interests, Keck and Sikkink (1998) and Anner (2011). Weldon (2006b) cited in Tormos (2017) states that many other scholars understand the shifting opportunity structures as drivers of solidarity. Using 'trans-local[3]'encounters of assemblages of global networks for peace activism against Jeju militarization of communities, Davis (2017) argues that these 'activists posit that solidarity is built from a consciousness of shared oppression' (p. 161). The consciousness of common oppression develops and cultivates solidarity through the sharing of affective experiences.

The multiple and contradictory ways in which scholars have defined and understood solidarity illuminates the concept's various dimensions and are helpful in unpacking nuances in social movements. The notable feature from these multiple and contradictory ways of thinking about solidarity is its implied 'communitarian' characteristics. The multiple and contradictory communitarian perspectives include common or shared interests, unity of feeling, shared identities and shared experiences. Oosterlynck et al. (2016) as cited in McCrea, Meade and Shaw (2017) further elaborate this way:

> Shared norms and values suggests a more communitarian conception of solidarity which is grounded in notions of reciprocity, shared beliefs, common values, and collective histories (p. 397).

[3] Processes that manifest as both local and transnational as described by McFarlane (2009) in Tormos 2017.

One of the key features from the multiple ways solidarity is understood by scholars that is a building block or source of solidarity mobilisation is the concept of identity, which is important, particularly in understanding social cleavages. Identities as socially constructed categories of memberships shape the forms of solidarity mobilisation in social movements. On this point, Habib and Opoku-Mensah (2009) emphasize that one of the foundational elements from which contemporary social movements are built is identities. Identities in social movements provide the impetus for actors to become involved and provide legitimacy for the movements (Habib and Opoku-Mensah (2009). Individuals are socially situated subjects with multiple identities but some scholars regard shared identities as fundamental sources for the mobilization of solidarity. Taylor and Whittier (1992) cited in Tormos (2017) affirm that shared identities are the basis for solidarity mobilization. To elaborate this view further, Tormos (2017) posits that solidarity emerges in contexts in which social movement participants share identities.

The identity-focused explanation of solidarity is based on the assumption that identities are homogenous and as such misses the reality of the multiplicity of identities at any given point in mobilised groupings. Tormos (2017) concurs that, social groups and their members' identities are not homogenous because 'people identify in relation to multiple intersections of gender, class, race, sexuality, region and nationality' (p. 711). Social cleavages as categories of identity are negotiated, sustained or contested within the matrices of power. Tormos (2017) reiterates that the shortfall in the notion of shared identities as a basis of solidarity is that it tends to privilege the voice and preferences of dominant groups within movements. This means the homogenisation of identities excludes the voices and preferences of marginalized or subordinated groups. Approaches to thinking about solidarity from the perspective of shared identities according to McCrea et al. (2017) raise the question of the politics of representational power. This has to do with 'who speaks and who is silenced; what are defined as legitimate and illegitimate sources of solidarity […] and what is the nature of agency for those involved' (p. 395-96).

A holistic approach in understanding solidarity in its multiple and contradictory manifestations is helpful in accommodating intersectional social cleavages that in turn provide concrete explanations of social movements. Diverse identities do not corrode solidarity because social movements and their policies can be structured in a manner that enables groups to cope with and thrive in differences (Tormos 2017). As such, I adopt Tormos' (2017) intersectional approach to solidarity in movements. The merits of an intersectional approach to solidarity is cognisant of the fact that, 'Failing to account for social group differences has been detrimental to the sustainability and success of social movements that attempt to mobilize across group

differences' (Tormos 2017, p. 711). An intersection ally conscious approach to solidarity is thus helpful. According to Tormos (2017), the intersectionality approach to solidarity recognizes and represents intersection ally marginalized social groups. Such groups are formed through multiple interactions and linkages between different social structures and lived experiences. These social structures become systems of domination and subjugation at the expense of marginalised groups whose voices are nonetheless equally important.

In the next section I discuss violence as another central social phenomenon of inquiry for this study particularly its impact on social cleavages and how it alters or activates solidarities. Although violence is not a prevalent theme in the existing body of literature on social movements, it is helpful in understanding social cleavages and solidarity in FMF.

2.10 Violence

Although there is very limited specific literature relating to violence in the broader movement literature, I am aware that the phenomenon of violence is generally well written about. Scholars have written extensively about violence from different global settings and circumstances over time (Fanon 1952; 1961; Galtung 1969; 1990; Tilly 2003; Gurr 1968; Wieviorka 2011; Snyder and Tilly 1972; Beinart 1992); von Holdt 2012; 2013; 2014). This has been without or with very limited focus on social movements. In this section, I therefore highlight briefly, instances where conflict and violence occurred in ways that shaped the mobilisation of solidarities and resulted in divisions in movements.

There are many different and contradictory ways in which scholars have conceived the phenomenon of violence. By definition, violence is according to van der Linden (2012), the intentional use of physical force to inflict injury on human beings or to damage property. Van der Linden's simplified definition of violence substantiates Wieviorka's (2011) view that, violence is an attack on individual's physical and moral integrity. Violence according to Wieviorka (2011), can affect succeeding generations and makes it difficult to develop a subject.

Instead, violence 'invades subjectivity and takes the place of subjectivation' (Wieviorka 2011, p. 48).

There is another conception of violence from a political science drawn from Thomas Hobbes' contention (Gurr 1968). Hobbes' contention, according to Gurr (1968), is that violence is the negation of political order and as such tends to be treated with admonition than as an area fit for study in the political sciences. Wieviorka (2011) reiterate that instead of analysing violence some intellectuals have either supported or rejected it based on their political sympathies. He

warns the social sciences against being swayed into half-baked ideas which seek to reject violence without analysing it. This is an important point of consideration in view of the central role played by violence during FMF.

What comes out of Gurr's (1968) reference to Hobbes' contention of violence is that early political science thought rejected violence as an intellectual field of study. Wieviorka (2011) correctly contends the casual manner in which violence has been approached. There has been lack of scientific analysis or theorization of violence resulting in the objection and rejection of violence as a critical sociological and political area of study. However, in his own analysis Wieviorka (2011) argues that violence has the capacity to invade someone's subjectivity. His thesis on the impact of violence on subjectivity can be best understood by borrowing from how Weedon (1987) (cited in Mama 1995) understands subjectivity. Weedon (1987 understands subjectivity as the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of an individual, their sense of self and their ways of understanding how they relate to the world. Thus, if according to Wieviorka (2011) violence can be understood from its ability to invade subjectivity, this implies that it can impact on the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of an individual. This can result in the destruction of the self.

There is another perspective to understanding the nature of violence. Beinart (1992) argues that 'central problems in focusing on violence is the multiplicity of meanings that the term evokes' (p. 456). Thus, violence has multiple meanings. Beinart (1992) illustrates his point by arguing that, violence is often understood from qualifying adjectives such as: *instrumental or expressive, legitimate or illegitimate, revolutionary or oppressive, criminal or recreational, collective or structural* and such others. Accordingly, (Beinart (1992, p. 457) advises that, 'It is helpful to disaggregate types of violence, to concentrate on contextual analysis, and to explore different lines of causation.' This is the approach I adopted for this study. It helped me explore nuanced dynamics of violence since it manifested differently between and among the various actors of the movement. Thus in subsequent parts of this section I review literature that deals with conflicts and violence from different contexts, including different lines of causation.

2.11 Non-revolutionary violence (Mamdani 2001)

Although not located in the context of social movements per se, but in how colonial regimes or state institutions contribute towards stabilisation of particular social cleavages, Mamdani's (2001) views are important. In a lecture paper, he presents a contextual analysis of what he frames as non-revolutionary violence by citing how political identities have fuelled violence in Rwandan and South Africa. By non-revolutionary violence, Mamdani (2001) refers to contexts

when conflicts are not defined by wealth and poverty but instead by differences that are not economic such as religion, ethnicity or race. Violence between such social cleavages gives rise to non-revolutionary violence (Mamdani 2001).

Mamdani (2001) asserts that non-revolutionary violence is about the pursuit of political justice and unlike the struggle for economic justice which is animated by market-based distinctions it is animated by state-based distinctions. This clarifies how the state participates in identitybased violence, its sustenance and politicisation of otherwise socially constituted cleavages. For example, Mamdani (2001) asserts that non-revolutionary violence arises from group distinctions (social cleavages and bounded solidarities) which are explicitly political. This is because the modern state enforces political identities as legal identities and once enforced through law they become non-consensual and exclusionary (Mamdani 2001). In the context of contestations for inclusion or co-existence of the cleavages enforced and sustained by the modern state, there is violence such as Rwandan genocide and aspects of South African apartheid.

The role of the state in sustaining cleavages of violence can be accounted by Mamdani's (2001) example of post- Rwanda revolution of 1959 where revolutionaries sought to build Rwanda as an exclusive 'Hutu' nation. This according to Mamdani (2001) confirmed Hutu and Tutsi as political identities (not cultural ethnic groups) where Hutus were native and Tutsis alien in a context that confirmed the colonially created world that had not been transformed. In South

Africa, there were efforts to de-racialize citizenship by the political elites but little evidence exists regarding efforts to de-ethnicize citizenship. The implications of the modern state's politicisation of ethnicity, a historical and cultural as well as fluid social entity, is that it becomes a contested legal and political identity.

2.12 Reflections on violence in popular movements and resistance politics (von Holdt 2003)

Notwithstanding the fact that violence is not generally a major theme in movement literature, von Holdt's (2003) work on popular movement and resistance politics in Witbank provides relevant insights on violence, its mobilisation and impact. For example, there was a huge confrontation between popular movement and apartheid state forces which grew increasingly and ushered ungovernability in the township of KwaGuqa (von Holdt 2003). Of particular interest is how the clashes between popular movement activists and the apartheid state forces unfolded. There was repressive violence by the state forces to curtail popular movement and there was organised violence to galvanize resistance politics in Witbank.

The state has the capacity to use its institutions and systems of governance to sustain particular cleavages. As earlier argued, the state can turn cultural social cleavages such as ethnicity for example, into exclusively legal and political ones. The state also has the capacity to mobilize violence to breakdown popular movements as emphasized in von Holdt's (2003) work. For example within the context of a second State of Emergency declared mid-year, the state detained and harassed activists, banned organisations and also launched frequent armed patrols in the township (von Holdt 2003). Of significance in this finding is how social movements as struggles of resistance and solidarity can be broken down by state repressive violence. The point of emphasis and as also linked to the aspects of the research question of this study is how the impact of violence has been reflected in movement literature. In reviewing von Holdt's (2003) work what is evident is that the apartheid state mobilized repressive violence through the armed police force to detain, put on trial and generally harass activists and the Co-ordinating Committee.

Although the police officials living in KwaGuqa were issued with handguns they were unable to keep control until the army was brought in and camped for a while in the township (von Holdt 2003). The escalation of the armoury of repression, including according to von Holdt (2003), the deployment of municipal police to guard Council personnel at hostels signalled the intensity and intention of state mobilised violence. In the long run, von Holdt (2003) confirms, 'it became extremely difficult to sustain formal organisation, formal organisational structures and procedures effectively collapsed' (p. 91). The collapse of formal organisation and formal organisational structures has consequential implications and meaning. In this instance, forged alliances and solidarities of the popular movement were broken by the state and municipal repressive armoury. Further evidence suggests that when forged alliances and solidarities are broken down, deeper cleavages can emerge with huge repercussions.

In view of the police raids, arrests and detentions, the activists pushed back resulting in many clashes which rendered the ungovernability of the township. According to von Holdt (2003), activists took to the street to confront the enemy, mostly targeting police on township patrols and black collaborators such as policemen and town councillors. This brings the dimension of race into the context of the politics of popular movement of resistance. In particular, this reveals the impact of violence in polarising social cleavages into contested and politicised cleavages. Black police officers and councillors became the enemy of black township dwellers and these relations were mediated by violent clashes. At the height of these black on black violent clashes, a KwaGuqa town councillor resigned following four petrol bomb attacks on his house and a black police officer attending a funeral of a friend was attacked by a spade-wielding mob (von

Holdt 2003). This was not the last violent incident in this matter as , '[a] week later a second black policeman died at a soccer stadium in KwaGuqa after being attacked by a mob with knobkerries and lengths of pipe and then neck laced with a burning tyre' (von Holdt 2003, p. 91).

These incidents reveal the extent to which popular movements and resistance politics can mobilize violence that can generate a lot of divisions and cause deaths. While violence was mobilized to challenge the repressive order imposed by the state, it also became a way of life and new social order. According to von Holdt (2003), comrades used coercion to impose a new order in the community, for policing collective actions such as rent or consumer boycotts and to punish those who broke the ranks. Violence became a central feature and way of life. Community activists mobilised violence to impose a new order of life in the community. The imposition aimed to police, organise collective action, effect consumer boycotts, and discipline those who broke ranks. Violence became a way of township socialisation through coercion and force. As von Holdt (2003, p. 96) puts it, 'The impact was the township social structure became ungovernable in the sense that there was no legitimate authority that could establish an acceptable social order.'

2.13 Violence and solidarity through the strike committee (von Holdt 2003)

The formation of a strike committee is important in this study, particularly as it relates to the interactions of violence and solidarity. In the case of KwaGuqa, von Holdt (2003) reveals that, upon its formation in 1986, the strike committee was initially seen as supplementing the role of shop stewards. There was a Co-ordinating Committee on the other hand which had not asserted itself as a formal structure representing organisations. Hence, there was no effective and formal relationship between the Co-ordinating Committee and the unions and unions had no formal means for making their views known in the committee (von Holdt 2003).

The previously collapsed formal organisations in KwaGuqa required re-establishment or refocus. von Holdt (2003) states that at the escalation of union organisation and industrial struggles, there was generation of many militant worker activists who became involved in the proliferation of community structures and initiatives. This brief background is important concerning how violence and solidarity played a part in this proliferation which had a strong link with violence geared towards achieving solidarity. The strike committee emerged from the most militant workers who carried placards, danced and gave morale to workers on strike (von Holdt 2003). Most workers believed that the formation of the strike committee would

contribute to more forceful action in negotiating with management. This suggests that the strike committee's relevance and function had to be sustained and effective through the mobilisation and deployment of violence.

A young worker who became the strike committee chairperson is quoted by von Holdt (2003) saying" Our shop stewards said we have got to have a sort of a committee that would be more violent against Highveld than what we are doing" (p. 148). This reveals the consensus among the shop stewards and some activists to mobilise and deploy violence as reflected in the utterance by one shop steward:

> Take the stick and do punishment. So that is where the strike committee came from. It managed the situation. You can blame the strike committee for doing a lot of corporal punishment, but they managed to build the union (von Holdt 2003, p. 49).

There was common understanding between shop stewards and community members in the strike committee at least, at an ideological level concerning the strike committee's *modus operandi*. Corporal punishment was viewed by one of the shop stewards as what built the union. Thus, the strike committee was seen as imbedded within this normalisation and embrace of violence which became part of the new social order and way of life. Violence was mobilised by the street committee and embraced by the shop stewards as a legitimate disciplinary mechanism to keep people in line. A degree of coercion, or revolutionary bullying was seen as important towards the collective construction by workers of the union as a social structure in opposition to management (von Holdt 2003).

The shop stewards lost their grip along the way because of mistrust by workers that they were not negotiating in good faith, among other things, because there was a general view that since the formation of the union, workers had not won anything (von Holdt 2003). Divisions ensued between the two entities of the strike committee and shop steward committee because they were no longer complementary power centres (von Holdt 2003). This deepened the divisions and weakened any previously forged solidarity while violent tensions erupted between the two structures. Shop stewards were side-lined from strike committee meetings and were only instructed on how they should operate and those who objected were intimated and some assaulted by the strike committee members (von Holdt 2003).

The strike committee mobilised different forms of violence and used various tactics, including intimidation and assault to assert its dominance over the shop steward committee. On this point, von Holdt (2003, p.151) writes:

> Violence against Highveld Steel took a variety of forms. The strike committee would organise wildcat strikes, for example to demand the reinstatement of a dismissed worker, by gathering at the bus station outside the plant early in the morning and preventing people from entering. They would disrupt an inquiry if they thought it was unfair. They used coercion to reinforce worker solidarity and to strike at production.

The mobilisation of violence and the fact that it can take various forms as seen in this unionised context is helpful in understanding how violence is mobilised within social movements generally. Wildcat strikes by their very nature are unpredictable, uncontrollable and operate outside the mandate of the union, rendering them illegal. This stance of the strike committee illustrates how much they side-lined the shop stewards, in the process creating a contested and uncontrollable environment. It appeared they made Highveld Steel ungovernable through disruptions. They had also used coercive tactics to build solidarity through corporal punishment and fear.

The shop stewards-strike committee conflicts became unmanageable, with consistently violent acts committed by the strike committee. To illustrate the extent to which the consistent violence of the strike committee escalated von Holdt (2003), cites the chairperson of the strike committee on an expedition to Mapochs mine to support a strike at the steelworks. The strike committee chairperson mentions a clandestine visit to Mapochs mine without the knowledge of the shop stewards, with a motive to disturb production. He explains how they transported themselves in kombis and herded people at Mapochs hostels to assemble in a hall and proceeded to the plant chanting and singing:

> …we danced and went straight to the plant. Then we didn't only sing, we pulled people out from the plant and beat them, that they must come and join us. We beat them, we stopped the plant (von Holdt 2003, p. 152)

The strike committee's violent tactics, disruptive tendencies and sidelining of the shop stewards through clandestine wildcat type protest action illustrate the manner in which an instrumental type of violence was used to enforce mobilisation and to build solidarity. The strike committee used militant tactics to build a popular movement that grew in leaps and bounds, achieving at some point, the membership or support of between 800 and 1 800 people. The supporters were mostly migrant workers from hostels, and militant young workers from hostels and township, and could be identified by the sjamboks they carried (von Holdt 2003).

Radical militancy characterised the strike committee largely because of the inclusion of militant young workers, especially those from the hostel, also comprised of migrant workers. Hostels in South Africa generally have a history of violent popular movements and violent resistance politics. In the case of KwaGuqa, the general social structure within the hostel allowed for militancy and radicalism and there is evidence from von Holdt's (2003) work that there were incidents of violent clashes between police and youth at hostels.

There were a number of consequences emerging from the radical and militant stance adopted by the strike committee that are relevant to some of the issues that this study grapples with. One of them is how violence impacts on the subjectivities of its participants in social movements. There are reports of 'the majority of National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) members who did not support the strike committee but like shop stewards were intimidated by it' (von Holdt 2003, p. 152). One NUMSA member cited in von Holdt (2003) elaborated: 'They scared the shit out of you. Therefore, the people who would have maybe supported us were scared. Shop stewards were also scared… fear was always there in people's heart' (p. 153).

The above narrative reflections on how the work of the strike committee impacted on different groupings illustrates that while violence can be instrumental at some points, it also has negative impacts. The strike committee mobilised and built its strength on militancy, coercion and radicalism but consequentially instigated fear and disempowerment on other structures like the shop steward committee. The strike committee became fearsome and scary to people including within ordinary membership and leadership of an established union. Its strength was built on fears, which disempowered people whose subjectivities became so affected that even during union meetings there was fear to air particular opposing or different views.

2.14 Violence through reassertion of masculinities of marginalised black young men

(Langa and Kiguwa 2013)

The case study of two municipalities of Kungcatsha and Azania in Mpumalanga Province of South Africa by Langa and Kiguwa (2013) on service delivery protests provides interesting insights for this study concerning violence and its mediation through a marginalised social category. There is a lot of literature on social movement protests in South Africa with specific reference to service delivery protests but there is less focus on the demographics of the people involved in these protests (Langa and Kiguwa 2013). These two scholars looked at violence orchestrated by young black men trying to reassert what they perceived as lost manhood through violent service delivery protests. Of particular interest is how the reassertion of

masculinities through violent means provided a sense of pride, self-esteem and restoration of 'lost' manhood.

Two socioeconomic fault lines divided the two communities of the research sites along social and economic categories of identity – the young working class men and the middle class men. Thus Langa and Kiguwa (2013) argued that, 'the economic transformation following the first democratic elections in 1994 has witnessed increased economic empowerment for a selected few black elite, while the majority of black people still live in abject poverty' (p. 21). Men's hegemonic masculinity according to Morell (2001) as cited in Langa and Kiguwa (2013) has come under pressure, particularly in the post-apartheid South African context. The young men resorted to violent tactics during the service delivery protests because they felt powerless due to their economic positions compared to the black elite who had access to economic resources and opportunities. According to Langa and Kiguwa (2013), this became the centre of power struggle between these working-class and middle-class men. Working-class young men drew on the repertories of militarised masculinities of the past through toyi-toying, burning of public property, and singing popular anti-apartheid songs modified to the current realities (Langa and Kiguwa 2013). The young men described their militarised repertories as war with police who had come to quell the violence (Langa and Kiguwa 2013).

The two groups: young working-class men and the elite middle-class men in Mamdani's (2001) conception, fall in the realm of economic justice animated by market-based distinctions. This market-based classist distinction of young men, affected their social standing in society in many ways that affected negatively on their masculinities. They resorted to invoking militarised masculinities from the violent apartheid era to regain their manhood and reassert their lost masculinities. Langa and Kiguwa (2013) reiterate that the working-class young men felt that they had no choice but to embark on violent means to dislodge those occupying positions of power. This illustrates the ways in which violence and masculinities are intersectional because in the absence of violence, the young men did not feel men enough and to restore a sense of lost pride they needed violence. Lack of employment was cited as one of the reasons young men engaged in violent protest against municipality officials for alleged nepotism and corruption. But it was unemployment that grossly affected their sense of thwarted masculinity:

> I wanted to get married but I cannot afford *lobola* because I am not working.
>
> I hate Mr P. (who was a ward councillor in Kungcatsha) because he took my girlfriend. He has money and I don't have money. You can't find a girlfriend if you don't have money.

> Some of these councillors like to show off. They come here and park their cars…These guys buy expensive liquor and have money, while we have nothing (Langa and Kiguwa (2013, p. 23).

The quotations above reveal how young men were affected and felt powerless towards achieving the societal ideals of hegemonic masculinities, hence the wielding violence to reassert themselves. Langa and Kiguwa (20130 write that that one of their participants expressed satisfaction that after their violent service delivery protests, some of the councillors were removed from their positions for maladministration and other reasons. Thus, the use of violence led to psychological satisfaction.

Their mobilisation of violence had consequences because one of the participants cited in Langa and Kiguwa (2013) stated: 'The cops started shooting at us and arresting others. That made people angry' (p. 25). The protesters retaliated by throwing stones at the police, saying that they had to be brave and fearless during the violent clashes with the police. Scores were injured and others arrested during the two to three weeks' long violent protest and there were allegations that some were severely tortured in prison (Langa and Kiguwa 2013). These are the toxic consequences of violence fuelled by thwarted masculinities, as seen through one of the protesters saying, 'we were prepared to die for the cause, yes it was war' (Langa and Kiguwa 2013, p. 25). Langa and Kiguwa (2013) thus argue that the protestors resorted to violence to assert their masculine power over male police officers. As an example of this, the protestors sang a liberation song which claimed that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) men were using the police as sparring partners to enhance their muscles. The protestors chanted and paraded like soldiers during the singing of this particular song, emphasising the word *abafana* which means 'young men who are fit, strong, athletic and powerful' (Langa and Kiguwa 2013, p. 25). As Whitehead (2005) cited in Langa and Kiguwa (2013) observes, male-to-male violence can be used to achieve a sense of manhood.

Poor service delivery, nepotism and alleged corruption of municipality officials which impacted on the socioeconomic being of the young men was central to the protests. However, violence was mobilized for each affected young man to gain their manhood and sense of being. The army is the highest defence body of any given state and parading like soldiers fostered a feeling of powerful, well-trained and strong young men who could fight any war with the police to defend their compromised masculinities. This is also evident in another song performed by the protestors, which Langa and Kiguwa (2013, p. 25) cite: *Dubula (chorus) ngesibhamu,*

bayasaba amagwala, bayasaba amagwala (chorus), dubula, dubula dubula ngesibhamu (chorus).

[Shoot us with your guns we are fearless men- my own emphasis]

According to Langa and Kiguwa (2013), the young men taunted the police to shoot at them because they were not cowards (*amagwala).* As such, they would stand their ground and take the bullets because they were fearless men. These young men had been subjected to abject poverty and failing to fulfil social responsibilities such as paying *lobola* (bride price). Through their liberation songs, they reimagined themselves through mobilisation of violent masculinities. Gunner (2010), as cited in Langa and Kiguwa (2013), confirms that song under such circumstances comes to function as some form of mediation, and in this case, it facilitated the generation of new masculinities. These masculinities of the marginalized young men emerged both from and within the contexts of violence. Langa and Kiguwa (2013) are correct to conclude that these struggle songs helped in the reimagining and reinscribing of the concept of masculinity.

The reimagining and reinscribing of masculinity emerging from and within the context of violence is further evident in the manner the young men opposed women's participation in local politics. According to Langa and Kiguwa (2013, p.27) a woman mayor in Kungcatsha had her gender blamed by males for poor leadership: 'We can't be led by a woman. Women are stubborn. Women are not good leaders. We don't want women as mayors or councillors (p. 27). Dlamini (2011) as cited in Langa and Kiguwa (2013), confirms that consequently, the two mayors were removed from their positions in 2011 in both municipalities of Kungcatsha and Azania. Thus, female leaders were targeted by young male protestors who felt threatened and emasculated in what has come to be known as crisis in masculinity (Langa and Kiguwa 2013). The depth of this crisis in masculinity tended to be seen during by-elections to vote for new councillors where according to Langa and Kiguwa (2013, p.27) young men expressed sexist views: 'Asibafuni abafazi (we don't want women). We don't want women in these elections to play games. We don't want another Thembi (nickname for the former mayor) Women are not good leaders'.

The remarks above portray the militancy and sexism of the young men; a gendered and abusive approach (Langa and Kiguwa 2013). These scholars' findings further reveal that women generally became scared to attend meetings due to violence or the threat of it. In meetings, the young men would ask a female councillor candidate if her house was insured, meaning they

intended to burn it down if she was elected councillor. The young men mobilised through militancy and radicalism, and collaborated with others. Their singing of liberation struggle songs created some sense of 'comraderie', eventually achieving a sense of solidarity as reflected in the utterances of one participant: 'I was never interested in politics before the protest but now I see myself as a comrade. We are all comrades' (Langa and Kiguwa 2013, p. 26). These scholars argue that the comradeship became a catalyst in young male protesters' legitimisation of violence against state institutions such as burning of municipality buildings and vehicles. I concur because their addressing each other as 'comrades' is a clear marker of solidarity in which there was also a reimagining and reinscribing of masculinities These young men shared common experiences of class marginalisation by elite middle class men and loss of power and status. They shared a common belief that in order to reassert themselves they had to embark in violent protest and deploy violent tactics, describing their style of protest as war with police. Evidence further indicates that the protestors who stood in the forefront during conflict with the police were seen as brave and true warriors in the struggle against service delivery and were accorded the status of 'real' fighters (Langa and Kiguwa 2013). In one significant protest incident, three female protesters stripped to the waist during a police shooting, and through this action, managed to stop the shooting when the police saw them. The police ceased the shooting and in some of their comments, dismissed the women as 'real' fighters. Instead, they rebuked them for displaying 'drooping breasts'. What emerged was body shaming more than the fact that the three women had been 'real fighters' by openly exposing themselves not only to the eyes of the police but also their bullets.

2.15 Conclusion

This literature review is not a general survey of the field of social movement studies. As such, it is brief and only focused on the intersectionality theory adopted for this study and its relevance. The literature review briefly highlights selected texts to introduce the key concepts of social cleavages, solidarity and violence. This provides a foundation for the subsequent chapters, in particular, the empirical ones, which grapple with experiences of membership and its contestations. In my review of this selected literature, it has become evident that violence as a theme does not enjoy much space and consideration in the literature of social movements. The scholars that deal with the theme of violence in their work do not do so from an intersectionality approach. Clearly lacking also are considerations of social cleavages and how these intersect.

Compressive work on popular social movements by various scholars has little focus on the dynamics of social cleavages and how they interact with solidarities and violence. There is generally a missing link in movement literature on the intersections of violence, social cleavages and solidarity from an intersection ally conscious perspective. The issues that affect intersection ally marginalized groups such as women, queer groups and others remain under theorised. This is the gap that this study fills.

Chapter 3

3. Methodology and Researcher Positionality

3.1 Introduction:

The case study research methodology that I employ in this study seeks to address the following main research question and its sub-research questions.

3.2 Main research question – How did the multiple dynamics of violence during the FMF protests affect the FMF movement and the subjectivities of the study population?

3.3 Sub research questions

1. How did the dynamics of violence impact and transform the social cleavages of race, gender, citizenship/nationality of the study population during the movement?

2. How did the dynamics of violence advance, retard or undermine FMF as a social movement?

In this chapter, I discuss how the case study design and my positionality assists me to explore the study population's lived experiences to answer these research questions. I also reflect on my sampling procedure and provide a brief demographic outline of my study population. In discussing the research methods of ethnography, field notes, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions that I employ in this study, I show their differences, although these methods generally complement each other particularly in this study. The advantage of using these varied data collection methods is that they assisted me to elicit different perspectives and experiences of the study population. These different perspectives and experiences contributed towards an understanding of the intersectional nature of the social cleavages of inquiry.

My reflection on fieldwork experiences as a researcher, enhances an understanding of how positionality augments data collection, particularly in qualitative research. I provide a brief account of how I dealt with issues of personal bias to uphold ethics and standards of social science research. This includes how I organised my empirical data for analysis to mitigate the influence of personal bias and prejudice in order to arrive at a reliable and valid interpretation of data.

3.4 The research site

Before I present my methodological approach and methods that I employed for this study, it is imperative to give a context of the research site. Wits University as a research site for my fieldwork was relevant in many ways. Of particular note is the history of the institution which although is generally a very broad one and difficult to summarise in a few words, presents context to why FMF became inevitable. Below, I briefly highlight aspects that relate to the historical South African university system where Wits as a University emerged from. French (1996) argues that, there has been a common feature in South African tertiary education – the depth of crisis relating to the role and identity of universities. This has been apparent when it comes to matters of student admission and consistently dwindling funding. This among other reasons, saw Wits University since its establishment, undertaking a liberal position under apartheid, although being part of the elite white establishment. Thus, although the notion of the

'open' university became popularised in the 1950s, Wits had by then already self-established as the institutional home of liberalism in South Africa by the 1930s (Odendaal 2019). The Open University identity was partly shaped by Wits University's liberalist posture but at the same time, put the university into a crisis. This is because as Murray (1996) establishes, the apartheid Nationalist Government in 1959 attacked both Wits and University of Cape Town (UCT) for their pursuit of 'academic non-segregationist' policies. According to Murray (1996), the Prime

Minister of the time, Dr D.F. Malan in his first parliamentary speech, denounced the 'intolerable state of affairs' caused by the presence of black students at white universities, something that went against Government policy to create separate university institutions for Natives and Coloureds. The legislation in question was the Extension of Education Act of 1959 which prohibited universities from admitting black students without ministerial permission (Moss 2014). Wits University emerged from this apartheid era where there was contestation over race determined segregation. Thus, the university was faced with a crisis of identity over time regarding admission of black students in a highly politicised political environment regulated by the apartheid Nationalist Government.

The Nationalist Government had secured through parliament, legislation to impose apartheid structures within South Africa's university system in 1959. Consequently, Wits University was one of the only two open universities for whom admission of black applicants was legally closed (Murray 1996). This grossly affected and shaped the demographics of students and academics in particular. It makes sense for Odendaal (2019, p.53) to argue that, the majority of Wits' teaching staff were initially foreign-born and foreign trained academics predominantly from Scotland, England or America. Those foreign academics brought in elements of their previous institutions to Wits through the literature they exposed students to, conferences, journal publications, as well as postgraduate study opportunities abroad (Odendaal 2019).

Student demographics also changed over time making Wits University a predominantly white institution. According to Murray (1996) at the time of the passing of legislation in 1959, the total number of non-white students' enrolment at Wits stood at 297 up from 201 at the onset of the decade. Comparatively, white enrolment went up from 4 025 to 4 813 against the limited growth in non-white numbers (Murray 1996). African student enrolments in particular were static, with 73 in 1950 and only 74 in 1959. There was a decline in non-white numbers in the Medical School from 109 to 73 in the same period. This was due to the official opening of the Natal University Medical School to cater for blacks and the imposition of black quotas at Wits Medical School. In Engineering, there were 8 Chinese, 6 Indian, 3 African and 1 Coloured student in 1959 (Murray 1996). The declining black enrolment across disciplines coincided with government's stance that black students' presence on campus at white universities was causing an intolerable state of affairs.

By the 1970s, in spite of initial resistance and protests by students and academics, Wits had consolidated itself as one of five mainly white English-language university campuses alongside UCT, Rhodes and Natal campuses of Pietermaritzburg and Durban (Moss 2014). The national student politics at the time was also a contested terrain and there was rivalry between white and

black students. This is because as Moss (2014) observes, by 1970, students at many of the black campuses broke away from Nusas to form the Black Consciousness (BC) supporting Saso which had been established in 1968 under Steve Biko's presidency. The 1980s was generally a politically volatile moment in South Africa. For Kuumba (2001), one of the challenges of the period was the continued absence of women voices in mainstream politics having been also left out at the formation of the BCM whose leadership was predominantly male. There were a lot of Black labour movements and emerging trade unions influenced by BC, and the different unions came together resulting in the formation of the Council of Unions in South Africa (CUSA) as pointed out by Habib and Valodia (2006). Regarding the same period, Odendaal (2019) relates that the 1980s were a Grand Apartheid moment with forced removals and Bantustans in full swing.

The resurgent grassroots and community uprisings, labour movements and black trade unionisation moments of the 1980s are relevant in putting context to the role played by Wits University. Wits University in the 1980s began to develop a clear duties and responsibilities mandate beyond its walls and the time, and the Wits Voices in the Open Universities booklet assisted in the mobilisation of Black communities into the imagined public that the institution sought to serve (Odendaal 2019). Developments such as the Wits History Workshop (WHW) according to Odendaal (2019), had an influence on (re) emerging labour movements. WHW had a significant role in understanding of the role of Wits University in the 1980s. The WHW reached beyond the traditional boundaries of the university into society and built relationships with communities it had ignored or exploited before (Odendaal 2019). The banning of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the imposition of restrictions on the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) by government (Habib and Valodia 2006), and the content covered by WHW workshops (Odendaal 2019) is significant to the understanding of connections between the university, society, labour and work. The Academic Plan of 1980 saw the first cohort of Black students admitted to Wits without ministerial approval in 1984, since the passing of the Education Act of 1959 (Odendaal 2019). These developments were instrumental to instigation of radical student politics on campus in the 1980s given that Black student enrolment had improved, their militant struggles linked up with the UDF and drew from BC philosophy.

Later on in the early 1990s, there were transitional negotiations in South Africa culminating in the constitution of the new South Africa being born in 1996 (Booysen 2016). These national student political contestations had a bearing on the higher education system, including the stance taken by universities such as Wits in the process. According to Booysen (2016), although

alienation and discrimination experienced by black students and staff remains a reality on campuses, universities tend to see themselves as transformed. She argues that, this observation is substantiated by that fact that although without much public attention, Wits University for example has become 75 percent black within 21 years of democracy. For Habib (2019), Wits is different from what it was in 1994 because black students in 2019 accounted for 82 per cent of the student population compared to only 35 per cent in 1994. Women students in 2019 were in the majority, comprising 55 percent compared to 41 per cent in 1994.

To put further context to current demographics, Habib (2019) revealed that in 2019, blacks comprised 90 percent and Africans in particular were at 79 percent of the professional and administrative staff, compared to 76 and 55 per cent in 2005. In his words, 'Black staff comprise 49 per cent and Africans 32 percent of academics, compared to 27 and 17 percent in 2005' (Habib 2019, p. 91). According to Habib (2019), during his tenure as Vice-Chancellor, there had been reviews of the admission process. The outcome of the reviews showed that the MBBCh programme in the Health Sciences had become one of the most popular programmes across races, for example because, it attracted 10 000 applications against only 220 academic places.

The university currently has five faculties, namely Humanities, Health Sciences, Science, Engineering and the Built Environment as well as Commerce, Law and Management. It also has 5 campuses – East Campus and West Campus which are both located either side of M1 highway in Braamfontein; Education Campus, Medical School and Management School – all collectively referred to as Parktown Campuses. This apartheid and post-apartheid history of Wits University provides some context regarding where the university comes from, its current status and outlook for the future. What seems to have remained one of the challenges is the idea of transforming the demographics in student enrolments towards a black majority with little curriculum and academic staff profile transformation. The bulk of the current curriculum still has an influence of white and foreign academics. The foreign trained academics are predominantly from first world countries. This partly explains why students challenged this status quo calling for the decolonisation of the curriculum.

There was a hive of activity during the protest which made the research site a rich one for study. For example, there was a lot of mobilisation, solidarities, ideological and intellectual leanings from various groupings such as academics free education, sociology discussion group, Fallists, #ImbokodoLead and others. There was also a number of talks and seminars, which debated the rationale, merits and demerits of the FMF movement taking place on campus. Tensions also emerged between some academics, between some academics and management, some students

and some staff members, some students and some academics. There also were various ongoing formal and informal discussions relating to different aspects of FMF. Academics David Dickinson, Ben Scully and some fallist students of FMF initiated one of the influential informal groups during the course of FMF (Chinguno et al 2017).

3.5 Methodological approach: A qualitative case study

My intrinsic interest in the concept of violence shaped my methodological and methods inclinations to the study. I was intrigued to explore and understand this phenomenon and as such the methodology, methods and study population became central in addressing my research questions and research objective. This is because as Tellis (1997) argues, case studies are multi-perspectival analyses and therefore allow the researcher not to just consider the voice and perspective of actors but also other relevant groups and the interactions between them. The consideration of group dynamics and their interactions (Tellis 1997) was complementary and integral to my intersectionality theoretical approach. This theoretical-methodological relationship was key to explore a case study design. This is partly because, according to Bryman (2001), the basic role and function of a case study is to embark on a detailed analysis of a case while Stake (1995) cited in Bryman (2001) points out that its main concern is the complexity and particular nature of the case in question.

I employ the case study methodological approach which becomes suitable to address both the research questions and purpose (objective) of this study. Englander (2012) explains that the research purpose is formulated in a way that must fulfil the researcher's aim to discover meaning of phenomenon. Accordingly, my focus and objective is to investigate the impact of the social phenomenon of violence on social cleavages, drawing on the perspectives and interpretations of the study population's lived experiences as the empirical basis to address this research inquiry.

In light of this objective, I locate the study within a qualitative case study research paradigm.

Hammell (2006) cited in Nicholls (2009) defines 'methodologies as a specific philosophical and ethical approach to developing knowledge' (p. 587). For Johnson (2016, p.46) 'methodologies refers to how knowledge is gained, that is how do I find out more about this reality?' Methodologies for Saavedra and Perez (2014) are more than tools for obtaining data; they are extensions of ways of knowing and being. Thus for me, immersing myself through ethnographic observation of the social action, engaging the study population through semi-structured interviews and a dialogical focused group, exposes me to the dynamics and complexities of the social phenomenon of violence.

Case studies have been used in varied sociological studies and investigations and scholars such as Yin and Stake have developed robust case study procedures in the process (Tellis 1997). For this study, getting detailed viewpoints of the study population relating to the violence and its impact on social cleavages as social phenomena of inquiry was central in search of a meaning through a case study. The challenge with other study approaches whether experimental or quasi-experimental according to Stake (1995) cited in Tellis (1997) is that their data collection and analysis methods tend to hide some details. However, the advantage of case studies is that, they are designed to bring out the details from the viewpoint of participants by using multiple sources (Tellis 1997). The ability to bring out hidden details from the viewpoints of participants, which I achieved in this study, which is not a given in other approaches, is further applauded by Baxter and Jack (2000). They submit that the case study approaches facilitate explorations of phenomena within their contexts through the use of a variety of data sources.

The complexity and nature of the relationships emerging from the interactions of different groups and their contested intersections during FMF required me to understand their dynamics from the viewpoints of the participants. As I have already stated, central to the purpose of this study is to understand the impact of violence on the social cleavages of inquiry and how they in turn also impacted on violence. Although I proceeded to use a case study in search of the meaning of the lived experiences of violence, I was fully aware that the very concept of a case study is highly contested in the field social sciences. Ragin and Becker (1992) (in Babbie 2011) concur that there is very little consensus on what constitutes a "case". The term *case* is used in its broad terms (Babbie 2011). In spite of the tensions and contradictions on what exactly constitutes a case study, Babbie (2011) argues that its main purpose can be descriptive. The advantage of a case study is that it can generate insights on the lived experiences of study population in a particular space and time. For Babbie (2011), a case study is 'the in-depth examination of a single instance of some social phenomenon, such as a village' (p. 301). My delimitation of Wits University as research site provided me with an in-depth field work necessary to address my research questions. It provided a good picture of the differences, dimensions and tensions within FMF.

As a methodological approach, I place the research participants at the centre of the study. This was within a flexible and pluralistic knowledge-making approach anchored on the experiences of research participants. I do not seek to formulate a generalisation of accounts but instead, I am interested in the uniqueness and contradictions of the cases. I seek to elicit different perceptions and interpretations of the social phenomena of violence and social cleavages from the perspective of participants' recollections of their lived experiences. Within the broader

context and argument of research methodology, Porter (2007, p. 83) presents an interesting view that, 'If research pursuit is about informing practice …It is of paramount importance that those acting on the basis of the knowledge it provides are confident that it accurately describes and explains the issues being addressed'.

The experiential nature and character of the empirical evidence I generate in this study cannot be accurately described from a quantitative model. It became important as a researcher of social phenomena, that I devise a research strategy that enables me to fully describe the issues being sought by the research questions of the study. The essence of my methodological approach is the complex and rich descriptions of the social phenomena of violence and social cleavages as concretely lived by the participants (Finlay 2009). This calls for use of relevant sampling procedures and research methods in order to collect the relevant data to address the research question.

3.6 Sampling procedure

My inclusion criteria for the study population was that research participants needed to have participated in or experienced the protest. This was aligned to the purpose and research questions of this study which sought to explore the impact of the social phenomenon of violence drawing from the recollections of lived experiences of the study population (participants) of the 2015/16 FMF movement. Thus, my preference was students given that they were the key role players of the protest against the hiked tuition fees although there were other non-student key informants who were minimal in number.

In order for all the direct data collection processes to be fulfilled, I employed the snowball sampling technique. Bryman (2001, p. 98) explains that in snowball sampling, 'the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contact with others'. This is similar to how I also approached my own fieldwork. At the time I formally started field work, my study had become known particularly among fellow doctoral students who had played critical roles during the movement. This small doctoral group of students became my initial contacts among other initial key contacts. As senior postgraduate students they had an overview of the movement and assisted me to establish contacts with other participants. I eventually found myself exposed to a number of networks. This presented me with a snowball sampling procedure based on richness and key information on specific matters relating to the social phenomenon. I targeted participants who had participated in the movement through referrals. It became easy to locate them because those who referred me to the participants gave me their contact details and I knew most of them. My

general interactions during the movement, before and after, also assisted me to be accepted by the participants.

McCall and Simmons (1969) as cited in Babbie (1992), hail snowball sampling as one of the specifically appropriate techniques to field research. The technique allowed me to be easily introduced and referred to participants some of whom I did not know had influential and key roles during the movement. Violent acts had a number of students arrested and some suspended. Some still had pending cases and charges related to defying court interdicts that allowed the University to sanction curfews and enforce other restrictions. I thus anticipated that it would be a challenge for potential research participants to be willing to participate in the study. It only became appropriate and possible through referrals and recommendations from their fellow activists.

There are identified problems with the snowball sampling technique. One of the problems according to Bryman (2001) is that, it is highly unlikely that the sample becomes representative of the population. The advantage for me as Bryman (2001) also highlights, is that the snowball sampling is not used for quantitative research strategies but for qualitative approaches. I was thus not interested in a quantitatively representative sample but rather, divergent and contested qualitative views. These divergent and contradictory views became important for analysis because they provided me with deeper insights relating to how social cleavages manifest or reshape in moments of solidarity or violence. The demographic spread of research participants provided various interpretations of the lived experiences.

Having discussed how I navigated my sampling procedure, it is logical to highlight some key demographic details of my study population to bring the reader to an appreciation of who they were. Although the study was qualitative and was not inclined towards numbers, it is important to note that I interviewed sixty participants, doing individual face-to-face interviews. Five of these were repeat interviews with some participants who had crucial information and had key roles during the movement. At this point, I had reached some degree of saturation in relation to research questions. The study population included the following categories of participants:

Study population group	**Type of interview**	**Nationality**	**Race**	**Gender**	**Total interviewed**
Students	In-depth one-to-one	South Africa	Black	Female	25

Students	In-depth one-to-one	South Africa	Black	Queer woman	1
Students	In-depth one-to-one	South Africa	Indian	Female	1
Students	In-depth one-to-one	South Africa	Black	Male	4
Students	In-depth one-to-one	Dual (Zimbabwe-	Black	Male	1
		South Africa)			
Students	In-depth one-to-one	Zimbabwe	Black	Female	9
Students	In-depth one-to-one	Zimbabwe	Black	Male	11
Students	In-depth one-to-one	Germany	White	Female	2
Academic	In-depth one-to-one	Dual – (British South Africa)	White	Male	1
Academic	In-depth one-to-one	Zimbabwe	B lack	Female	1
Senior Executive	In-depth one-to-one	South Africa	Indian	Male	1
Worker -Shop steward	In-depth one-to-one	South Africa	Black	Female	1

Staff member – Trade Unionist	In-depth one-to-one	South Africa	Black	Female	1
Staff member – Professional counsellor	In-depth one-to-one	South Africa	Black	Female	1
Grand total of interviewed participants					60

Table 1. Demographics of interview participants.

I had three focus group discussions constituting on average, eight participants each. In the first student focus group there were two white female participants, one coloured female participant, one black male student and two black female students. The second was a group of Masters Students, which was racially mixed, and gender balanced. The third one consisted of the Workers and Socialist Party (WASP) members who were in solidarity with their student wing. It is difficult to be exact on numbers when it comes to informal and on-going conversations. Nonetheless, I had over twenty informal conversations across the demographics and a few follow up discussions during the write up process.

The demographic composition of the research participants was diverse and crucial towards addressing my research questions. The non-South African students were generally Zimbabwean and of African descent on study permits. The bulk of the participants although black, were from various ethnic backgrounds. The study population was of different racial, gender, citizenship disparities, sexual orientations, language and cultural backgrounds.

3.7 Research methods

I took the simplest view of methods as tools, instruments and equipment that enable data collection alongside an understanding that methodology is the technical approach employed in a study. I developed the best-suited tools and instruments for this study, taking into account that my main interest was to draw from the participants' experiences to understand and explain the impact of the phenomenon of violence. This meant that I had to link my data collection methods (tools, instruments, equipment) to the purpose of this study based on the research questions. In simple terms, research method refers to how data is collected (Jackson II, Drummond and Camara 2007). My main research methods were the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. I backed these with ethnographic participant observation and field notes. These methods became coherent and complementary, and this assisted me to capture

both planned and unplanned incidents and occurrences during the study. Unplanned but significant incidents of the movement were captured through ethnographic observation and field notes that I compiled and transcribed. As a researcher, I immersed myself in the movement and most of its activities. My presence was not questioned but accepted as I was a fellow postgraduate student at the time.

I also had ongoing informal conversations with research participants some of whom had participated in the in-depth interviews. I kept field notes from such conversations and observations. For example, I managed to relate with spontaneous expressions of participant's lived experiences of the social phenomena under investigation. Some participants wept and shed tears during the personal interviews. My experience with the study population was similar to Gemignani's (2001) experiences in his study of refugees and displaced individuals in the former Yugoslavia. Gemignani (2001, p. 702) writes a statement I can identify with: 'The stories I heard and witnessed were often tragic, eliciting emotions that powerfully affected both the participants and me, the interviewer'. My research methods exposed me to situations that also affected me as a researcher. I checked if such participants would require any professional counselling while I also recorded these difficult emotional moments during interview sessions as data for analysis and interpretation regarding the impact of violence.

3.8 Ethnography

Social movements and the phenomenon of violence by their very nature are both dynamic. They emerge, evolve and decline while they also turn, shift and reshape into different forms. The dynamism in social movements and the spontaneity of some protest movement incidents such as those relating to collective violent action, are better observed as they occur. There was an element of spontaneity during FMF and such occasions called for the use of ethnography to observe some of the key incidents. The main difference between this method and others, particularly the interview and focus group methods, is that it allowed me to observe action as it happened as opposed to relying on relived narratives that the other methods that I also employed could only offer. Bryman (2001, p. 48) insists that the 'exponents of the case study design often favour qualitative methods such as participant observation and unstructured interviewing'. Ethnography thus allowed me to observe key incidents of the FMF movement, lending credence to the assertion that it is one of the suitable methods for case study design.

At the height of violent incidents, particularly in 2016, I negotiated my role in the movement. I decided to take a purely ethnographic approach. I immersed myself in the social activities of the movement and prepared ground for my future involvement in formal data collection. This

ethnographic role allowed me to disengage from speculation, protest and its violence but at the same time allowed me to elicit first-hand accounts of being part of the movement (Bryman 2001). This is because I carefully listened to some of the ongoing conversations, made some observations and experienced aspects of the movement.

Although the study had not yet been granted ethical clearance for me to initiate formal research work, I could not be detached from the movement, the emotions and experiences that came with it. My lived experiences on campus and personal struggles as a black postgraduate student were also synonymous with some of the issues raised by the FMF activists and fallists, some of whom took part as research participants in this study. I remained immersed in the movement for an extended period of time, observed behaviour and listened to what was being said. I also asked questions. There were a lot of ongoing conversations on and off campus relating to the FMF movement. There were formal and informal student meetings as well as conferences where I had opportunities to listen to debates and contestations over student protests.

3.9 Field notes

The advantage of this method was that it complemented the other three and made them complete and valid. This is because during fieldwork, I made numerous hand written field notes to complement the other methods that I was using. I made notes alongside ethnographic observations on particular aspects and trends that I noticed during ethnography, interviews and focus group sessions. I made some follow-ups and paid attention to any emerging trends and themes during subsequent sessions of data collection methods. The coded notes that I made for further analysis became helpful in describing and explaining the phenomena of enquiry. It also assisted me understand how social cleavages got mobilized and arranged during violence as I reflected on the notes during transcribing.

One of my first observations which became consistent is the availability and willingness of heterosexual females and queer women to participate in the study. This was contrary to my assumption that female and queer women participants would be uncomfortable with me as a black male researcher. This preliminary field observation, which I initially captured as a field note to pay further attention to, subsequently became one of the major themes of analysis as seen from the fact that it is one of the empirical chapters of this study.

Field notes became a continuous data collection technique until the end of field work. Thus, field note taking unfolded within and between formal interviews and ethnographic observations happened during and in between interviews. This formed and informed my data collection

processes. For example, during in-depth interviews, one of the observations that I made a field note on was that female participants tended to emotively express their lived experiences compared to their male counterparts who showed or expressed very little or no emotion.

I augmented field notes themselves with other data collection methods like interviews and secondary data sources like documents (Bryman 2001). I introduced in-depth interviews and focus group interviews both of which augmented some of my field notes. I continued to jot some notes during in-depth interviews and focus group sessions which meant that field note taking was a continuous data collection which augmented other methods.

3.10 In-depth interview method

I flexibly employed in-depth interviews between semi-structured and unstructured types. This enabled me to generate rich empirical evidence to examine the impact of violence in relation to social cleavages drawing on the perspectives of the participants. The difference between in-depth interview method and observation, as well as field notes, is that it was interactive. The method presented me with opportunities for dialogue with individual participants. I remained simple and flexible to engage participants.

Englander (2012) affirms that traditionally, face-to-face interview is one of the ways of collecting data if one wants information about the lived experiences of a phenomenon from another person. The phenomenon that I was studying was sensitive. One of my supervisors and I had anticipated challenges in getting enough participants to discuss violence associated with FMF. He challenged me to think about how I was going to ensure that participants would feel free to talk about their direct involvement in acts of violence. Von Holdt (my co-supervisor) is a seasoned scholar, researcher and author on violence. From his field work experience, participants generally do not freely engage or talk about their participation and that of others in acts of violence. This is in fear of possible consequences and by way of keeping to the code of not selling out. My other supervisor (Landau) suggested that I conduct a few mock interviews. I had two tasks at hand – to find the best approach to my in-depth interview data collection method and to test the efficacy and suitability of my proposed data collection tool and its research instrument. I revised my initial interview guide after the mock interviews and came up with a metaphor of a ‘blind and deaf man’.

During in-depth interviews, I requested all participants to imagine that during the FMF protests I had fallen blind and deaf and as such had neither seen nor heard anything. This imagined positionality gave the participants a feeling of empowerment to participate freely in the

conversation. The blind man-deaf man metaphor became a good icebreaker that also presented participants with an opportunity to be as factual and natural as possible in their recounts of the events of FMF. I elicited relevant information using semi-structured questions and further probed where necessary. Participants took part willingly and ardently in the interview sessions, which became conversations. Their accounts provided valuable data that spoke to the available empirical evidence

The interactive model of my in-depth interview process became complementary of the non-interactive methods such as ethnographic observation and some aspects of field note taking. More than one method was used at any one point, a situation Jackson II et al. (2007) make that interviewing for example, is generally employed in data collection alongside other modes of data collection including, observation.

The benefit and advantage of using semi-structured in-depth interview process in my study is that it allowed me to discover various interpretations of the lived experiences between different participants. For example, I did not predetermine or had a prepared question on the 'human shield' constructed by white people during the movement or the 'naked' protest. The revelations relating to such key moments emerged from recounts of participants' lived experiences. This was different from a process where participants are led into speaking about particular aspects on the subject of enquiry from the perspective of researchers.

3.11 Focus group interview method

I used focus groups to engage groups of participants and managed to get different and extensive recollections of and perspectives on lived experiences. The advantage of focus groups is that they generated various and at times contradictory views in one session. Besides, where one participant had forgotten the full details of an incident, others filled in. The idea behind a focused interview is that people known to have had a particular experience are interviewed in a relatively unstructured manner about the experience (Bryman 2011). In the same way, I interviewed focus groups of participants who had lived experiences of FMF movement, including its moments of violence. Before the beginning of each session, I briefed the participants on how the process would unfold to clear any uncertainty.

I used semi-structured questions to explore nuances of participants' life-worlds. This enabled me to understand how the research participants understood and defined their world during the

FMF movement. The information explained participants' behaviours and what motivated them. The focus group interview also assisted me to collect data in relation to how research

participants responded or experienced violence differently. This was suited for the case study because my focus was not in generalisation but to describe social phenomena from an array of perceptions. Although the participants encountered somewhat similar incidents, they had different perceptions on them. This emphasized the concept of the socially situated subject.

The social 'situatedness' of participants invoked the differences, inequalities and disparities of race, gender and citizenship. Focus group discussions placed a demand on me to be flexible to when managing group dynamics and contradictory narratives or similar but different versions of accounts. Jackson et al. (2007) clarify that phenomenologists reject the idea that legitimate knowledge is only that discovered by social scientists through ignoring the perceived world of everyday experience. The method enabled me to delve deeper into different perceptions and perspectives of the lived experiences during FMF in one session compared to the individual interview methods which required me to go over a few individual sessions separately and then comparatively. I teased the participants with follow up questions and this allowed different voices to express particular views relating to the subject of inquiry.

The focus group method helped me to grapple with the fluidity of social cleavages because during the sessions, there were signs that gender and race shaped discussions in particular ways. This fluidity required relevant methods that relate with my theoretical approach – intersectionality. The focus group discussion method for example contributed alongside other methods in the generation of first-hand empirical data about the intersectional nature of the core problem. During the focus group sessions, we used up to three languages and there were opportunities to explore aspects of race, gender and class among other social categories. From a phenomenological perspective, this further confirmed the method as consistent and appropriate for the intersectionality approach.

The focus group interviews further assisted me among many other things, to self-understand as a researcher so that I could guard against bias during data collection and organise the groups in ways that are more effective. For example, it assisted me to organise and manage groups of participants as human beings with intellect, subjectivity and agency. This facilitated rapport between myself and the research participants, and themselves in spite of the emotional and sensitive topic of violence under study. I was not oblivious of the fact that the study could invoke emotions. Tensions within a focused group can go out of hand and I prepared myself in many ways to create relationships with the participants beyond being an 'instrument' for data collection. Below, I deal in detail with aspects of my positionality and ethics, and by so doing provide clarity on how my methods of data collection were chosen and why they proved to be reliable.

3.12 My positionality and how it shaped my encounters of negotiating the research process

In this section, I seek to present a summary of the different ways in which the participants related to me, how I also related to them and how the relationship had a bearing on my data collection. I also provide a brief analysis of what this meant for this study. One of the advantages at the formative stages of this study was that it coincided with my stint as a political analyst on one of the television stations. I thus became known and related to some students on campus, including a few undergraduates I had not interacted with in everyday life on campus. There was a group of students willing to engage me due to my pro-student views and social struggles of the poor in general. I was no stranger on campus to some on that basis. This made me spend a lot of time with students discussing a lot of student struggles, including the challenges we faced as students and how the movement impacted on our personal lives.

There was another way which facilitated my entry into the field work. That is, after the tense student protests of 2015 and 2016, some of the ongoing informal conversations continued to happen at the Postgraduate Club (the PiG). Although the PiG has a social dimension, it is equally an intellectual space. Very deep debates, arguments and reflections on the FMF and the very idea of decolonisation at Wits, happened there. I generally did not frequent the place before my studies but one of my key research informants and first contacts, JB, who was a regular member of the PiG, introduced me to the club.

The benefits were amazing because I got to interact with critics of the movement, allies, key activists and advocates of the movement. The contested views around the movement enriched my data collection. While at the club with JB, who had become more like a brother than my key research informant, introduced me to a friend of his. Simamkele Dlakavu was a key figure of the movement, a feminist and fallist my friend JB introduced me and my study to. Dlakavu embraced both the study and myself as researcher in these words:

> As long as it is done by my fellow black African brother why not. I can personally stop everything and remobilize to support your research, it is our research and it must be unashamed to represent our struggle. I am happy that it is you my brother not some white male supremacist trying to patronize black people[4].

My encounter with Dlakavu revealed a few things to me. First, that my positionality as a researcher of the FMF movement was heavily influenced by race since Dlakavu emphasised

[4] Field notes Simamkele Dlakavu, 07 October 2017 The PiG Wits University

what it meant for the study to be conducted by a Black African male. What this suggested to me was that my positionality in this study was not self-made but emerged from a particular socio-historical narrative. My blackness provided me with agency and legitimacy to explore a study on the nature of FMF. It also positioned me as an insider with a shared socio-cultural and political identity. This is evident in how the rest of the participants generally came to relate with me and how I in turn also related with them. In my first encounter, Dlakavu embraced me with a title of 'fellow African brother'. There was thus a racial affinity that shaped my relationship with Dlakavu and by extension, some sections of FMF.

It is also important to note that the majority of the research participants were young people and since I was older than most, I was addressed deferentially, following the African cultural mores of respect for older people. As young people, the participants were generally accustomed to the use of what is commonly known as '*kasi*' or 'township lingo'. *Kasi* is isiZulu for township derived from its Afrikaans equivalent *kasie,* a shortened version of *lokasie* in Afrikaans for location. On numerous occasions the 'kasi lingo' was preferred by the research participants, mostly South Africans. This enhanced our relations.

The use of African names and *ekasi* lingo empowered the research participants to be as genuine and free as they could be in expressing their socio-cultural realities and cultivating relations with me as a researcher. For example, some male research participants would identify me as *nja yami* (my dog). This means my real or best friend. I had to shift and reorient my positionality to locate it within this broader African socio-cultural and township lingo narrative. Without the shifting, reorientation and repositioning of my positionality, I could have easily been offended by being addressed as *nja yami.* My fluid and shifting positionality calculated to remain an insider and outsider, meant I did not take 'dog' in its literal sense but from a sociocultural township lingo perspective. Being a friend or embraced as such did not only empower me but created rapport which enabled research to become a conversation and participants to become partners.

Some female participants used the term *bhuti,* commonly used in some local languages to refer to 'brother'. I had anticipated a challenge in accessing study populations especially female participants. My own traditional and cultural prejudices were anticipated by Mahati (2015) in his study of independent children from Zimbabwe in Musina. Like him, I was of the view that female students in particular would not be comfortable to interact freely with me especially relating to personal matters. This was in view of a number of alleged sexist tendencies and sexual harassment incidents during the protest. On the contrary, the title of 'brother' that they

had bestowed on me and which I welcomed and embodied created rapport and trust. They embraced my study as a platform to speak out and take their struggle elsewhere. Similarly, some males preferred to address me as *bafo* which means brother and at times they used *bhuti omkhulu* or *bhuti omdala* which means big brother and elder brother respectively. The other important dimension worth mentioning is that my processes of inquiry into this research topic generated significant emotions, in particular, the relived memories of violence.

The research participants in general saw me as an ally and 'comrade'. There was also another term used to address me that I also used in return to address most of the key informants – comrade. The term was abbreviated to 'com.' they became my comrades and coms and I became theirs. In the political arena, comradeship is a key component of mobilisation and solidarity. What this meant for me and the study was that participants would not identify me as comrade when they had suspicions of me and my research agenda. This made participants to confide in me, including making some confessions. These relational titles of comrade, best friend, brother, big brother and elder brother as well as Dlakavu's embrace of the study as 'theirs' are important for context.

It came to my realisation that I needed to conduct myself from a particular relational positionality. I had to conduct myself as expected of a comrade, friend, brother, big brother and elder brother, particularly from the perspective of African political and social contexts. This meant that I had to locate my study within the principles of the African philosophy of Ubuntu and South African liberation struggle context. For example, to be compatible with values of Ubuntu meant that I needed not to be in a parasitic data mining relation but instead, my data collection processes should assume a symbiotic posture. Therefore in my conscience, I could not for example, let my fellow comrades sit in long focus group sessions without food or refreshments.

The context of imbedding my positionality within the political context being a comrade researcher meant that I had to observe the national mourning of the struggle icon Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. For example, one of the key feminists and fallist was not available to be interviewed for some time due to her involvement in the funeral arrangements of struggle icon, Winnie Madikezela-Mandela. This meant that I needed to locate my positionality within this political and social context that affected my study population. I had to observe certain African norms and practices related to mourning the departed. I could not have violated the feminist activist and fallist's cultural way of dealing with the loss of a figure such as struggle icon, Madikezela-Mandela. From an African perspective, Madikizela-Mandela was a mother to me

as well as a comrade who had contributed towards my own liberation and privilege to be even conducting this study and being a student in a former white University. In that regard, I had to observe her loss, mourning and burial moment by not distracting the potential key participant from this cultural norm and practice. The general mood among target participants even beyond those affiliated to the ANC was sombre at the time, and as a researcher I had to be cognisant of such social and cultural realities.

In relation to my experiences as a black African postgraduate student in a former white University, I admittedly had my personal biases and prejudices to the subject of inquiry. The overall purpose and research questions that I coined for this study have a bearing on my values, prejudices, choices and personal life experiences. If anything, this particular study became and remained a struggle for self-discovery and self-consciousness through others and understanding others through self.

To minimise bias and prejudice, I was guided by Bourdieu's (1990) thesis on sociological reflexivity. Bourdieu (1990), as cited in Chinguno (2015), recommends that researchers must deploy reflexive sociology and refutes a view that a researcher can ever be free of interest or past experiences. He argues that any assumption by researchers that they are neutral is deceptive given that they do not exist in a vacuum but are socially situated with particular interests and past experiences in their personal lives and hold clear ideological leanings in their fields of study. As mitigation, I remained open to the fact that I had particular personal bias and prejudice. This according to Chinguno (2015) is helpful towards enabling the researcher to free self from such because being conscious of personal bias than playing neutral becomes part of the solution to the problem.

My immersion in the experiences of the research participants and the use of different data collection techniques and methods provided me with a rich text. This broadened my perspective against my own personal perspectives, experiences and interests, what is normally called social location. This compelled me to try and be as scholarly in my perspective as possible. Thus, as Kenway and McLeod (2004, p.525) also reflect 'we need to interrogate the idea of a single perspective and account […] for the particularity and influence of the scholastic point of view'.

Accordingly, I devised a process to enable a reflexive sociological process as part of my research process. One of the processes was to allow my data collection methods and approaches to be flexible and semi-structured to provide participants with opportunities to tell their stories in their own way. This eliminated my dominance in shaping questions in particular directions overly determined by my own prejudices, values and personal experiences. I also took several

steps back for deep reflections after interviews and in between them to ponder what it meant for me as a Black postgraduate student researcher to draw data from fellow black students with whom I shared some struggles and experiences of blackness. My experiences in a former white University and those of the research participants, how those impacted on my understanding and their own interpretations of the social cleavages, became part of my reflexive sociological process during the study.

3.13 Ethics in practice

My positionality in relation to ethical and emotional work involved in pursuing research on violence became critical. Shaw, Howe, Beazer and Carr (2019) foreground the importance of research ethics and professional codes of conduct for studies undertaken with human participants on sensitive topics. Interestingly, my study had been accorded a 'no harm to human participants' coding by the postgraduate studies committee. In spite of this, I remained cautious of the potential sensitivity of the memory of violence that the topic posed. My extensive exposure to the FMF movement through various means already mentioned in the preceding sections, assisted me not to be naïve of the sensitivity posed by my topic. Guillemin and Gillam (2004) as cited in Shaw et al. (2019, p.278) make a helpful observation in their distinction between 'procedural ethics' and 'ethics in practice'. Their distinction clarified my fieldwork experience. For them, procedural ethics has to do with seeking formal approval from a relevant ethics body to undertake research as per institutional policy, outlining standards before research is conducted. I was eventually granted an ethics clearance certificate as confirmation that my study design fulfilled the University's research integrity standards. Guillemin and Gillam (2004) as cited in Shaw et al. (2019) further state that, 'ethics in practice refers to the everyday, situational, and unanticipated ethical issues that occur when doing research' (Shaw et al 2019, p. 278).

As part of the procedural ethics clearance outline and guidelines, I availed contact details of convenient facilities on campus that could provide research participants with counselling or curative therapy for free. Still relating to procedural ethics, I satisfied the requirements and informed each participant by drawing from my information sheet which I presented to them, that there was no material benefit attached to participation; that each participant could withdraw from the study at any given time without any prejudice and need to state reasons. All participation was consent based and all the participants voluntarily signed consent forms to participate and gave consent to being recorded and signed that section. As part of maintaining my commitment to confidentiality I intended to use pseudonyms. Instead, most of the participants insisted on using their real names and emphasized that they had nothing to hide.

They stated that the study was an opportunity for them to bring issues to the open. However, I still maintained that their information would be kept safely and that no other persons than the project supervisors would access the research material. I committed to keep all research material safely for a period of 5 years after which I personally shall destroy it.

I had not made provision to provide food or transport fare to participants. The reality and context that came to play in view of the material conditions of everyday life was such that one of the participants for example had no transport fare from Soweto, a mainly black township in the Southwest of Johannesburg and I had to provide for her. I could not from an ethics in practice perspective disregard this reality. It became difficult for me to let a student and a key informant who looked up to me as a brother and comrade incur costs in the co-production of knowledge. Although it may sound or appear as unethical from a procedural ethics perspective that I did not make such declarations that I would provide meals and transport at some point, these emerged as unanticipated situational and contextual realities of my study population. For example, although I had prepared all the factual information regarding facilities for counselling and curative therapy as part of procedural ethics, little did I anticipate actual 'breakdown' during interviews. Food provision, transport fare and moral support and were unanticipated ethical issues but I had to provide them to become a true comrade, friend, big brother and activist researcher.

3.14 Data Analysis

It became imperative to organize my data in ways that could assist me to arrange my empirical work into units of analysis. Upon the realisation and observation of the manner in which the study population's experiences during data collection became patterns of representations of particular social cleavages, I utilised a thematic approach. Braun and Clarke (2004) describe thematic analysis as a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set. Organizing data thematically makes it accessible and flexible and this has made thematic analysis increasingly popular in qualitative data analysis (Braun and Clarke 2004). Organizing my empirical findings thematically and using the thematic analysis approach helped to answer my research questions. As Braun and Clarke further indicate, themes capture important aspects of the data in relation to research questions and other meanings besides.

This approach assisted me to get immersed in my data through reading the transcripts and listening to audio recordings. I generated some descriptive codes which provided me with some preliminary analysis, which in turn led to real themes which shaped the essence of my data.

According to Braun and Clarke (2004), the thematic analysis approach has a stage where themes are named and defined. Although, according to Anthias (2012), there have been concerted efforts in a number of directions for over 20 years now to rethink and reconceptualise the cleavage of class, there was fuzziness on this concept at this stage as compared to the other emerging themes that eventually became my core intersectional framework. Themes must also address the research questions while also providing a coherent story about the data (Braun and Clarke 2004). This approach assisted me to name and define the social cleavages that described and explained the lived experiences of the study population in ways that not only provided a coherent story but also addressed the research questions. I made it a point in my data analysis to keep to the code of ethics to observe the potential sensitivity of my research topic in ways also noted by Anthias (2012) that there were instances where research subjects could be uncomfortable talking about class. The preference is usually the use of particular terms that do not self-identify or identify others differently from classed positions. I was therefore observant and sensitive to the fact that some categories such as single mothers, the poor, the old or the underclass are pathologizing and are those categories that research participants generally refuse to associate with (Anthias 2012).

3.15 Conclusion

By way of conclusion, and to paraphrase Babbie (1992), a proper research design addresses the planning of a scientific enquiry which means designing a strategy for finding out something. Accordingly, I have outlined the research strategy that I executed to address research questions so as to fulfil the purpose of this study. Jackson II et al. (2009, p. 22) emphasize that research methodology is about "why to collect data a certain way". I have argued that central to my methodological approach in this study was an achievement to collect data using relevant techniques and approaches to capture the lived experiences of research participants of a sensitive social phenomenon of violence. This chapter also meets Babbie's (1992) conditions that a sound research design must firstly, explain in precise terms what the researcher seeks to find out and secondly, determine the best way of doing so. In this chapter, I have highlighted to the reader the essence of what I sought to understand and how I executed my research approach. I have also shown the role played by my positionality in data collection particularly how participants shaped this positionality and related to it. Identity as a social category became a core basis of my approval, and later on, a methodological element.

This research design and research methods together with my positionality and reflexivity approaches enabled me to collect relevant empirical material that addressed the research questions. This chapter provides clarity on the rest of the subsequent chapters since it discussed

how data was collected and coded thematically to generate the units of analysis. While race, gender and citizenship emerged as clear-cut themes of analysis, although not directly termed as such, class was embedded or described in terms already accommodated in the three cleavages of inquiry, particularly its cultural reals. The next chapter expands on secondary data usage to construct a narrative context of this study on how FMF evolved, rose and declined.

Chapter 4

4. Narrative of the Evolution of FMF Movement (2015/16)

4.1 Introduction:

In this chapter I provide a narrative context of the movement focusing on the events that shaped and influenced the movement in order to enlighten the reader on some of the incidents and events that occurred prior to the 'birth' of the movement, during its evolution until its decline. I mainly draw this narrative account from secondary data sources. The difference between this chapter and the subsequent empirical ones is that it is a chronological narration of events based on secondary data while the subsequent ones draw from primary empirical sources.

Although the chapter does not provide any primary data analysis, its narrative account provides a background for the empirical findings. This background is important because different accounts that describe how events around the movement unfolded constitute some of the dynamics and manifestations of the movement, its mobilisation, organisation, tensions as well as solidarities that emerged. This narrative also highlights the ways and means by which the collective protest action was organised as well as the tactics that were employed by the different role players. The narrative account is also important because it provides the foundation of the manner in which social cleavages and solidarities came to be mobilised and demobilised as part of empirical evidence that emerges in the subsequent chapters. This narrative account is also foundational as it anticipates some themes that emerged during the FMF as discussed in the subsequent chapters of the thesis.

4.2 Underlying material conditions and socio-economic realities prevailing in the research site

The underlying material conditions and the socio-economic realities lived and experienced by the study population in the research site paint a picture of where FMF emerged from. Higher education funding is generally an ongoing historical socio-economic challenge for many black families in South Africa. Dickinson (2015) and Malabela (2017) attest that there had been underfunding of higher education by government. As Dickinson[5] (2015) put it,

[5] Dickinson was (is) a University Council member elected by Academic staff of the University to the membership of Council.

> When I stood for Council in May of last year it was to, inter alia; 'encourage Council to take a more active stance in lobbying for increased funding for the Higher Education Sector to address the current chronic underfunding environment.' It was clear that this was the key problem; different university stakeholders: academics, support staff, students, outsourced workers, and management, were competing for inadequate funding.

In the above citation, the then representative of academics points out underfunding and its impact on different university constituencies. Malabela (2017) shows that there had been a decline in government funding from 49% to 40% of the total government annual subsidy over the course of the last decade. He mentions that in that period, university fees had risen from 24% to 31% of their annual tuition fees to cover the shortfall of government subsidy. Universities justified their annual fee increases within such a background.

Dickinson (2015, p.1) further clarifies student funding problems in this manner:

> Late in 2014, I realised that student funding was the pinch point. … I started to engage Council over this [and] it became clear that this was not news. The more I raised the problem of double-digit fee increases, the more it became evident that everybody already understood the situation. The problem was not awareness, the problem was behaviour; nobody was willing to do anything.

The above realisation and assertion by Dickinson was confirmed by the manner a number of students came to be affected by the continued double-digit fee increases early in the 2015 academic year. With the realisation that many students were financially excluded, the Wits SRC launched the '1 Month 1 Million' campaign in February 2015. This campaign according to Malabela (2017), was aimed at raising funds to assist students whose socio-economic conditions could not enable them to pay the fees. The campaign attracted media following and caught civil and business society's attention. Malabela (2017) confirms that the campaign raised over five million Rands but it was not enough to settle the outstanding fee bill at Wits University. He explains that the SRC leadership understood the campaign as some form of peaceful protest against the state's university funding system and that students had taken it upon themselves to explore solutions.

According to Malabela (2017), the impact of the '1 Month 1 Million' campaign inspired the beginning of student initiatives such as #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) at the University of Cape Town. #RMF gained momentum and spread to universities such as Rhodes and Wits.

Following the SRC's fundraising success as an indictment of government's insignificant university funding, Wits students started to engage the broader underlying material conditions and socio-economic realities confronting them. These engagements initially culminated in the Transform Wits initiative in March 2015. The #TransformWits saw Politics Department postgraduate students formulating a memorandum calling for the decolonisation of the curriculum[6]. Malabela (2017) confirmed that the Politics postgraduate students arranged a brief meeting on 26 March and had five key items on their agenda calling for decolonisation. Their main aim was to bring to the attention of the university authorities an array of issues that required transformation as part of the call for decolonisation. One such concern were the conditions that outsourced workers on campus were subjected to by their employers. The meeting was concluded with a peaceful march to the Great Hall stairs. Pilane (2015) cited in Malabela (2017), explained that the mini march to the Great Hall stairs was a solidarity march with other ongoing transformation initiatives at UCT, Rhodes University and University of Kwa Zulu Natal (UKZN) at that time. At this time, students across universities had intensified talks on the issue of decolonisation and transformation (Malabela 2017). This is significant when considering how the decolonisation narrative brewed, circulated and were mobilised across different university campuses across the country. An inter-university WhatsApp group was eventually created for amongst other things, to discuss the general decline in government subsidies to universities, which had resulted in continued fee increases.

As a result of the ongoing student talks on the call for transformation and decolonisation spreading across universities, some Wits students and workers finally organised and staged a sit-in protest at the Vice-Chancellor's (VC) Office. Malabela (2017) confirms that a group of students and workers joined hands and peacefully occupied the VC's Office from 27 to 29 March 2015. The protest was, according to Malabela (2017), against what students insisted was lack of response by university management to address the unfair dismissal of MJL Electric workers[7]. Management turned down the demand by student memorandum to absorb them into the university system and instead, offered to pay off their outstanding wages. The precarity of the insourced workers galvanised a group of students at Wits to remain preoccupied and committed to the ongoing talks on the broader transformation and decolonisation. This led to a formal launch of a manifesto where they resolved to deal with 6 key issues as part of the underlying material conditions and socio-economic conditions which justified their demand for the university to commit to their broader call for transformation (Malabela 2017). Some of the

[6] Interview Mathapelo 01 June 2018 at Humanities Graduate Centre

[7] One of the outsourced contractors at that time that had dismissed a number of its workers.

key issues in the student transformation manifesto included the call for transformation and decolonisation of the curriculum, support for black academics, doing away with worker discrimination, financial exclusion of students, as well as addressing the perceived marginalisation of black people on campus (Malabela 2017).

The call for transformation in relation to the precarious insourced workers and many other socio-economic inequalities, became topical issues on campus among many stakeholders. Dickinson (2015) in his report back to his constituency of academic staff argues that the Council's three-year plan submitted to the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) contradicted the transformation drive. This was because of an acceptance of below inflation government subsidy and increment of student fees to above inflation rate. He reported that he had objected to the submission of Council's proposed three-year plan because it was based on plans to gradually privatise the university.

Dickinson's (2015) concern was the absence of prospects for university funding by government. He confirmed that the summit was indeed held and the then DHET Minister, Dr Blade Nzimande, emphasized to the delegates that, 'there was no more money and, in thinly coded terms, instructed university management to resolve conflict on their campuses without bothering him' (Dickinson 2015, p. 2). The Minister's distancing himself from campus conflicts and announcing that the government had no money had implications for the ongoing calls for transformation, already brewing across campuses. It suggested that the prospects for university funding by government to finance and implement transformation initiatives remained bleak. This clarifies the fractured nature of stakeholders involved in university affairs in the form of students, academics, management, service providers (out sourced workers) and academics, particularly at Wits.

The ongoing calls for transformation by students started to mobilise insourced workers and gained the support of some academics against university management. The students mobilised a Workers Solidarity protest at Wits. Ntshingila (2016) argues that the country witnessed a nationwide October 6 demonstration by progressive academics, progressive students and workers. She further argues that vice-chancellors from respective universities across the country were handed memorandums calling for the reversal of the fifteen years (2000-2015) of exclusion and financial challenges experienced by the majority of black outsourced workers.

The call was to end outsourcing through the adoption a new workers' charter. Ntshingila (2016) narrates that the demonstration brought much excitement to the workers as the student support was overwhelming. This momentum galvanised the mobilisation of various stakeholders from

different constituencies to rally behind students in their objection to the University's continued annual tuition fee hike for 2016. Ntshingila (2016, p.90) concurs and writes, 'this resulted in workers, in turn, involving themselves fully in the in the #WitsFeesMustFall protest that began on 14 October 2015'.

The 13th of October 2015 is one of the very significant dates in this narrative, in the sense that it contributes to the reader's understanding of the many events that unfolded before and during the movement. There are recounts of some of the tactics and strategies that came to be used during the #FMF protest. Booysen (2016) submits that the Wits School of Governance (WSG) became the first site of the 2015 protest where Wits students initiated blockades on campuses from mid-October 2015. The WSG is based in Parktown Campus. According to Sambo (2017), students first protested on 13 October 2015 against management's pronouncement that the Wits Business School was going to take over the Parktown Village (Pkv) student residence as part of the expansion of the Business School plans. This meant that the spatial development plan would render the loss of part of affordable student rooms at Pkv. It also meant the stalling of the drive for transformation to address socio-economic inequalities. Students were determined to fight the loss of 144 post-graduate affordable rooms at Pkv (Sambo 2017). Students had initially submitted a memorandum of objection to the Business School authorities prior to the 13 October 2015 shutdown.

The memorandum as Sambo (2017) explains was suggested that the process ought to be consultative with the students, but the School authorities ignored the student memorandum. 'They never responded. This is why we decided to shut down the Wits Business School on that Tuesday, the busiest day of the week. We knew that it was going to hit them hard' (Sambo 2017, p. 57). Following no response from the School authorities, students intensified their protest through a shutdown of operations at the Business School. They mobilised more students from other residences through their student residence structures. Sambo (2017) confirms that:

> The Wits All Residence Council (ARC) also organised students from other residences to be part of this shutdown. We blocked both gates of the Business School and we sang struggle songs. Our only demand was that we wanted to speak to the VC and we continued to shut down until he arrived at around 17:00. We didn't give him a chance to address us. We also didn't give him a chair to sit and, after having stood for a while, he eventually sat down on the pavement (p. 57).

This section highlights some of the underlying material conditions and the socio-economic inequalities confronting some of the social groupings at Wits University. The section also

brings to the fore the type of struggles, tensions and divisions among the different groupings emanating from socio-economic inequalities. I have also described various ways and strategies that different social groupings mobilised to form alliances and coalitions of solidarity in an effort to address some of the challenges in their calls for transformation and decolonisation. The role of government and the university authorities which was viewed by the majority of the protesting students as curtailing their various transformation and decolonisation calls, provides a starting point in understanding the genesis and character of FMF movement.

4.3 The birth of Fees Must Fall

The social movement #FMF emerged from the students' disapproval of a 10.5 % tuition fee hike announced by the University management on the 4th of October 2015. Booysen (2016) concurs that this double-digit fee increase angered the students and finally resulted in protests. The 10.5% fee hike had already been contested at a University Council meeting held on the 2nd of October 2015. The contested nature of the fee hike is revealed by the fact that it was not a unanimous decision because according to Dickinson (2015, p.1), Council settled for the fee hike through a vote:

> The student representatives on Council and I had made a last stand. We had been defeated; 13 to three, indicating that upwards of 10 Council members were not present or refrained from voting on this issue.

The voting results showed a divided Council on the 10.5% fee hike. This division set the scene for the emergence of different constituency-based contestations where Black students in the main and some of the academics were opposed to the increase, hence supported the FMF protests. In spite of the clearly contested Council decision, there was an official announcement by management of the hiked 2016 tuition fees after two days of the Council meeting. The students' disapproval culminated in the birth of FMF which was characterised by continued spells of university shutdown beginning 14 October at Wits University. Booysen (2016) confirms that the Wits main campus blockades marked the official start of #FeesMustFall on October 2015. The shutdown spread across the country, quickly becoming a national university shutdown.

4.4 The evolution and decline of FMF movement: A 2015 narrative account

FMF movement as recorded in the preceding section, officially started on 14 October 2015, barely two months before official closure of the University. This means that the 2015 FMF narrative is a relatively shorter period compared to the 2016 chronology. However, a series of

incidents occurred. Three of the events occurred on the day of the Empire Road entrance blockade by students (one of the main University entrances off the M1 north highway), the

VC's address and the occupation of Senate House (now Solomon Mahlangu House). From Ndlovu's (2017) narrative, students and workers gathered in numbers next to the Bidvest Wits Soccer Stadium and blockaded the Empire Road entrance. The protest was against hiked fees, hence a call for 'fees to fall'. Ahead of this particular day, the VC, Professor Adam Habib, had been away at a conference of the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) in Durban. Students mobilised and gathered, awaiting his address upon his return from Durban.

On arrival at the scene where students had gathered, he was escorted by private security 'bouncers' and there was also heavy media presence to capture the event (Ndlovu 2017). Ndlovu (2017) estimates that about 5 000 students and workers had gathered awaiting the VC's address, following the blockade of main entrances. The protesting students made two demands. The first was that the private security 'bouncers' who had escorted the VC leave because there was no threat posed to him. The second was that the VC should not address to the media as some students indicated they did not like how he had been habitually hogging the media lime light (Ndlovu 2017). Concerning the large crowd of students and some workers that had gathered, Ndlovu (2007) commented that students chanted sarcastically that they were only 200 and that the VC needed to count them against the 200 he had quoted on national television, a number he had said was causing chaos on campus. Both students and workers shared the platform to air their concerns to the VC who had come to address the crowd. The protesting students indicated that they were opposed to the fee increment and were of the view that outsourced workers worked under poor conditions.

The VC was eventually granted the chance by the protesting students to address the crowd. Ndlovu (2017) recounts that the VC mentioned that the decision to increase fees was not his and it would be impossible to reverse the decision on his part. This prompted the students to seek an audience with the University Council. At this point, Ndlovu (2017) explains, students ordered the VC to call an emergency Council meeting and his response was that it was not possible except in a week or so. Finally, they ordered him to march with them for the occupation of the then Senate House[8].

Upon occupation of Solomon Mahlangu House concourse, the students demanded and ordered the VC to spend the night with them under 'capture' (Ndlovu 2017). She also confirms that the

[8] Senate House was the former name of the administrative head office housing strategic offices and senior executive management of the University renamed Solomon Mahlangu House.

VC eventually conceded to calling the Council Chair and put him on loudspeaker. The VC requested the Council Chair to contact other Council members to arrange an emergency Council meeting, with the Council Chair repeatedly asking the VC about his safety. The agenda for the urgent Council meeting was to consider students' objection to the 10.5 % annual fee increase of 2016. According to Ndlovu (2017), the Council members managed to convene within a short time, contrary to what the VC had indicated as impossible except in a week's time. They finally spent the night with the students. The demanded Council emergency meeting was aimed to reopen a discussion and negotiation between management, council and students on the contested 10.5% fee rise. A student-workers delegation had been selected to negotiate with the Council members. The negotiation lasted a whole night.

This insurgency of the student protest which resulted in the occupation of the Solomon Mahlangu House concourse and 'capture' of management, prompted a reaction from university management through an official statement. Professor David Dickinson summarises aspects of this reaction by management in one of his reports: *Report Back to Academics from Council: Events of #Fees Must Fall*[9]:

> The VC requested Senate backing in bringing the student protest to heel: disciplinary action against students who had blocked gates and immediate suspension for any students that continued the protest. There were, the VC indignantly told Senate, just 100 or 200 protestors holding the entire university to ransom. The Secretariat ran around encouraging Senators to vote. They took the bait and voted to back the VC's iron fist approach: 133 to 12 (Dickinson 2015, report unpaginated).

The above excerpt accounts for the management's stance on the first day of FMF protest. Dickinson (2015) argues that the stance of the executive was in line with the Minister's desire to see campus dissent contained. Against this stance by management, Dickinson wrote an email back to the VC and the Chair of Council challenging the proposed discipline and suspension of students as an ill-advised decision. Dickinson (2015) challenges the VC's message thus:

> It is important that we align ourselves with the students on the cause of this disruption: the increase in student fees. We need to point out that these fee increases are a result of

[9] The report back to Academics from Council: Events of #Fees Must Fall report was consented for use in this study by author Professor David Dickinson written in his capacity as Council Member elected by Academics.

> inadequate funding for the Tertiary Education Sector. We should be standing by the students on the issue that the fee increase is unacceptably high (report unpaginated).

The VC responded to his message the same day, justified his actions and blamed him for having caused the protest by sending out his report of 2 October 2015 Council meeting prematurely (Dickinson 2015). Dickinson's actions were to be addressed at a later Council Strategic Workshop scheduled for 23 October 2015. This shows early signs of two centres: management and Council on one side, and Dickinson and some academics rallying behind the students.

The deadlock from the overnight discussion following the occupation of Solomon Mahlangu House was based on the reasons that it was not possible to unilaterally reverse a Council decision, and the decision to increase fees did not entirely depend on Council. The overnight discussions had revealed to the students that government played a role in the fee increment. This made the students determined to continue with the protest. Management kept the university community informed through a series of statements via email and other social media platforms.

The next important set of events are incidents that unfolded on the next day after the birth of FMF. On Thursday 15 October 2015, the writing was still on the wall that students were increasingly mobilising numbers to continue with shutdown. Students were on the rampage and continued to chant on campus, barricade entrances, toyi-toying[10] and holding mass meetings. Godsell, Lepere, Mafoko and Nase (2017) state that following such performances, including confrontations at the entrances and exits, university management circulated a notice on email and through posters on campus that day. The contents of the notice of 15 October 2015 were magisterial and threatening. According to Godsell et al. (2017) students were in terms of Trespass Act 6 of 1959, requested to discontinue the protest with immediate effect. The statement ordered the students to discontinue protest and outlined measures the university would take if students did not heed the order. Godsell et al. (2017) outline this strong stance this way, 'students were requested to immediately discontinue; failure to do so would lead to the university taking 'necessary action' which would include Wits' employing the services of the South African Police Service' (p. 103). The position of management as outlined in the notice defined the measures and strategies the University would sanction to confront and control the protest.

[10] A performed act or dance usually during protests characterised by chanting and singing accompanied with high-rise stepping of feet. It is usually performed in public spaces as a form of defiance and its historical origins can be traced to the youth innovations during liberation struggles in the 1980s.



Source: SAHO

Figure 1: Wits students barricading and blocking main entrances to shut down campus

Students continued to confront university management. They advocated for campus operations to be halted so that management could address their concerns, something management viewed as allowing chaos to prevail. The priority for management was to thus restore order on campus. Although there was a series of contradictions between students, university management and the ExCo of Council, tensions and contestations also occurred from within the student body itself. One such early contestation from within was a gendered one, whose tensions and conflicts erupted from within. Within three days, according to Dlakavu (2017), on 17 October 2015 a hashtag #MbokodoLead was created and mobilised the recruitment of Black women through a WhatsApp group. She indicates that, #MbokodoLead emerged after a realisation of how male students were inordinately dominating the space. Female students had generally played roles such as being in the kitchen dealing with feeding the movement, caring for the injured and various other socially gendered roles. Dlakavu further explains,

> In mass meetings, when a woman began to speak, few would listen. When a woman would lead a song, she would be dismissed, and a man would start another song and everyone would follow. This environment of patriarchal domination ignited the emergence of #MbokodoLead. We wanted to create safer spaces where Black women's ideas, political agency and being would be valued (2017, p. 110-111).

The above citation places the question of gender and patriarchy at the heart and character of the movement, and an empirical chapter on gender explores gender dynamics in detail. Dlakavu (2017) and Mabasa (2016) mention that the *Mbokodo* group donned doeks as a form of protest.

Dlakavu (2016) also mentioned that with regards to some academics' solidarity with students, a Black academic, Danai Mupotsa, was involved in the acquisition of the doeks that female students wore. Dlakavu (2016) also explained that the Mbokodo feminists claimed the space and voiced their concerns as Black women, queer and trans-women, resulting in their accommodation by the patriarchal males, albeit to a certain extent which later expressed itself as internal conflicts. Dlakavu narrates that patriarchy responded by defending its position through violence and misogynistic ways, for example labelling female students as 'counter revolutionary', 'feminist agents' or by singing, 'I smell pussy'.

According to Dlakavu #MbokodoLead activists started to draw the attention of media that had initially portrayed Vuyani Pambo and Mcebo Dlamini as the centre of Wits #FMF. Images of female SRC leaders of that time, Nompendulo Mkhatshwa and Shaeera Kalla, started to gain prominence and the nation began to know their names, saw their faces and heard their voices (Dlakavu 2017).

The erupting chaos from within the movement and the general campus disruptions prompted management to circulate a notice advising protesters of their violation of the Trespass Act 6 of 1959 and outlined consequences of the trespass. Given the students' continued university shutdown, Council arranged to convene another emergency meeting for Sunday 18 October 2015 to consider the students' demands for free education and transformation. Professor Dickinson provides an insider's perspective to what happened at this Council meeting in his capacity as Council member representing academics. His view is that not much could have been done to undo the 10.5% decision already in place because Council resolutions could not be unilaterally changed. Focus shifted to a general student assembly scheduled for Monday 19 October and in the deliberations, 'Council insisted, against the students' clear wishes, on holding the assembly on the East Campus Piazza and not in Solomon House' (Dickinson 2015, report unpaginated).

At this Sunday emergency meeting also, Dickson (2015) mentions that he challenged the VC to live to his offer that he would march to the Union Buildings with the students to meet the then Minister of DHET, Dr Blade Nzimande. Dickinson's challenge was opposed by a ruling that it was not possible for him to do so as he had made the pledge in his capacity as an individual not as VC and representative of the University.

The purpose of the planned Student Assembly according to Dickinson (2015), was to ratify the agreement reached previously on Saturday 17 October 2015 between the Executive Committee (Exco) of Council and the students. There had been two opposed views relating to the venue to host the General Assembly. Students wanted an assembly in Solomon Mahlangu House, and Council had insisted on holding it at the East Campus Piazza. A deadlock ensued, and as Dickinson (2015) recounts, students forced their way past locked doors into Solomon Mahlangu House leading to Exco members fleeing the scene. Consequently, Exco members 'later sent an angry email instructing students to leave the building, while the VC infuriated them further by appearing on media shows' (Dickinson 2015, report unpaginated).

After the General Assembly aborted, students organized and mobilized to embark on an alternative political course of action. They based their decision on the fact that university management at their overnight meeting on the first day of protest had indicated that government had a hand in the cause of double digit annual fee increments. Although not meticulously planned like for other activities, students abruptly embarked on a march to the ANC's headquarters, Luthuli House[11] on Thursday 22 October 2015 (Ndlovu 2017). This march to Luthuli House happened in the backdrop of emerging signs of tension between and within students as characterised by the insurgent #MbokodoLead, and this was the time when political factions based on party affiliations also emerged and divided the movement.

This march displayed political and gendered tensions, in particular, the role of emerging Black feminist women in protest movement. Student activist, Simamkele Dlakavu (2017), provides testimony to some of the narratives of this #OccupyLuthuliHouse march of 22 October 2015. For example, Dlakavu (2017) argues that, most writings about the #OccupyLuthuliHouse moment do not provide the details that some of the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA) members and some of the leaders of the FMF were not supportive of this move. This confirms the emerging political factions in the movement. However, there was majority support for the call to occupy Luthuli House from protesting students, hence it proceeded. She however, maintains that there was no consensus on targeting Luthuli House.

The narrative of #OccupyLuthuliHouse paints the partisan politics, gender contestations and general student contradictory views on whether or not to march to the ANC headquarters which. It was when political cracks within the movement began, according to Ndlovu (2017) She confirms that Vuyani Pambo, an Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) student leader and the

[11] The African National Congress (South Africa's governing part) headquarters located in Johannesburg CBD.

other students in the forefront of the #OccupyLuthuliHouse protest wanted the then ANC General Secretary, Gwede Mantashe, to sit down on the floor with the students in the manner students had done to the Wits VC, Adam Habib. However, Dlakavu explained that Mcebo Dlamini, a former SRC President and one of leaders of the movement, was opposed to the idea saying the ANC was not to be insulted. Ndlovu (2017, p.33) illuminates this political tension mainly between the two movement leaders and argues that,

> Pambo was interrupted by voices of students shouting that they would not allow Mantashe to sit down as they saw it as inappropriate for an elder and a senior executive member of the ANC. While we were still waiting, Mcebo Dlamini, also #FMFM voice, and member of the ANC grabbed the microphone from Pambo and proceeded with the agenda.

Both Dlakavu and Ndlovu reveal gendered and political tensions in their narratives of the Luthuli House FMF protest. Dlakavu (2017) for example, says that Black female students started chanting that the moment was not to be treated as an ANC rally. This was in opposition to the ruling party's branded mobile stage vehicle normally used during ANC road shows that had provided the General Secretary and his colleagues the stage from where they gazed at the crowd. The political stance of the protesting student was pronounced clearly:

> We highlighted that we are not here to endorse an ANC script, nor were we at an ANC rally, we were there to hold accountable a party that had led a government that perpetuated a commoditised university space, which has locked out millions of black youth (Dlakavu 2017, p. 113).

At some point, the march to Luthuli House had fizzled out, and a few students soldiered on. Ndlovu (2017) describes those who remained as predominantly black feminists, some members of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and those not politically aligned. Dlakavu (2017) describes those who remained as Black women and estimates that they were less than 30 of them but they adamantly occupied the entrances to Luthuli House building until police dispersed them with tear gas and also manhandled them. Ndlovu (2017) sums the Luthuli House incidents as the 'turning moment of the movement' and adds, 'we left Luthuli House divided'.

Some students were of the view that targeting Luthuli House, the centre of political power had been misdirected. This view culminated in a shift of focus from the ANC as a party to the executive national government leadership. Thus, the next march was directed at the Union

Buildings located in the City of Tshwane,[12] the capital and seat of the state President and executive government. The march happened on 23 October 2015. The march to the Union Buildings was described by Ndlovu (2017) as a turning point regarding the depth of the students' divisions based on partisan and gender politics which had played out during the protest at Luthuli House. This became a turning point of the movement because the students realised that their march to the ANC headquarters had been misdirected because government had an oversight responsibility to govern higher education not the ruling political party. Ndlovu (2017) argues that, when they arrived at the Union Buildings, from Wits University, the City of Tshwane was already chaotic. Much to the chaos referred to was an effect of the heavy presence of police and events that had unfolded and continued to do so. Students from a number of universities converged for the protest. Ndlovu (2017) recounts the events at the Union Buildings march:

> We were dropped off at Burgers' Park – a walking distance from the Union Buildings. You could see the smoke from fires and smell teargas from a distance. Burnings from stun grenades had been going on for while (Ndlovu 2017, p. 34)



Source: SAHO

Figure 2. Student protesters at the Union Buildings setting the portable toilets alight and dispersing as police shot rubber bullets.

Although the Wits #FMF leadership initially took a laid back position to safeguard the welfare of students, chaotic scenes emerged on the precinct of the Union Buildings. Students from

[12] City of Tshwane is the current official name for the former City of Pretoria

various institutions ran riot and set the portable toilets alight. Police responded with rubber bullets to disperse the students. Students retreated to conduct a peaceful march on the street while waiting for the calm of the confusion that was concentrated at the Union Buildings main entrance area.



Source: SAHO

Figure 3. Wits FMF activists marching with caution to the Union Buildings.

Shown in the above picture in the lead and in a black dress, is the then incoming SRC President, Nompendulo Mkhatshwa. After a long wait for calm, Wits students decided to take action. As Ndlovu (2017) narrated, 'we finally decided to enter the Union Buildings, in a highly disciplined manner, although this was expected of us it remained a myth that Wits students are generally calm and disciplined compared to the rowdiness usually associated with black students from the historically black universities'. Close to the main entrance was a barricade fence to keep students at a distance. From this barricade, students at the back started throwing stones at the police.

Ndlovu's narration of events thereafter indicates that the act of throwing stones had been planned by some students as an act of militancy to dispel the myth that Wits students were privileged and were using a soft approach while students from other universities were fighting violently. Police responded to the stone throwing act: 'The police started shooting at us, some stun grenades were discharged in our midst and we all fled to take cover. The police cleared ground … by shooting more teargas' (Ndlovu 2017, p. 34). Media insinuated that students from Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) had started the protest while Ndlovu and others

testify to the contrary. 'It is a fact that many students from Wits University did participate in the pulling down of the fence and confrontation with police at the Union Buildings' (Ndlovu 2017, p. 35). Although the students were seeking audience with the sitting President of the time, Jacob Zuma, he did not address the students but called a press conference and made public announcement to that with immediate effect (23 October 2015) there would be no fee increase for all universities.

The no fee increment announcement by President Zuma marked another chapter in the politics of the movement. It was met with mixed feelings amongst the students and it further divided and weakened it. Some students celebrated the outcome as an achievement. Another section felt the announcement had not fully addressed the broader elements of the struggle articulated earlier as part of underlying socio-economic factors and existential realities of inequality, necessitating transformation and decolonisation. The dissenting view was that the President's announcement had remained silent on the fate of the outsourced workers whose working conditions had remained a concern for years.

The two contrasting positions preoccupied the students as they left the Union Buildings back to Wits. This became important in forging a post-Union Buildings narrative on campus. In relation to the SASCO[13] meeting and other events that occurred on campus, Ndlovu (2017) characterised the moment as a 'final fall down' and argued that the once glorious movement had all but died. She related that the weekend after the Union Buildings march had been set aside for reflections and discussions on the next course of action following the announcement of the zero percent fee increase. She also cited a number of factors that resulted in two options on the course of action going forward.

From the meeting of Sunday, 25 October 2015, Ndlovu (2017) observed something she had not seen before during the FMF movement, a placard inscribed: 'We want to write, #ExamsMustRise.' The #ExamsMustRise culminated in an open letter written and signed into a petition by a number of students. According to Godsell, Lepere, Mafoko and Nase (2016), the open letter, #Letswrite2015 was signed by 3 000 students. It was a petition advocating for the protest to come to an end and for students to go back to class. Godsell et al. (2016) argue that the open letter revealed the rifts regarding concerns on the delayed end of year examinations as this affected, among other groups, the expiry of visas for foreign students. The other point of concern raised had been the ineligibility to write Board Examinations in 2016

[13] South African Students Congress is as a national student organisation which was founded in September 1991 and has an affiliation to the ANC.

for Chartered Accountant students if they did not sit for year-end examinations as scheduled for the 2015 academic year. The petition letter, which was opposed to the continuation of the movement after the government's no fee increment concession, was followed by dwindling student numbers, increasing cliques, tensions and dissent – all of which weakened the movement. The voices and concerns of international students started to surface, for example during this time. Chinguno (2017) learnt from his interaction with international students that they feared arrest and deportation should they take part in further protests. Arrest would also severely affect their degree completion. The question of continued participation and involvement in FMF movement started to bring different dynamics and realities into the struggle.

Some international students began to discredit the movement as exclusively South African, that is, only looking out for the local students. This feeling emanated from a later re-evaluation of the content of the list of demands submitted by students to university management at the beginning of the movement. Chinguno (2017) argues that the consolidated list of demands had only spoken of a reduced upfront payment of tuition fees for international students from within African borders. This made international students see the call for free and decolonised education as applying and limited to South African nationals. Given this view, it became difficult for international students to embrace calls by an SRC secretary for international affairs for all students to participate in the protest. The majority of international students instead demanded assurance that their study visas would be extended alongside the possibilities for the extension of the academic year to compensate for the lost time during shutdown.

Chinguno (2017) reflects that, in his efforts to profile FMF movement from a Pan-African perspective through his address of a mass meeting, he was confronted by his fellow international students who reminded him that he did not belong to South Africa. Some international students had concluded that the FMF struggle had nothing to do with non-South African students because at one level it sought free decolonised education while at another, it had settled for reduced upfront payment of tuition fees for international students. During this period of uncertainty and contestation among student groupings, the university convened a special Senate[14] meeting on 26 October to discuss the resumption of the academic programme following a settlement by government for universities not to increase fees. According to Dickinson (2015), although a special meeting of Senate was to discuss the resumption of the

[14] The highest University decision making body on all academic matters constituted by all full professors, representatives from various constituencies including non-professorial academics, students, management and administrative staff.

academic program, it seemed university management had already unilaterally taken a position to resume the academic program. He asserts that it became evident that the expectation was for Senators to endorse a management decision to resume normal university activities and the VC wanted a mandate from Senate. Dickinson (2015) recalls that Professorial Senators had turned up in numbers, including White faces he had never seen before. It appears students took note of the special Senate meeting and marched to the Senate Room to present their grievances as follow up to management's non-response to their submission of a consolidated list of demands. The student demands as set out in their first memorandum of demands to management were sought in the spirit of arriving at an understanding to address the immediate concerns of the protesters. Godsell et al. (2016) point out that, part of the immediate concerns included the need to defer examinations and institute an insourcing task team.

Students stormed into the Senate Room and disrupted the meeting, which resulted in some Senators fleeing the scene. Dickinson (2015) reflects on it thus:

> Fellow Professors! Coming out of the woodwork was not the smartest thing you've done. Senate was revealed for what it is; a body dominated by white males who are afraid of their own students. This was dramatically illustrated by your undignified flight out of Senate Room, via the fire escapes, while students poured through the doors to vent their grievances (report unpaginated).

Part of the 'final fall down' of FMF, apart from these contradictory and contested positions regarding whether or not to resume the academic programme, was the idea by some students that the SRC was selling out the movement. This idea emanated from the fact that the SRC had canvassed students across faculties, to prove that the majoritarian student voice supported the discontinuation of the protest. According to Ndlovu (2017), at the conclusion of the weekend agenda, the mandate was that the protest would continue until insourcing was realised, alongside the call for free education in spite of the majority who upheld the view to write yearend examinations. The final fall down narrative can also be associated with a clandestine meeting between SASCO[15] and the SRC that came to the attention of the rest of the students who mobilised to end it through disruption. The SRC was seen as mobilising against the movement. Dlakavu (2017) reiterates that after the zero percent fee increment by the President, the Progressive Youth Alliance (constituting the majority of the SRC seats) advised students to go back to class. SASCO and PYA which had the majority of the SRC seats were all aligned

[15] South African Students Congress is a student movement formed in 1991 which is constituted by all registered students at institutions of higher learning and further education and training institutions.

to the ANC, making the SRC of the time an affiliate of the ANC. The emerging conflicts were related to political differences over continuing the protest and this links back to the conflicts over Luthuli House.

This post-no fee increment announcement by government moment is also narrated by another student fallist, Ntokozo Moloi. For Moloi (2017), the post- Union Buildings march moment was when 'the real struggle began'. The two opposing positions within the movement opened a new chapter, which is what Moloi describes as the beginning of the real struggle. The University management's posture aligned with the Minister to see that dissent on campus was contained, marked this final fall down and beginning of a different context of the struggle. The majority of students returned to class, while a smaller group committed themselves to continue the struggle. These students were mainly aligned with the EFF. They shifted the focus from basic tuition fee struggles to #EndOutSourcing, which targeted the precarity of outsourced Black workers providing services to the University. This new wave of protest destabilised the movement in many ways (Ndlovu 2017; Dlakavu 2017; Godsell et al. 2016; Satgar 2016). Satgar (2016) attests that when students and workers wanted to continue with the #EndOutSourcing, a sharp division emerged between the student groupings and the ANC affiliated SRC.

The University management wanted to curtail any possible emerging incidents of protest and started to sanction students with interdicts (Moloi 2017). Two students for example, were accused of starting a fire on campus while they had not been anywhere next to the scene while another was accused of a matter unrelated to protest. Another got arrested while walking past police officers without even taking part in the protest at all. In characterising this new beginning of a different context of the struggle period, Moloi (2017) reflects:

> On this day the police came to campus heavily armed with live ammunition and threatened students who were not blocking entrances at this point. They continued to pepper spray us and use stun grenades to disperse the crowd of students engaged in peaceful protest (Moloi 2017, p. 64).

The view at this particular point by the university management was that the academic year had to be saved at all costs. The protest was said to be driven only by a few students and in any case, there were those in the #ExamsMustRise who were pro-resumption. To save the academic year, the university used all means possible, including the police, who proved to be heavy-handed. In Moloi's (2017, p.64) words:

> … many students would be arrested by the police … police who arrested them … decided arbitrarily to lock them anywhere around Johannesburg. Students would also be beaten up or shot at with rubber bullets for speaking back at police or even taking pictures or videos of victimization. Further, even after bail, the police would purposely delay processing the paper work. They would keep us for hours at times until the next day in the name of teaching us a lesson. This excuse was also used by private security when they would abduct students and even sexually abuse them.

The university and the state institutions in the form of security and the judiciary system worked in tandem to contain student dissent. Student arrests, enforcements of court interdicts, physical assaults by police, alleged abduction and sexual harassment of female students by the private security details, present a new era and context in the evolution of the movement. The heavy police presence and call by some students for exams to proceed had some of the implications as depicted on the picture below.



Source: SAHO

Figure: 4. Male police officers involved in a scuffle with a female student on campus at Wits

Although University management, some academics and some students in the main international students who were concerned by the state of their visas and other various reasons, generally wanted the academic year to resume, a group of students mainly the fallists, contested the idea. Part of the implications of this contested position apart from student harassment by the police and private security guards was a new twist to the movement #EndOutSourcing. The significance of this phase of FMF was the insurgence of #EndOutSourcing, concerned with

addressing the unresolved outsourced worker issues whose precarious working conditions had not been considered in the no fee increment concession.

Godsell, Lepere, Mafoko and Nase (2016) argue that the voice of workers had remained silent, particularly in formal written documents. This they say was witnessed for example when Deliwe Mzobe, a worker leader, was heard in 2015 on YouTube explaining the consequences of outsourcing. Unresolved worker issues intensified #EndOutSourcing in solidarity with a few students pressing for free decolonised education beyond the no fee increment government concession. Godsell et al. (2016) confirm that a Worker Charter had been formulated in October by the Worker-Student Solidarity Committee. They also confirm that posters #allworkandnopay had been prepared by @projecthoope and #October6 movement from worker statements through the following messages:

- 'I support my whole family back home in Venda … I will be a bachelor for life, I can't even buy myself clothing.'

- 'I am buried in debt … I work for that garnish order.'
- 'We will always live in shacks' (Godsell et al. 2016, p. 106)

The Worker-Student solidarity started to organise and mobilise, and in the process intensified its stance against outsourcing and reiterated the call for free quality decolonized education. This was against the call by the University for lectures to resume on 28 October 2015. Kgoroba (2017) writes that in one of the mornings on Wednesday, 28 October, gates were blocked by a small group of students. She relates that police and private security guards were on standby with police cars parked outside one of the main gates. There was confusion at the gates due to a protesting small group of students that had vowed to continue with the call for free and decolonised education. This group of students had joined workers in the #EndOutsourcing protest. Kgoroba (2017) narrates that a group of about 60 workers had started disrupting lectures at West Campus while students moved out without joining them. The noncommittal students returned to class after the protesting workers had calmed down and moved away.

The divided views amongst students seem to have strengthened between those supporting the new movement of workers and those against it. As this new order of protest unfolded, police were deployed and security was heightened. Kgoroba (2017) narrates:

> That morning [Wednesday 28 October 2015], many students simply watched the singing crowd before heading off to their respective lectures. However, some students remained protesting in solidarity with workers. It was only after the police fired a stun

> grenade at a group of unarmed students who were protesting at one of the gates that more students joined the crowd and paid attention to what was going on (Kgoroba 2017, p. 127).

The above narrative outlines how more students became motivated to re-join the new student worker solidarity protest as part of the broader struggle of FMF calling for transformation and free decolonised education.

Students resorted to devising strategies to sustain the movement when they were confronted by court interdicts, arrests by police, harassment by private security officials and rifts as well as tensions from within themselves. They devised a strategy of Task Teams to spread and share responsibilities in view of a depleted movement support base. Alongside these Task Teams was also a group of students that had emerged and self-identified as 'Fallists'. Dlakavu (2017) states that students created task teams that looked at matters relating to insourcing, logistics, legal, direct action, media and political education – all driven by Black women. The legal task team under the leadership of Ntokozo Moloi bailed a number of students out of jail and assisted them to return to university (Dlakavu 2017).

The group of emerging feminists and female fallists remained resolute and resilient in pursuit of the various aspects of the underlying areas of transformation and decolonisation:

> When #FeesMustFall ended at Wits, when the majority of the identified leaders of the movement left, besides Vuyani Pambo, less than 50 students continued protesting […] a genuine student and worker alliance was built and after days of on-going action, the university announced that it would end outsourcing. We were incredibly proud…there were times we felt defeated… we felt defeated when the university sent private security and disempowered us through violence (Dlakavu 2017, p. 114).

Dlakavu (2017) insists that irrespective of management's firm hand and the return of the majority of students to class, they persisted until the long-standing battle to #EndOutsourcing was won by a few students and that the Black female students leading various Task Teams had a big hand towards this victory. The next task for the FMF according to Dlakavu (2017) was #BringBackOurCadres. This was with reference to fellow FMF activists who had been expelled or suspended for political activities. She stated that they also mobilized against rape culture through the naked protest titled: #IAmOneInThree.

In essence by year end, students had not realised a commitment by government of complete 'free' education and broader issues relating to the precarious working conditions of insourced workers was still ongoing. However, the University announced that insourcing was going to be initiated in the future, which turned to be a huge achievement for the committed minority.

4.5 An introductory account of the 2016 FMF narrative

The 2016 FMF movement emerged from an unresolved and divided 2015. The bulk of the students for example, had gone back to class and only a few had remained in solidarity with a group of insourced workers. The insourced workers' poor and insecure working conditions had not been encompassed by the government's no fee increment concession as part of the broader call by students for transformation. Dickinson (2016) comments on how different academics reacted to the continued student protest of 2016:

> When it became clear that the protest had legs, we headed in different directions. Many had sympathy with the student's demands but deplored violence that emerged. Some ran classes off campus; others protested for more funding for universities. Some did both. Many welcomed increased security presence on campus; others condemned its militarization…the vast majority welcomed the reopening of the academic program; others grudgingly pitched to teach frequently half-empty classes. Different groupings emerged (report unpaginated).

The above citation indicates different stances and attitudes that are helpful in giving context to the character of the 2016 narrative. Different groupings emerged and academics took different directions for and against the movement and all of this was expressed in and through violence, increased security and half-empty classes. Regarding the different groupings that emerged, one such was a group of feminist students. At the beginning of 2015, feminist movements such as 'Mbokodo Lead' at Wits University and similar ones in some other universities became key political forces (Mpofu-Walsh 2016). Heightened security in the beginning of 2016 and across the year is recalled by Moloi (2017) through the heavy police presence and management's curfew sanctions. She recalls that, it became extremely difficult to get on campus irrespective of whether or not one was protesting even though there was no barricading of entrances or occupation of spaces by students:

> … the rule of thumb was that you got on campus at your own risk, the police would fire stun grenades, teargas and rubber bullets without sparing anyone. People would be shot at, whether or not you knew what was going on, being on campus was the biggest crime

> you could commit and if you ran, they ran after you and arrested you. (Moloi 2017, p. 65)

One of the groups of students started 2016 having satisfied itself that government had a stake in the state of affairs on campus, since it was the custodian of the market-based and commodified type of the higher education system. This group vowed to continue with the struggle in solidarity with workers and also going beyond the non-fee increment concession to demanding free quality and decolonised education. They took a stance to disrupt the forthcoming local government elections[16] if free higher education remained unresolved (Booysen 2016). Dickson (2016) clarifies that 2016's conflict was essentially between students and government over free education and a power struggle on who was in charge of the university. According to Booysen (2016), the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) leadership threatened that these radical FMF activists would meet the wrath of the PYA (student wing aligned to ANC) with the ANCYL President, Collen Maine, discrediting FMF suggesting that it ought to have been a campaign not a movement.

These tensions set the scene for 2016 and would become even more complicated with increased security and more contradictory groupings. One of the points to note relating to increased security is that following discussions between students and management after the initial acquisition of the urgent interdict in November 2015, police had been removed from campus. However, in 2016, university management resorted to court interdicts, a permanent police presence and sanctioned curfew on campus. The first interim court interdict came into effect on 15 January 2016 and by April it became a final order. The 2016 academic year generally became a carryover of the burden of the rifts and divisions that concluded the 2015 academic year, including a continuation by some students to attack government while others vowed to protect government and its image.

4.6 The regeneration and decline of FMF: A 2016 narrative

Based on the government concession on no fee increment and the proposed financial support mechanisms for deserving students, university authorities were ready to execute their mandate for a seamless academic year. Student registration arrangements were put in place as early as at the beginning of the month of January with Senate House and Hall 29 set aside as designated official venues for registration. The university authorities represented by the Senior Executive

[16] The general municipality elections that were finally held on 03 August 2016 where ANC lost key metropolitans of Tshwane and Johannesburg to a coalition of opposition political parties.

Team (SET) released a series of official announcements between 11 and 19 January 2016 on Wits News informing the wider university community on developments and events unfolding on campus.

One of the incidents of note announced by SET was a confirmation of acts of disruption at registration venues on 11 January 2016 by students protesting against academic and financial exclusions as part of the national FMF campaign[17]. The message sought to inform the Wits community that management was engaging with student groups to resolve the matter. The next official communication was an update in the afternoon of Monday 11 January 2016 that face--to-face registration had been temporarily postponed following the disruptions[18]. Students were advised to explore an online registration option and granted an extension for registration until Friday 15 January 2016. Students were further advised of the telephonic registrations option through the call centre. On Tuesday 12 January 2016, SET communicated that about 20 students who had occupied the Ground Floor of Senate House overnight following their disruption of the registration process the previous day, had been evicted by the security guards[19]. According to the statement, this group of students had been asked to leave Senate House premises the previous night but had refused, resulting in an eviction being effectively implemented in the morning of Tuesday 12 January.

Another statement on 12 January 2016 by SET was released to challenge claims by some students that a fellow student had been assaulted during the enforced eviction of students by the security guards from Senate's Ground Floor occupation[20]. SET's basis of dismissal of the students' claims of manhandling, assault and sexual harassment was evidence from a Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) footage that had shown nothing to support the claims. On the contrary, SET claimed, four security personnel had sustained injuries during that particular

[17] SET, 'Management engaging with student groups', Wits News, 11 January 2016, http://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/managementengaging-with-student-groups.html (17 November 2018)

[18] SET, 'Registration update for students/guardians', Wits News, 11 January 2016 http://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/registrationupdate-for-studentsguardians.html (17 November 2018)

[19] SET, 'Update on student protest and registration', 12 January 2016, http://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/update-onstudent-protest-and-registration.html (18 November 2018)

[20] SET, 'Wits denies allegations that students were assaulted', 12 January 2016 www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/wits-denies-allegationsthat-students-were-assaulted.html (19 November 2018)

scuffle. Further details were that protesting students had also been found at fault by the university as they were reported to have been threatening other students and were subsequently served with written warnings.

In view of these early developments on the security risk posed by protesting students, by Friday 15 January 2016, university authorities circulated a notification of an interim court order in Wits News[21]. The interim court order requested 6 students listed as respondents, or any persons participating in the mentioned disruptive protests, to show cause in court why the order could not be made final. The interim court order cited a number of issues including the unlawful occupation of Senate House, or any other buildings, facilities or lecture halls within the applicant's precinct. It spelt out that any disruption of normal university activities such as registration, classes, lectures, tutorials and any cause of damage to property including inciting of unlawful behaviour would be interdicted.

The interim court order was to remain in effect until 25 April 2016 which was a date set for the matter to be heard on the opposed roll. The postponement of the application to the opposed roll put the interim order into effect for an extended period while it requested the six respondents: Jaffa Kaoliang, Thespis Module, Theban Mohomet, Keitumetse Motlaotse, Kagiso Nkadimeng and Busisiwe Seabe (all students) to file their answering affidavit by 8 February[22]. The applicant, the University, was expected to file its replying affidavit by 17 February 2016.

The essence of the January interim court order meant that in the interim before the set date to challenge the order in court, the University enjoyed a leeway to sanction anything viewed in the context, as unlawful behaviour on campus. Although the movement did unfold and regenerate way into the greater part of the 2016 academic year, the challenge is that there is very thin literature in the form of credible secondary sources that can be accessed to formulate a chronological narrative. Most of the literature is either single theme or single concept approach with little focus on the broader evolutionary chronology of the movement itself. Considering the limited existing literature which can provide a detailed account of FMF, this chronological narrative that I present here is mostly drawn from Habib's work, written while

[21] SET, 'Notification of interim court order' 15 January 2016 http://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/notification-ofinterim-court-order.html (19 November 2018)

[22] SET, 'Interim court order extended' 1 February 2016 http://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/notification-ofinterim-court-order.html (19 November 2018)

he was still VC at Wits University. This is backed by different accounts drawn from collective diaries of the Wits fallists, published as a book to reflect on FMF from diverse positionalities.

Following the development of events that I have already narrated into the month of January 2016, there were some that still unfolded in the subsequent periods thereafter.

One of the fallists, Moloi (2017,) states that during one planning and strategy for protest meeting, after a month's protest, the crowd of students at the meeting vowed that they were not going to step down in spite of the violence of the police. In terms of time lines, after a month's protests into 2016 suggests that this was around the month of February. Moloi (2017) provides a rich account of what transpired during this moment. One of the things she mentions is that although the protest had been on-going for a month, there were no tangible results because negotiations with university management had been halted. Students according to her, had further requested parents and civil society to mediate their talks with management but this too, had not been productive while exhaustion and injuries took a toll on students:

> We could not march to national key points as we did in the very beginning, a lot of students were disgruntled and it was clear to everyone that there were divisions among the student leaders. They were all pulling in different directions. Some would encourage students to go back to class to save the academic year, while others would encourage them to continue… (Moloi 2017, p. 66).

Trust among leaders broke down because some started to have secret meetings with management and state officials in hotels and private homes. According to Moloi (2017), 'The outcome of these meetings was the suspensions and arrests of students, not to mention the daily growth of intolerance and use of force by SAPS' (p. 66). Moloi's above narrative account provides a sense of how developments had played out to this point from the initial January events already narrated, in particular, police and private security involvement, student arrests, suspensions and emerging divisions. Two other separate events were reported regarding some graffiti viewed as offensive on Wits' campuses and on T-shirts[23] and a burnt bus on 8 and 18 February respectively. A group behind the graffiti, which was seen as offensive, claimed to be mobilising on behalf of an individual who was going to be appearing before the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) for wearing a T-shirt that had the words, "Fuck White People" painted on the back.

[23] SET, 'Offensive graffiti on campus', 8 February 2016 http://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/generalnews/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/offensive-graffiti-on-campus.html (19 November 2018)

According Habib (2019) the general tempo of student protests and political instability on campuses during this period had increased since the three preceding weeks where students were resorting to use of arson as the weapon of protest. Within this context of intra-student political divisions and contradictory views on the future of the protest, Habib (2019) states that some students at Wits mobilised to embark on disruptive protest. Concerning the sporadic protest incidents, on Thursday 18 February 2016 there was another report related to student protest, that, a University bus had been set alight just after 23h00 of the previous night outside the university's Knocked Halls of Residence in Rockridge Road in Parktown[24] (Habib 2019). The statement revealed that emergency services had been called in to put out the fire and there had been no reported injuries but the bus was destroyed. The University condemned the act as malicious damage of property and also cited that act as flouting of the interim January court interdict, which was still in force.

SET indicated that a police case had been opened by the university at the Parkview Police Station and were calling for anyone with information that could assist with investigations to report to Campus Control. Habib (2019) states that the university authorities immediately increased private security personnel which had been decreased due to the relative calm in the previous weeks. On Monday 22 February, according to Habib, 14 student protestors tried to invade Solomon Mahlangu House concourse and set a mattress alight in the Wartenweiler Library of the University. He reports that the students were all arrested, taken off campus and charged at the local Hillbrow Police Station. Although the students were released from custody on Tuesday 23 February 2016, the university suspended them for violating the court interdict. All the suspended students were barred from campus until such a time when their disciplinary processes were concluded.

The following weeks were characterized by relative calm, according to Habib (2019). Then on Thursday 17 March 2016 students disrupted the Steve Biko Centre for Bioethics symposium in the School of Public Health. The event was brought to a halt when students disrupted the speakers, while some of them who were drunk jumped onto the desks and started threatening people and also being abusive until they were physically removed (Habib 2019). The next reported incident took place on Monday 4 April 2016. According to Habib (2019) a group of about thirty students attempted to disrupt operations at Fees Office and this eventually was followed by a bigger disruption involving about a hundred and fifty students and outsourced

[24] SET, 'Statement on burnt bus at Wits', 18 February 2016 www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/statement-on-burntbus-at-wits-.html (19 November 2018)

workers. This bigger group started a fire in one of the empty lecture rooms in the Umthombo Building and also continued to disrupt some few classes (Habib 2019). The 4th of April 2016 is well documented because another incident which caught the eye of many was the altercation between queer activist Thenjiwe Mswane and Chumani Maxwele, a student from UCT then. This particular tension became a media spectacle as it went viral on newspapers and social media. One of the catchy newspaper headlines was, 'Maxwele accused of assaulting feminist'. These altercations had emerged from one of the weekend meetings held by students to strategize on the future of the movement. For Hodes (2016), much attention had been focused on weapons such a sjamboks being carried by men and only by women on occasion such as at Wits on Monday 4 April 2016. Hodes is referring to a turn of events where Thenjiwe carried a sjambok and hit the floor emphatically to disrupt a meeting to the anger of the 'FMF leaders,' which resulted in a fight. FMF leaders is written in inverted commas because much as the consulted archives identify them as leaders who assaulted her, there are no personal names of the Wits FMF leaders except Chumani Maxwele who was not a Wits student, and addressing him as such might cause conflict.

The reports revealed that feminist Thenjiwe Mswane challenged the fact that nothing had been on the agenda for the feminists in general and the queer community, hence her protest against the meeting. Reports also revealed that Mswane had stated that it had been brought to her attention by one of the protesters that a weekend meeting had been convened but excluded feminists and the queer community. That meeting had resolved that feminists and the queer community must no longer be involved or consulted on anything relating to planning the movement's course of action[25]. Infuriated at this, she armed herself with a sjambok and used it to thrash the floor to emphasise her unhappiness. Her actions angered some protesters who were shown in pictures in a scuffle with her, resulting in Maxwele's link to accusations of assault. In response to these events, Habib (2019) states that the university management brought back security and requested the police to arrest all those who had violated the court order. Those identified were suspended from the university while Chumani was barred from Wits.

On Thursday 7 April 2016, another incident developed. Habib (2019) confirms that students at the Education Campus protested because the majority had not been awarded the Funza Lushaka bursaries provided by the Department of Basic Education and administered by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). After extensive consultations, the university released

[25] Lisa Isaacs, 'Maxwele accused of assaulting feminist', IOL, 5 April 2016, https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/maxwele-accused-of-assaulting-feminist-2005605, (07 October 2018)

a communique on 18 April 2016 showing the breakdown of those who had been awarded the bursaries through Funza Lushaka programme and other financial aid schemes from the university while committing not to deregister those who had not received financial assistance (Habib 2019). The next important date is Monday 25 April 2016, when the interim court order became final[26]. Part of its context outlined that the respondents were served with copies of the final court order directly through email and that the copies were also affixed at various notice boards at main entrances of the applicant's precincts. This technically confirmed the continuation of access to legal rights by the university to bring police on campus. This marked the intensification of security on campus through the curfew system amongst other things. In relation to curfews, one of the fallists, Moloi (2017) alleges that it gave the police the latitude to shoot any student walking on campus after 22h00. She further states that it also gave police the monopoly of raiding residences and assault any student found awake even in their room at that time. Moloi (2017) further recalls that police would walk into private residences or shoot at people just walking or driving in Braamfontein[27]. She argues that there was no identified damage caused by the students despite the heavy watch of the police. Instead, the few broken glasses were an effect of police raids that enforced and pushed student bodies against glasses. She accounts for other breakages to have been caused by student retaliation through stone throwing at shooting police.

There was heavy police presence together with private and university security guards, on top of which was a curfew system during the April 2016 moment. Moloi (2017) recalls that mass meetings continued and they happened under watch by the private security officials who would stand on the side and monitor the situation closely while taking down notes. This was the moment when students became agitated by the curfew system, the police and private security raids and shootings on campus. Moloi (2017) recounts that during mass meetings, students began to inculcate a spirit of fighting back because they held a view that enough was enough, the time of *'ayi hlale phansi ibambe umthetho*[28]*'* was over. She states that during that tense period on campus and mass meetings the VC, Professor Adam Habib had already spoken on

[26] SET, 'Court order now final' 25 April 2016 http://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/court-order-nowfinal.html (19 November 2018)

[27] A CBD adjoining the Wits Main Campus precinct

[28] An order commonly used in meetings to organise people to sit down and observe the protocol and proceedings.

media about the need to protect campus because students were planning to intensify their protest[29].

Moloi (2017) recalls that students resorted to the use of what was seen as offensive graffiti and also opened the taps over night to flood the offices of university management as a means to contest the curfew and overbearing police, and abuse by private security. Moving in groups or congregating was heavily regulated during this period. Moloi (2017) also recalls that there was a time when a small group of about thirty students were singing at the piazza and the police approached them and instructed that they must stand in pairs not in groups. She further relates: I remember another day when we were having a small meeting at Bozolli, the police came and started shooting without even asking any questions. We ran but … I fell down because the air was too contaminated with teargas and I had an asthma attack (2017, p. 66).

The above citation refers to the moments during the April 2016 period under discussion. The period after April 2016 until September 2016 according to many archives, is not accounted for. Habib (2017) does mention sparingly some of the developments relating to his own engagements as VC that could have had a bearing on the movement. Some of those include plans for the Insourcing Task Team to address workers after 10 June 2016, in anticipation of the Heher Commission concluding its work by June 2016. The Heher Commission had been constituted by government to explore the feasibility of making higher education free, following the call for free education by the FMF activists. Canham (2017) accounts for this gap by stating that in 2016 there was a moment when the protests appeared to be over and the security presence had moved to being 'on call' and this period was generally before September and November 2016 (Canham 2017, p. 143).

The subsequent narrative reflects on the September to November 2016 period after the long spell of movement inactivity. This regeneration of the movement is marked by an important date of Monday 19 September 2016. Many students across campuses protested the announcement of the 8% fee increment by the DHET Minister Dr Nzimande, on 19 September 2016. Shutdowns of Universities resurfaced (Meth 2017). The thinking by government

[29] See Meth (2017) on developments at RU to management's stance to push for the finalisation of an interim court interdict to bar students from protest. About 38 members of staff at RU opposed the finalisation of the court interdict because they viewed it as an irony that in 2015 management kept the police out of campus and the same management was advocating bringing in police to arrest student protesting against sexual harassment on campus in 2016.

according to Habib (2019), was that this was going to avert the reigniting of FMF protests but instead, 'hell broke loose' (p. 124). Students did not meekly accept the fee increase and the accompanying government's concession to selectively pay fees for only those with a family income of less than R600 0000 (Habib 2019). Habib expatiates, 'as expected, on the afternoon of the day on which the recommended increase was announced, students at Wits embarked on a protest. Within 24 hours, it had spread to institutions around the country' (p. 124).

To the insurgence and reignited protest, Wits University like other institutions responded by intensifying security and deploying police. This resulted in student arrests, suspensions and expulsions in some instances. Accordingly in an official statement on Wednesday 21 September 2016, the University condemned the student protest that led to student arrests and injuries. In the statement, university management reported that about 600-800 students had protested across the campuses and into the streets of Braamfontein in spite of academic activities having been suspended[30]. In a statement by management, after a mass meeting on the Concourse of Solomon Mahlangu House, students made their way onto the streets of Braamfontein, where they were confronted by the police. The police dispersed the group using stun grenades and rubber bullets, resulting in four students being injured. A further highlight on the report is that students also confronted private security on Yale Road South and police intervened, leading to two students being arrested on the day. University activities were confirmed to have been suspended for the rest of the week including the catering, bus and cleaning services.

Habib in his capacity as VC was away at a HeForShe event in New York and by Thursday, within four days post- the announcement by Minister Nzimande, Habib's colleagues strongly felt he had to rush back in view of the extent to which the protest on campus was intensifying. He finally arrived in the country in the morning of Sunday 25 September 2016 due to unavailability of direct flights from New York to Johannesburg. He describes his arrival as walking into a political storm, including political involvement of government in the affairs of the University through Gwebs Qonde, Director General of DHET who called him and insisted that he needed to consider closing the University.

Habib (2019) recalls the altercation he had with the national government official who had instructed that he should close the university for about six months, however he refused to. The political relations between the University and government at this point were strained. Habib

[30] SET, 'Statement on violence in Braamfontein', 21 September 2016 http://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/statement-onviolence-in-braamfontein.html (27 November 2018)

(2019) recalls relations soured further when a worker fell ill after being exposed to discharged fire extinguishers by protesting students. Upon the death of the employee in a few days after the incident, Minister Nzimande claimed it was because of protests although post-mortem results pointed to an underlying respiratory condition unrelated to the incident (Habib 2019). These strained relations between the state and the university executive and this called for an alternative political plan to bring the protest to an end, which led to the contested idea of a poll. The poll sought to establish whether the idea of reopening the university to complete the academic year enjoyed majority support. On the eve of the poll, student leadership, represented by renowned Advocate Dali Mpofu, petitioned the court to interdict the poll (Habib 2019).

On a Dennis Davis TV show, *You Be the judge* on the evening of Monday 26 September 2016, Habib (2019) recounts that he publicly challenged two student leaders, Fasisha Hassen and Kefentse Mkhari[31] to commit to non-violence and return to class and he in turn would withdraw all security on campus. The two student leaders failed to commit, leading to Habib concluding that they could not formally condemn violence or expose those involved in violent protest – 'they were willing to call publicly for the withdrawal of security, but never had the courage to commit to peaceful protest' (Habib 2019, p. 126). Following the loss by the students to petition the poll through a court ruling, the university proceeded from Tuesday 27 September 2016. The outcome of the poll was announced on Friday 30 September 2016, followed by a Council meeting on Saturday 1 October 2016 to decide the way forward. According to Habib (2019), 77 per cent of the students and 91 per cent of the staff who participated were in favour of resuming the academic programme. He also states that the poll results reinforced his belief that the University needed to open and that most Council members were in agreement, save for Dickinson who was opposed as well as a Postgraduate Association representative whose concern was opening against the will of student leadership. A concession was made at this Council meeting to open the university in phases, beginning with staff on Monday 3 October 2016, followed by students the next day, with police remaining outside the gates.

However, 'on that same Saturday (day of Council meeting), some of the student leadership met and decided to continue with the protest and force an indefinite shutdown' (Habib 2019, p.130). This indicated that in spite of the poll, there were still disagreements regarding opening versus continued shutdown. The poll results had shown that the majority of students and an overwhelming number of staff and academics from the limited university population that had

[31] Fasiha was the outgoing Secretary General of the SRC and Kefenstwe was the incoming SRC President effective late October 2016.

participated in the poll supported the re-opening of the University. The poll results were favourable to the university management to proceed with the re-opening of the university as a political solution representing the majority of the Wits community members. The University re-opened on Monday 3 October 2016 after a long battle of weeks of shutdown. This coincided with a Higher Education Multi-Stakeholder Forum hosted by Minister Nzimande that Habib attended as VC the whole day. The meeting was meant to be a consultative engagement with various student leaders but according to Habib (2019), it ended in disarray as student leaders were unhappy that instead of President Zuma engaging them, he only read his speech and departed. Divisions between various stakeholders relating to University affairs kept on widening. 'Back at Wits, the situation on campus was no better. About five hundred protestors had assembled to denounce the reopening of the university' (Habib 2019, p. 132). The general mood was anger. Within this environment of anger, the Academic Staff Association of Wits (ASAWU) leadership released a statement condemning the protesters for threatening their members.

The tensions on campus continued to the following day, making Tuesday 4 October 2016 even more difficult. The day started with sporadic protests but by midday, a large group of about five hundred gained entry onto campus using a gate between Holy Trinity and the university (Habib 2019). Habib recalls that tensions ran high between students, police and private security, particularly outside the Great Hall. Protestors dug out the paving and used sizable pieces of it to attack the police and private security who were preventing them from entering Sobukwe Building to access Solomon Mahlangu concourse. As the stoning intensified, the police tried to disperse the crowd, altercations flared and in the ensuing clashes, both protesters and police were hurt. Windows and cars were also damaged' (Habib 2019, p. 133). This highlights the intensity and seriousness of the protest on both the protestors and the security enforcement agents. One of the incidents that Habib (2019) highlights during this chaotic moment is the police officer who got injured in an attempt to arrest Mcebo, a student leader who was leading the charge. In the process, Mcebo overpowered the officer and took away his helmet and shield. The student leader would later be charged with assault among other charges which dragged for about two years. Although Mcebo avoided arrest according Habib's (2019) recollection, a number of student protestors got arrested and the protest moved to Hillbrow Police Station where their comrades were being held.

The spread of the protest outside campus had the possibility of spilling over into Braamfontein Business District. For this reason and others, the VC met the newly appointed mayor of Johannesburg, Herman Mashaba to discuss the importance of the municipal police under the

circumstances. On the same day (4 October 2016), the VC met the Deputy National Police Commissioner, Gary Kruser, who had been deployed to Wits and whose own credentials included involvement in the UDF and in protests at UCT during his time as young activist. Another visit on the day was by Tiego, a former student leader who informed the VC that he and others had engaged student leadership mediators and arrived at a potential political solution. The students had indicated willingness to go back to class the following week on condition that university remained closed for that particular week to negotiate an agreement in which the university would publicly pronounce its support for free education.

The back and forth wave of negotiations in search of concessions and political settlements prevailed and the university accepted the proposal. Habib (2019) mentions that the proposal had been accepted with caution because student leadership had, on almost all occasions, failed to stay true to their word. Nonetheless, management had prepared and formulated a draft pledge which outlined its commitment to supporting free education. Another commitment in the draft pledge by the university was for the executive to march with the students to Constitution Court to hand over a memorandum of demand for free education to the Chief Justice as a representative of the state and also an agreement to a General Assembly. Despite all preparations for the General Assembly on Friday 7 October 2016, the mediators reported that students had reneged and as a result would not go back to class on Monday as promised (Habib 2019). The Assembly was discontinued in view of the threats of disruption and security was increased under the watch of Deputy National Commissioner, and media was attracted to the cancellation of the Assembly. Habib (2019) recalls that media presence presented the students with an opportunity to create a spectacle wherein Mcebo announced that they were taking over the university as protestors and declared himself VC.

The deployment of the Deputy National Police Commissioner, the VC's visit of the Mayor and the approach of the university by mediators to broker the negotiations between the university management and student leadership are all important events regarding FMF narrative of 2016. The protest had gathered momentum to a scale that both local and national government became concerned, including many quarters of civil society. Rifts also ensued from within the academics, some condemning student violence while others resisted teaching under police guard. There was also a call by some staff that students should be given an ultimatum to return to class and that it was noble to cancel the Assembly. The tensions were fuelled by factional ties to political parties, which made student leadership lose sight of the way forward (Habib 2019).

Another Council meeting was called for Saturday 8 October 2016 to consider how the university was going to proceed in the following week. At stake for consideration was the declaration by student leadership to close indefinitely and the call by some academics opposed to ultimatums for students to return to class. The resolution from the Council meeting was to continue with the academic programme through the deployment of both police and private security (Habib 2019). The VC sent the then Minister of Police, Nathi Nhleko, Deputy National Police Commissioner and other top police brass an SMS notifying them that the university was opening on Monday 10 October 2016 and the university's future lay in their hands. 'Monday was truly hard for anybody associated with Wits University. The protestors responded to the opening with a ferocity that exceeded that of the previous week' (Habib 2019, p. 143). The narrative experiences of Neo Sambo one of the Fallists at Wits during the student-police tensions outside campus leading to his arrest and seven other Wits students in Braamfontein[32] captures the increase in intensity and ferocity of the fateful day that Habib recalls was a hard one. In his narration he states that students had moved to a public space off campus in Braamfontein area on Monday 10 October 2016 due to police action on campus. Police action on campus refers to ongoing police shootings, student residence raids and enforcement of the curfew system. Police action was sanctioned under the existing court interdict. Sambo (2017, p.58) reflects on events of 10 October 2016:

> The police were shooting at everyone in Braamfontein on Monday. They shot at students, bus commuters, street hawkers – even one of the Anglican priests, who was there as a mediator, was shot. This was basically an act … towards the public by the SAPS[33]; something they started inside the main campus when they attacked students and forced them out into the public space using stun grenades, water cannons and rubber bullets (Sambo 2017, p. 58).

The above recount reveals to the prevalent shooting of rubber bullets, use of water cannons and stun grenades that unfolded and mentions the different groupings that became affected as ordinary civilians. One such civilian was Father Graham Pugin of the Holy Trinity Church who was injured and pictures of him covered in blood were beamed live (Habib 2019). Sambo (2017) makes a general claim in relation to this fateful day that some of the police officers would aimlessly provoke students in a bid to make arrests as proof of the day's work. He further states that he became one of the seven students who were arrested while not protesting at that

[32] A central business suburb adjacent to the Central Business District of the City of Johannesburg and seat key government and major corporations. It houses the Wits University Main Campus.

[33] South African Police Services

moment. He claims he got arrested while standing next to two white journalists as he took pictures and videos of the police shootings directed at the civilians and those of a burning bus.

To bring out the brutality of the police, Sambo (2017) recounts that one of the police officers threatened to empty the remaining rubber bullets from his shotgun onto his back to discipline and silence him, and stop him from being disrespectful. This was followed by a two-day detention in the holding cells and a court appearance at the Hillbrow Magistrate Courts. There were subsequent other court appearances over time. The charge against the students was public disorder. Sambo (2017, p. 60) narrates his and arrested fellow students' experiences after their third court appearance of 30 November 2016:

> …we were taken to the West Gate Courthouse in Downtown Johannesburg, where we were locked up in a holding cell for two hours, along with prisoners from the famous Sun City prison near Diepkloof, Soweto. Here we were harassed, assaulted and robbed of our belongings by other detainees. Shoes, belts, headphones, wallets, socks, bags etc. were taken. It was part of the intimidation campaign that the SAPS was waging against students.

Sambo captures some of the experiences and conditions that students were subjected to by the state's police services while awaiting the same state's judiciary system to make a ruling on their alleged charges. In this particular case, the arrests were executed on 10 October 2016 and the third court appearance was on 30 November 2016. Student arrests continued and escalated with many students taking turns to appear in court. Negotiations seeking a solution to the protest also took place as some students vowed to continue with the protest.

Police used teargas and stun grenades on Tuesday 11 October 2016 to disperse students involved in sporadic protests on the day. Students preferred mass meetings as forums for negotiations and management conceded to negotiations on condition that university academic programme was not disrupted. Discussions between the VC and Kefentswe (incoming SRC President) and David Manabile (incoming SRC Secretary General) happened on two occasions off campus in a hotel. Fasiha (outgoing SRC Secretary General) met the VC as well at the same venue. Of note, Habib (2019) recalls that in all these sets of meetings, the student leaders requested the removal of the police and stoppage of lectures for a few days if they were to come back to class. There was disagreement with the VC because the students had already deceived the executive before (Habib 2019). An alternative arrangement with the student leadership and the mediators was put in place to have the negotiations streamed live to the rest of the university

community but after agreeing, the students pulled out once again at the last moment (Habib 2019). At this point the mediators gave up.

The following days saw students devising new strategies and tactics of protest. They resorted to desperate tactics in the evenings of stoning police and private security guards before escaping into their residences (Habib 2019). The former Wits VC also recalls that when police pursued them into the residences, many students got injured, leading to an outcry from the student populace at large. Habib (2019, p. 145) recounts that 'on the evening of Thursday 13 October 2016, there was a full scale assault on university infrastructure and property.' There was attempted arson, resulting in the university intensifying security patrols. Still on Thursday 13 October 2016, the VC visited Father Pugin who had sustained injuries in a student protest a few days back as already indicated above. Habib took the opportunity to engage him and Father Russell Pollit to help broker a peaceful negotiation with the student leadership. On Friday 14 October 2016, violence spread to the streets of Braamfontein area. This was because protest on campus had generally and broadly been put under control through heavy police presence and private security patrols. The increased security on campus forced protest into Braamfontein in the evening which had to an extent become the weaker aspect of the security mechanism due to the cover of darkness (Habib 2019).

The protest continued and the university had to find security mechanisms to deal with protest on and off campus. Habib (2019) recalls that it became apparent to manage police incursions into residences. A rule was made that police could only go to residences when accompanied by Campus Protections Services personnel and the university imposed curfew on campus. Other police officers were deployed in Braamfontein for stability outside campus. In spite of the curfew and students' angry reactions to it, Habib was still 'open to a negotiated outcome, but the only non-negotiable [was] the 2016 academic programme' (Habib 2019, p. 147).

The university reported that a student had been arrested early Sunday morning and appeared in Court the following day, 18 October 2016[34]. Habib (2019) provides details that the student arrested on that Sunday morning at the Wits Junction residence was Mcebo, whose bail application was denied because he could not be trusted to engage in any peaceful protest. His arrest as one of the key student leaders, puts to context how the 2016 FMF regenerated and negotiated its existence within an increased security system on campus and the university's

[34] SET, 'Student in court and concerned black staff protest' 18 October 2016 http://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/update-studentin-court-and-concerned-black-staff-protest.html (19 November 2018)

access to state legal system. It highlights the role of the courts and the police and how students also responded to sustain the movement. The divide between the protestors and the executive widened, including among other various student groupings and academics. ASAWU decided to hold a peace meeting with leaders at the Holy Trinity Church to bridge this divide between protestors and management. Habib (2019) narrates that ASAWU invited management to this meeting, held Wednesday 19 October but the meeting broke down before it could start in earnest. One of the student leaders, Vuyani, described Habib as a 'sinner' in suggesting that Habib did not have the moral authority to be part of that meeting held inside the Holy Trinity Church. According to Vuyani, aligned to the EFF, Habib's 'sins' included culpability in Mcebo's arrest as well as that of other student leaders. Student leadership resisted engaging with the VC, and within minutes Habib was surrounded by a mob hurling abuse and insults. Father Pugin tried to calm the students and ASAWU leadership was also outmanoeuvred (Habib 2019).

Common ground could not be found and the peace meeting turned into a site of battle and contestations. Vuyani led the students out of the meeting to allow the VC and his executive management team to leave. The students only returned when management had left, as a sign of continued resistance against the university executive. Students' departure from the venue was backed by their claim that they were avoiding possibilities of altercations and violence against members of the university executive. The VC and his executive team resorted to watching the proceedings from TV and security cameras. Various community leaders from church, civil society and other organisations and industry addressed students, including former Public Protector Thuli Madonsela. This marked the pinnacle of the impact the protest at Wits had on various quarters of society from industry, NGOs, government and individuals. There were various messages of sympathy and solidarity to the VC on his bad treatment and embarrassment by students.

The next day, Thursday 20 October 2016, as Habib (2019) recalls, protest continued to as he expected it would, with Shaeera (former SRC President) leading a small group to disrupt students sitting a test at which a students' script was torn. Police intervened after disruptions continued and shot rubber bullets and teargas, resulting in student leaders Shaeera, Busisiwe and a few other protestors being injured and treated at campus clinic (Habib 2019). Habib is of the opinion that footage from the public domain and university, all showed that Shaeera had violated the rights of others and deserved to be arrested. Her matter was investigated and handed over to the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID), a unit responsible for investigating police misconduct. The few remaining weeks of October, according to Habib's

(2019) narrative, had sporadic protests, one of which was a bus set alight while students were being transported between campuses.

November 2016 came and the university announced examinations with classes concluding in the early parts of the month. However, contestations between students and management remained. Students applied for an urgent court interdict against examinations on Thursday 3 November 2016 but it was all in vain because the South Gauteng High Court dismissed their application. This meant that the examinations would proceed as scheduled. Following the dismissal of the urgent court interdict application against examinations, students resorted to filing a new application for the university to accommodate resident students until dates for their deferred examinations were finalised. This new application was equally dismissed by the Court, resulting in SET confirming in an official statement that normal rules regarding accommodation and deferred examinations were going to be applicable. In particular, the university as Habib (2019) recalls, issued a warning that any student found disrupting examinations would be immediately suspended from university. This shows the predicament that the student movement found itself in and how this weakened it and collapsed it at some points. One of the final points of breakdown and collapse of solidarity happened during this period of intense resurgence, following the 8% fee increase announcement for the 2017 academic year.

The intensity of the tensions and conflicts became evident between some of the local and international students. Ndelu (2017) argues that some international students, particularly those outside the Southern African region, were not supportive of the idea of free education and they boycotted the protest. They complained of their insecurity on campus and felt threatened by the possibility that the protest could at some point be turned against them. On Wednesday 9 November 2016, Mcebo was released from incarceration and according to Habib (2019), the SRC eventually approached management for a reconciliation process to be instituted. Management requested a full disclosure which the SRC as he recalls, were supposed to consider but it never materialised. The examinations concluded on Tuesday 1 December for the 2016 academic year. This according to Habib (2019) was largely because at Wits security protocols were activated and police were on guard to complete the academic year.

4.7 Conclusion

The narrative of FMF movement that I present in this chapter provides a foundational background to the empirical chapters that follow. The underlying material conditions and socio-economic realities that were already existent in the research site prior to the birth of the

movement provide insight on the nature and character of the contemporary higher education system. Contemporary struggles of access to higher education such as unaffordable tuition fees provide context from which FMF movement emerged and evolved to challenge some of the difficult experiences of the study population.

The tensions, contradictions, factions and solidarities that characterised the movement during the period under review provide the foundation from which this thesis begins to address some aspects of the research questions. This narrative has provided a background that outlines how the social cleavages of race, gender and citizenship intersected and impacted each other. The narrative presents aspects that show how gender was contested, how citizenship was exclusionary while the aspect of race showed Black students being frisked while White students were not. The narrative of FMF movement provides a compelling justification from which contemporary social movements should be theoretically approached using an intersectionality perspective. Thus, the narrative presents some highlights on how social cleavages organized and mobilized for and against violence.

The narrative also unveils how feminists and some radical activists calling themselves fallists emerged against normalised traditions of patriarchal dominance and systemic violence to become key political forces of the movement. The narrative further unveils the experiential accounts of how #MbokodoLead emerged and the subjection of female student leadership such as Shaeera and Busisiwe to police violence including general accounts of protest against sexual harassment. These narrative accounts are important because they show the basis of using intersectionality as a theoretical framework and the value that the case study design brings to this thesis. In this chapter, I have laid a foundation for the subsequent chapters to explore the interactions and intersectionality's of social cleavages and violence from an empirical perspective, beginning with the social cleavage of race.

Chapter 5

5. The racial dynamics of the movement, violence and the making and unmaking of race

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the interactions of violence and the social cleavage of race. Race as a social category of classification and privilege was negotiated, mobilised and experienced differently by different role players of the same FMF movement. The manner in which different categories of the study population experienced race and the repressive violence of the police and the private security guards resulted in violent altercations between the students, police and security guards. The tensions and contestations showed the divisions and fractures that were not just racial but existed within the movement as intersections of multiple identities of participants as individuals and members of groups. These intersecting solidarities complicated the simple conception of the racial narrative and exposed the ambiguity of white solidarity. When White people went into solidarity with Black protestors, the intensity of violence decreased or weakened, and during the absence of Whites, repressive forms of violence from guards and police escalated.

I further show how the social distance kept by Whites, or their withdrawal from participation particularly during violent moments, had implications in the manner in which Black students came to conceive Whites. Such actions generated and strengthened perceptions by Blacks which cemented racial divisions. This chapter therefore makes sense of how the boundaries of the race cleavage hardened and softened in relation to violence as experienced, negotiated and perceived. During moments of violent tensions, the racial boundaries hardened and contrastingly softened during moments of solidarity.

The chapter argues that there was a complex arrangement and re-arrangement of how the social cleavage of race was mobilised to counter violence or how Black security officials used violence against fellow Black students but used a different approach towards Whites. I also argue that, during moments of unmaking race as a lived social construct, Blacks and Whites united to confront repressive violence. There were also moments of race making where the cleavages widened, particularly during violent tensions between Black and White bodies. The chapter anchors its argument on empirical evidence that race demobilised temporarily to form solidarities or mobilised to entrench divisions during collective violent protest. I have organised my chapters into three empirical sections. Firstly, I explore the empirical data in relation to the lived contradictions and contestations of the idea of the Black child narrative, which I use in

this thesis to refer to a social mobilisation strategy for collective action. Blackness during FMF was used to represent an array of the intersectional challenges experienced by Blacks, such as poverty, oppression, marginalisation, racism and others. Secondly, I explore the data in relation to the cleavage of gender. Thirdly, I also explore the empirical aspects in respect to citizenship/nationality. It is important to re-emphasise that the analysis of the thematic areas of the chapters is in conversation with the phenomenon of violence.

5.2 Context to key research participants for this chapter

It is important to mention from the onset that in this chapter I seek to make a connection between the social cleavage of race and the phenomenon of violence, using the lived experiences of some of the study participants. These participants experienced, negotiated and came to encounter shifting forms of racial membership and violence. I have chosen the participants that I cite in this chapter because they represent significant and exciting contradictions and perceptions on race. Although race played a prominent role in the evolution of the movement, it also impacted on the subjectivities or orientations of the participants towards it. Race as a social category of identity cannot be understood in isolation from other intersecting constellations of power relationships like gender, patriarchy, ethnicity and citizenship. These intersecting relationships produce racial dynamics with different social experiences. Thus, some of these key informants' racial experiences intersect with their multiple social identities explored in the social cleavages discussed in the two subsequent chapters.

The participants had different social, ethnic and nationality backgrounds as well as sexual orientations. They were also at different stages of their studies and played different roles in the movement. It is also imperative to understand participants of this study in relation to racial categorisation. For this study, racism means any action or attitude that may be conscious or unconscious meant to subordinate an individual or group based on skin colour or race, enacted individually or institutionally (Mlambo 2019).

The list of key participants below is in alphabetical order:

Depalesa: Black female from Zimbabwe who was in her second year of her undergraduate studies when the movement started but was studying at another university during the 2015-16 FMF protest. She came to Wits for her postgraduate studies and was an MA student during the interview. She experienced a big difference in the level of articulation of decolonisation when she joined Wits University. She had no specific role or political affiliation.

JB: He described himself as an undercover leader and one of the people who recruited students to join the movement. An international Black student with dual citizenship – South Africa and Zimbabwe, doing his MA studies then with no political affiliation. He was part of a group of FMF activists who identified as fallists.

Lerato: Black South African queer woman who was a protester and an organiser of food. Lerato was non-partisan during the FMF movement and she participated in the 'naked' protest during the movement. She was doing her first year of MA studies in 2015 and her fees were self-funded.

Keite: Black South African female affiliated to Pan-Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA). A long-standing activist who participated in both years of the student movement. Keite was the founding member of PASMA.

NTKZ: Black South African female and long-standing activist who during the movement was employed as an academic waiting to enrol for her PhD. She was a member of the Academics for Free Education which was a group of Wits academics who were in support of the cause for free education. The group was constituted by different groups and NTKZ was part of the Observation Team. She said this group documented whatever was going on from the student, police and university sides.

Stella: Black South African female who was a long-standing trade union activist. She had always led strikes to defend workers dismissed unfairly. Stella described herself as a supporter of any other cause to initiate development and that she was neither influenced by politics nor bound by political manifestos. She saw the need to become part of the movement and became part of the decolonial agenda by enrolling to do a postgraduate degree.

Susan: A White female student from Germany who was on an exchange program during the FMF movement. She played a background role and had no political affiliation.

5.3 The shifting narratives of racial dynamics of the movement in relation to violence

Race as an identity categorisation of human populations has its own history of controversy which I do not intend to pursue in detail. However, because of such controversy relating to the term 'race', Blum (2015) reminds us that, there is a strand of race theory that does not define

race by its phenotypic characteristics. The biologistic/geneticist strand which did not gain the same prominence in a South African context, did so mainly in Europe and the US. Nonetheless, the phenotypic strand certainly remained part of the mix in South Africa. Thus, the contemporary classic racial categorisation in South Africa still appropriates phenotypic differences and continental ancestry (Blum 2015).

Race and its dynamics remain central in a South African community where social movement mobilisations may seek to bridge racial divides to pursue common goals, where identities become negotiated within a lived culture characterised by racial difference. The term 'Black child' within the movement became a buzzword during FMF protests. In a typical narrative of a critical realism paradigm, a Black child would generally refer to a race-based identity of a 'child', and in this case, the black skin colour of a child. The formulation of the Black child narrative by the FMF activists had a racial implication which can be understood to refer to a collective black phenotypic identity of African continental descent at face value. The manner, in which the narrative of the Black child was used by the movement for mobilisation purposes beyond national borders to include all black students, deserves reflection.

The configuration of FMF movement as a 'Black child struggle' presupposes a conscious political orientation towards a racialized other. An explication of what I perceive as what the Black child narrative meant from how some participants conceived its meaning, is critical from the onset to explore some of the complexities of this racial dynamic. There are a number of specific events and moments as well as developments that unfolded during the movement in ways that provide context to the contestations that emerged from within and between students as well as between students and management. These realities indicate how the social cleavage of race and its interaction with violence as well as its intersection with other cleavages was experienced, interpreted and understood by the participants. Accordingly, it is crucial to indicate that Crenshaw's (1991) seminal, empirical and conceptual work on intersectionality illustrated that women of colour did not only encounter patriarchy in their places of work but racial inequality. Racism itself is intersection ally constituted because patriarchals can institutionalise it to oppress and marginalize others. I reflect on some of these events, moments, and developments in the next section.

5.4 Experiences, perceptions and perspectives of participants on repressive violence of the state and university authorities

Service delivery protests and strike protests in post-apartheid South Africa have almost rendered violence a way of township socialisation (see Langa and Kiguwa, 2013, von Holdt 2003). In almost all violent service delivery protests and other popular community strikes, the

state is always involved through its national security cluster apparatus and municipality policing, at times through violent and repressive ways. With reference to the Marikana massacre and various other incidents involving state violence, Duncan (2016, p. 1) points out that the South African state has generally been conceived by several journalists, media commentators and academics as 'reverting to a repressive state'.

An explanation of the interaction between violence and repression is simplified by della Porta (2014) who observes that oppositional violence and repression have a close relation. In essence, 'repression often produces an escalation of violence rather than controlling it' (p. 159). The brief empirical overview of KwaQuqa Township (see von Holdt 2003), Kungcatsha and Azania Municipalities (see Langa and Kiguwa 2013) and the Marikana massacre (see Ndlovu 2013, Duncan 2016) illustrate the repressive nature of the South African state and its security agents. This background is helpful in making sense of the continuities and connections between the state and its repressive violence and that of the university authorities during FMF in relation to how the study participants negotiated, experienced and understood the unfolding events, moments and developments of repressive violence. Although inclined towards repressive studies literature on civil war, Quinn (2015, p.536) defines repression as:

> The use of physical violence against an individual or group based on their suspected involvement in providing support to the rival civil war actor, with the purpose of stopping and deterring such behaviour in the future, and gathering intelligence regarding new suspects.

The above citation emphasises the use of physical violence by state agents in situations of civil war to ensure that civilians are stopped or deterred from waging civilian war against the state. The significance of Quinn's definition is in its relation to what unfolded during FMF as the state's use of the police and the use of private security guards by the university to end the protest. In light of the above definition, it is important to indicate that students as the main drivers of FMF protests were self-supporting and as a result, rivalry erupted between them and the university authorities as well as and with the state through its police and to an extent, the judiciary.

Quinn (2015) asserts that the most distinguishing character of repressive violence is that it is generally targeted at individuals who are in a non-combative role. The repressive nature of the university authorities was revealed during the build-up moments and immediately after the birth of FMF. The VC relates the manner in which university management had taken a repressive posture ahead of and immediately after the birth of the movement:

> We first deployed police outside campus on Saturday 10 October 2015. On Monday 12 October, the situation was tense and it toned down a little on Tuesday but by Wednesday 14 and Thursday 15 October violence had re-established. On Friday 16 October 2015 students ran rampant into the Braamfontein area where 14 people were arrested and 2 were students, the following week there was no violence at all. The moments we increased police presence violent protest escalated but would eventually be suppressed[35].

This citation sets the scene on how repressive violence was planned and executed by the university authorities from the onset. Police in South Africa have become synonymous with Black violence or violence on Blacks dating back to the apartheid state police's use of force and violence during raids in Black townships to post-apartheid moments like the Marikana massacre of Black miners at the hands of the state police. This is how violence and race intersect in South Africa; poor Black people remain subjected to institutionalised forms of repressive violence by the state and other institutions. To qualify my assertion, for example, Habib (2019) confirms that he visited the then newly appointed mayor of Johannesburg metro because of the spread of protest to outside campus. His visit was to explore the significance of deploying the Johannesburg Metro Police officials and Habib (2019) also confirms that on Friday 16 October 2015 he met the Deputy National Police Commissioner Gary Kruser in his office. The Deputy National Police Commissioner had been deployed by national government to oversee police operations at Wits University.

Habib visited the former City Mayor for the possibility of a back-up deployment of Metro police. The state deployed a Deputy National Police Commissioner to take charge of police operations at Wits. As backed up by the evidence in chapter 6's naked protest, the operations were largely through repression and persecution of Black protesting students and a ceasefire towards white students and white academics. The idea of reinforcing state police and private security with metro police and deploying a senior national police official explains the seriousness of the intentions to escalate repressive selectively towards Blacks. Citing such developments through specific moments and events illuminates how repressive violence of university authorities and the state was used against Blacks while whites were treated differently. This differential experience of both symbolic violence and repressive physical

[35] Interview Professor Adam Habib, Vice-Chancellor 12 June 2018 Wits University

violence illustrates how race interacts with violence in South African social movements led by Blacks.

The reason as cited in the previous quotation why Wednesday the 14th of October 2015 as the VC suggests, became one of the moments protest violence re-established is narrated by one of the FMF radical feminists and fallist, Hlengiwe Ndlovu. She accounts for the territorial invasion of the executive management's administrative territory by the students:

> The VC was then ordered to march with the students to occupy Senate House [renamed Solomon Mahlangu House], an act that became an important defining moment….The VC's agreement to come to Solomon Mahlangu House became an important moment that shifted power dynamics […] the occupation of Solomon Mahlangu House, which later became a revolutionary space, was a defining moment for the movement in many ways. Firstly, it marked what others have called 'the capture of the management' Secondly, this was a defining moment that saw power shifting from the university management to the students and workers (Ndlovu 2017, p. 31-32).

What is evident and necessary to keep in mind is that university authorities had already deployed police ahead of the official start of the movement in view of the mood on campus following the announcement of the fee increment by the executive. The reason the protest toned down on Tuesday 12 October 2015 after it had initially intensified a few days before, was the repressive violence of state police. By the time the students occupied Solomon Mahlangu House on 14 October 2015, the course of repressive violence by the university authorities and the state was almost confirmed by the presence of state police already on the guard. Repressive violence is generally sanctioned where there is territorial contestation for territorial control reasons (Quinn 2015). This illuminates the interrelation between violence and power in the absence of dismantling the status is the sustenance of race and racism in hierarchy of power.
The act by the majority of Black students posed a threat to the university executive given that the students had already effectively shut down campus and halted almost all operations on their first day of protest. University authorities, including Council members, had fallen into the hands of the insurgent students described in the above citation as 'the capture of the management' which lasted the entire night. This moment of capture of management by the insurgent students marked the beginning of the enforcement of control by students, especially the affected Black students who were the most marginalised group in terms of fees and the curriculum offerings. The capture of the management and invasion of the concourse at Solomon Mahlangu House has its own symbolic significance. Similar to what is shown in the next

chapter where women appropriated the sjambok as a symbol of defence and protection to assert their agency, the 'capture' of the university authorities and occupation of the Solomon Mahlangu House concourse was equally symbolic. It marked a shift of power because the students invaded the territory of the highest university decision-making body and transformed it into their own site of struggle. This effectively meant the majority of Black students had dislodged senior university authorities from their apex position of power and relegated them to captivity – a symbolic representation of the shift from repressive violence to counter violence. This shows how the symbols of symbolic violence generally associated with power and authority, in this case Solomon Mahlangu House used to host high profile Council and Senate meetings, used as the centre of power to control students, was eventually appropriated by protestors as a site of revolutionary struggle.

By Thursday 15 October 2015, the university authorities had already consolidated their repressive violence posture through circulation of a notice that sought to sanction control of the protest by repressive means. According to Godsell et al. (2017), students were in terms of the Trespass Act 6 of 1959, requested to discontinue the protest with immediate effect. The statement ordered the students to discontinue protest and outlined measures the university authorities could take if students did not heed the order. The sole purpose of the notice order was to stop and deter students from protest because the content of the notice was commanding and restrictive. These notices from management represented the violent orders of the symbolic violence represented in the form of notices and statements. This reflects how social movements can be constrained by a violent order of symbolic violence and other forms of violence. The notices released by SET as threats against student protests were not just statements but a representation of the institutionalised symbolic violence. This is also similar to court interdicts and their implementation to sanction arrests and curfews. They also represent the state's enforcement of symbolic violence through police and the judiciary.

The post-capture of management by the students and notice of violation of the Trespass Act moment was followed by two emergency Council meetings to map the way forward. Two urgent meetings of Council were held over the weekend on 17 and 18 October 2015 as earlier indicated in the narrative chapter. These emergency Council meetings were meant to strategize how to handle the General Assembly that had been demanded by the students for Monday 19 October. Contestations between students and university authorities continued because students wanted the assembly to be convened in Solomon Mahlangu House but the university authorities insisted on holding it at the East Campus Piazza. These two opposing views confirmed the maturing rivalry which eventually led to sustained repressive violence.

Students continued with their occupation of high profile spaces like the Council Chamber and Senate Room, the administrative territory of university authorities in Solomon Mahlangu House. While the Executive Committee of Council was locked behind doors on the fateful day of the aborted General Assembly of 19 October 2015, Dickinson (2015) recounts that students forced their way past locked doors into Solomon Mahlangu House leading to Exco members fleeing the scene. This tug of war between protesting students and the university authorities culminated in the escalation of repressive violence through the combined use of hired private security guards and state police. There was control and protection of selected spaces which Black students could no longer easily access. This did not only become the control of Black students' movements and access but also resulted in the transformation of the normal ways of understanding of the social cleavage of race and the role of the state into new views, perceptions and perspectives. Regarding the state, Duncan (2016) indicates that some scholars have used the term 'police state' to describe South Africa since the Marikana massacre of 16 August 2012. A police state according to Duncan (2016) is one where police act as a political force, which contains social dissent through arbitrary force, resulting in the state becoming more repressive while society becomes ruled by its military.

The police state status became confirmed following the heavy police and private security presence on campus. Campus operations became dependent on the capacity of the police to contain the protesting students. The police prevailed and ruled the university campus on many occasions. The escalation of the repressive violence through a police state status security protocol on campus impacted on both students and some academics. Stella, one of the participants with a track record in strike organisation and coordination, emphasises the implications of repressive violence on the cleavage of race. Danai Mupotsa, an international Black female academic affiliated to the academics for free education during the movement, who also played a supporting role including media activism through intellectual commentary on FMF movement also shares how she experienced racism:

> Police were only brutal to Black students, this instigated struggles of race and they treated the White students with hand gloves[36].

[36] Repeat Interview Stella 24 July 2018 Wits University

> Police were shooting at Black bodies. I felt inferior as a Black staff member when I was not allowed to enter a building yet a female White colleague I was walking with Dr Kesch[37] was let in. Even when a Black body embodies brutality it remains feared[38].

The indiscriminate police brutality towards Black students brings a deeper conceptual matter to the fore. Both Danai and Stella are female. The latter's indication that police were indiscriminately brutal to Black students means that all gender groupings and sexual orientations of the black race were subjected to police brutality. Danai points to her feeling of inferiority as a Black and female academic due to being prohibited entry by the police on mere racial grounds. The police act towards Danai helps us understand through the lens of violence how race and gender identities intersect in inseparable ways.

The use of the police by the state to sanction and intensify repressive violence had an impact on the manner some Black students and some Black academics experienced and understood race. This differential experience with the police by both Stella and Danai resonates with della Porta's (2014) thesis relating to her own empirical research on Italy and the Basque Country. In her study, she describes the impact of the repressive violence of the state authorities on civilian victims thus: 'The state that is firing at me or at my community was perceived as an unjust state while cognitively, repression invoked the perception of no other way out except taking up arms to resist the authoritarian state' (della Porta 2014, p. 177).

Stella's recount of the brutality of the police towards Black students and Danai's own experience as a Black academic resonate with the perceptions of della Porta's study population on characterisation of the state as unjust. In this case, Stella and Danai show the injustices displayed by the state police which were entrenched in institutionalised racism. Although della Porta (2014) is not explicit on racial targeting in her quote, but she emphasizes the idea of an unjust state that targeted civilians. The targeting of Black students through frisking, use of rubber bullets, stun grenades and differential treatment of academics by the state police and security guards contributed to counter violence by the angered students. della Porta (2014) found out that direct experiences of state repression produced radicalism and that the more exclusionary a regime, the more it tends to incubate violent action. The police's heavy hand against Black students should be seen in broader terms because blackness is not a single social unit. It means they were brutal towards Black females, males, queer groups, and international students. Violence permeates through the intersectional identities that constitute its victims.

[37] Dr Kesch is an anonymised name because I did not manage to interview the real person implicated [38] Interview Dr Danai Mupotsa, 26 April 2018 Wits University

Stella and Danai's experiences of institutionalised racism orchestrated by differential treatment of Blacks by the state police deployed by the university authorities, instigated radicalism among students. This proved by the change of tactics of protest by students going into 2016 because of a cognitive perception of an unjust and racist police state, an idea that further mediated the ongoing conflicts between students and the university authorities, as well as the state. Collective violence in social movements has a series of puzzles, one of which, unlike individual homicide, concentrates in large waves, often with one violent encounter appearing to trigger the next (Tilly 2003). The force of repressive violence that the South African state uses through the brutality of police triggers Black communities to change tactics from peaceful demonstrations to violent acts of protest. Violent encounters between police and private security guards triggered the many violent tactics that Black students employed in 2016.

The 2016 academic year was characterised by heightened and intensified security protocols. The state and university authorities deployed a heavy police contingent together with a team of hired private security officials and instituted a curfew. The following citations summarise key events and moments as well as developments during 2016. The private security guards were described or referred to as 'bouncers' by the students. This was in view of their masculine bodies and specialized training to physically deal with physical violence. The quotations present a story of the participants' experiences, perceptions and perspectives on the intensified and brutal repressive violence of the state and university authorities, particularly in reference to race.

One of the key informants, Dickinson states:

> In 2016 management provoked the students through the ballot and we knew from then what was going to happen. Council and management condemned students as hooligans in small numbers. However 5 000 students was a significant minority which could not be ignored. Private security was preventing students to go to Solomon Mahlangu House and that marked a major stone throwing violence by the students. We called management fruitlessly for intervention. What caused violence depends on where one starts and where they also stand, but management contributed by provoking students and unleashing police and private security[38].

Dickinson's opening remarks in the above citation: *we knew from then what was going to happen* has implications to our understanding of the context in which social movements

[38] Interview Professor David Dickinson 15 June 2018 Wits University

organize particularly in Black communities. When the space is constrained by the state and its institutions of authority, Edelman (2001) points out that, transnational forces can organize from below animated by various concerns, including hostility towards patriarchy, just to mention one example relevant to my argument. This agency is driven by what Edelman (2001) describes as a vision of human community based diverse cultures seeking to put an end to oppression, humiliation and other social forms of marginalisation and exclusion. This is what happened, as illustrated by citations below from a social mobilisation perspective with race as an organizing principle during violent moments by the state and the university.

With reference to 2016, one of the recounts by a FMF fallist, Moloi (2017), is that due to the curfew sanctions and heavy police presence, it became extremely difficult to get on campus irrespective of whether or not one was protesting. She further states that in 2016 there was no barricading of entrances or occupation of spaces yet there was violence from the security cluster, targeted at Black students. There were different accounts relating to the state of violence in 2016 and the use of tight security protocols which further shaped how race was experienced differently. The following citations put 2016 into perspective relating to the different experiences of race:

> … the rule of thumb was that you got on campus at your own risk, the police would fire stun grenades, teargas and rubber bullets without sparing anyone. People would be shot at, whether or not you knew what was what was going on, being on campus was the biggest crime you could commit and if you ran, they ran after you and arrested you.
>
> (Moloi 2017, p. 65).
>
> In 2016 private security guards searched Black students and I was never searched. When we went to the library with my Black friend from Zimbabwe, she was searched,
>
> I was never searched, and I found it awkward. I realised a fellow Germany student who
>
> was texting other Black students and she was saying she had to meet other students to assist them smuggle in stuff[39].

A White Germany student on an exchange programme explained:

> …there was a female Black student who said she was taken by the private security for interrogation and they said it was unfortunate that law forbade rape; otherwise, they

[39] Interview, Susan 19 December 2018 Oldenburg University Germany

> would have raped her. Private security randomly searched students but only Black students…, so she said those were the things we could not experience because we were White[40].
>
> Black students were stopped, searched and questioned but White students were let through. It brought new fights or reason to strengthen the reason to fight[41].

A staff member who supported students and was a long-standing trade unionist affiliated with NEHAWU (National Education and Health Allied Workers Union) and member of the ANC, reflected on a moment in 2016:

> During the 2016 academic year, I witnessed an incident of deepened racism during the menace of police shootings when Black students sought refuge. Some of us opened the doors and some student had been injured so we wanted to administer first aid services. Some, mostly White colleagues instead to our dismay were calling the police to follow on the students and they did[43].

Stella also narrated:

> The brutality of the police against Black people especially in 2016 was painful and amazing. I reject the notion that Black students were violent, we were responding to brutality inflicted on us by the police who chose to serve the interest of the management and the state. We only threw back stones at them and how did we manage because they threw everything at us, tear gas, stun grenades, rubber bullets and even water cannoned us[42].

According to Habib (2019, p.158):

> 2016 was a difficult year. We completed the academic year programme only because, after mediation attempts failed, we did what we thought we needed to do and invoked a range of unprecedented security protocols. While these security protocols, including

[40] Ibid

[41] Interview JB, 07 October 2017 Wits University [43]
Interview Thando 05 June 2018 Wits University

[42] Interview Stella 01 November 2017, Wits University.

> the deployment of police and private security, got us through the academic year, we knew that a security solution was not sustainable in the medium to long term.

In total, what became evident is that the pattern and form of the repressive violence of the university authorities and state transformed from the initial series of consultative meetings of Council and Senate and early deployment of police around the university precinct. On intermittent occasions there was an initially reactive approach before a fully intensified concurrent security operation of the state police and private security guards. The state and university authorities jointly consolidated and escalated security protocols of brutal police shootings, frisking and harassment of students, violent blockage of students' movement and access to particular spaces by private security guards and to some extent, the police. The effect of this high intensity security protocol was that there were shifts, differences and tensions within the cleavage of race. Conceptually, this means that different cleavages generally emerge in relation to different forms of violence.

The VC's admission as cited in the above quote: *while these security protocols…got us through the academic year, we knew that a security solution was not sustainable in the medium to long term* is important to understand from a resource-structure model in social movements. If his statement was budgetary, given his position as the principal accounting authority of the university in relation to the hired private security services, this highlights the value of resources in constraining or enabling social movements. The inability of the university to financially sustain the services of the contracted private security services would negatively affect the structure as a constraint and enable FMF to thrive. Both the university and the state-financed the operations of the private security guards and the police to sustain a repressive structure, and the withdrawal of the resources would collapse the structure and allow the movement to thrive.

Nonetheless, regarding the relationship between the race cleavage and high intensity repressive violence of private security and the state police, different experiences, perceptions and perspectives on the understanding of race emerged among the study participants. Except for

Moloi's (2017) quote which claims that police's actions did not spare anyone, all the other accounts point to a selective or discriminatory type of repressive violence that only targeted Black people. Protest activists reacted at times in different ways to police and private security control of protest and this revealed racial dynamics in the movement. The shift of students' protest tactics from the initial chanting and blockage of entrances to what one of the informants described as a 'major stone throwing' can be understood better through della Porta's (2014) ideas on policing and protest. According to della Porta (2014), police's control of protest affects

the repertoires of protest through reciprocal adaptation which can escalate police and protestors' tactics. Similar to della Porta's (2014) analysis, the above citations have shown that when private security and the police intensified repressive violence, the protestors also changed tactics from chanting to intense stone throwing that injured some private security and police officers in the process.

The escalated moments of conflict between the state / university authorities (through the police and private security guards) and the students soured the relations that started to show the bare racial dynamics of the movement. To put these conflicted relations in context 'what protestors usually refer to as repression … the state characterizes as law and order' (della Porta 2014, p. 164). One of the informants in the above citations indicated that, 'Council and management condemned students as hooligans in small numbers' while another indicated that the unprecedented security protocols assisted in the completion of the year. In view of these ongoing intense conflicts between university authorities / state and students, the next section reflects on how racial cleavages were shaped by the incidents and moments of repressive violence. These conflicts shaped the different experiences, perceptions and perspectives of different study participants regarding race.

5.5 Reflections on participants' perceptions on the impact of repressive violence

One of the sub-research questions of this study sought to reflect on how the different dynamics of violence impacted and transformed the different social cleavages of inquiry. The repressive forms of violence by the university authorities and the state had different impacts that shaped the study participants' experiences and understanding of the cleavage of race. The repressive forms of violence also framed the intersectionality of race and other social categories of identity. The following accounts point to this effect:

> Race remained entrenched for me because the movement was based on race. When I protested with my fellow Black students, I was a Black child primarily and that did not only serve as a motivating factor but it reaffirmed the fact that we saw the institute as white. Whether Habib is Coloured, Indian or whatever, he represents Whiteness and that is what we were against. So yaahh [yes] that discourse permeated everything else[43].

> There were moments I felt confronted by the violent whiteness. I had particular views about Whites and because of their questionable package of privileges, my views

[43] Interview NTKZ 07 March 2018, Wits University

remained the same. Some White students insisted that what we were doing was wrong and I was very angry with them. Police violence exposed how whiteness and white privilege works. If you are Black, violence does not matter but if you are White, you have value and you are preserved[44].

My attitude and how I continued to related to the opposite race as a Black child reminds me of one of my colleagues, a Black woman, saying that one of our White colleagues had passed some remark, which sat badly with Blacks. The White colleague had said 'Black child you are on your own'. To us this meant that there were certain things that our White colleagues will never understand just by virtue that they have never been a Black child[45].

In South Africa there is still racism, I had been enjoying my blackness in Zimbabwe and this movement took me back[46].

The movement adopted Biko's Black Consciousness ideology and there was positive solidarity with White students. This assisted to penetrate certain areas[47].

Our racial relationship reinforced the Black child narrative because Black students were victimised and brutalised by the private security officers and the state police. However, I gained a few White comrades[48].

…in terms of the White kids, a lot of them are still young, they knew that there were racial divisions but some of them were just too oblivious to kind of understand what was going on[49].

NTKZ, Tracy, JB and Tino were all senior postgraduate international and local students except for Katty who was an undergraduate local student. They all possessed a fair spread of skills sets which they used in various leadership roles during the movement. Their perceptions cited above show different experiences and perceptions on the impact of the repressive violence of the university authorities and the state. Although repressive violence was understood as selective and only targeted at Blacks, it also impacted on the cognitive formulation and

[44] Interview, Katty 19 April 2018 Wits University
[45] Interview NTKZ 07 March 2018, Wits University
[46] Interview Tracy, 04 October 2017 Wits University
[47] Interview JB, 07 October 2017 Wits University
[48] Interview, Tino 02 February 2018, Wits Anthropology Museum
[49] Interview JB, 07 October 2017 Wits University

understanding of whiteness. Adam Habib for example is of Indian descent, and therefore identifies as Black, at least in a South African context. The students identified Adam Habib, a senior member of the university executive then, as a proponent of whiteness and their experiences made them conceive whiteness as violent, an enemy and confrontational. A Black person presiding over repressive violence was perceived as racist because of being selective and seeming to take the side of whiteness, synonymous with power and oppression. Students understood whiteness not as linked to phenotypic identity but as a component of a hierarchical structure of power where blackness is subordinated and marginalized through repressive means. Repressive violence which was experienced and perceived as subjugating and excluding Blacks, was understood by the students as perpetuating whiteness and those behind it, irrespective of their race, were enemies. Repressive violence was seen as maintenance of a free market higher education system that excluded the majority of poor Black students.

The impact of subjection to repressive violence of the police and private security guards did not transform the way some Blacks always and already understood racism in South Africa. Some saw no change but a confirmation of race as an organizing principle of difference and social inequality. Some participants associated their experiences during FMF with the general type of racism that was still being experienced in South Africa. They were of the view that racism in South Africa was institutionalised and could be characterized by targeted forms of racism and participants likened their experiences to those of apartheid era when Black people were denied equal citizenship because of their blackness. While the impact of repressive violence was retrogressive, for others it presented an opportunity for solidarity with some progressive Whites. This contrast emerges from the fact that some Black students created friendship with their White counterparts who became helpful in accessing particular areas that Blacks could no longer access due to the curfew system. White students were not stopped or frisked compared to Black students, they entered the university freely while Black students were subjected to degrading frisking and arrested for violating curfew protocols.

Tracy, a participant who spoke of her experience of racism in South Africa as taking her back to colonial Zimbabwe, was Zimbabwean. This requires explication. Mlambo's (2019) articulation of racism in colonial Zimbabwe helps put Tracy's experiences of racism in South into perspective. Mlambo (2019) accounts for colonial rule in Zimbabwe as one established and maintained through racism and violence from its establishment of the British colony in 1890 until its collapse in 1979. The White settlers known as the Pioneer Column were sponsored by Cecil John Rhodes (Mlambo 2019). This White settler group was 'imbued by this sense of a mission and superiority which made them regard the indigenous African majority as

a lesser breed to be controlled and guided toward Western civilisation' (Mlambo 2019, p. 3). The White settler group was victorious in the 1893 Anglo-Ndebele War and also successfully suppressed the subsequent *Chimurenga/Umvukela* uprisings of 1896 leading to them not only claiming the rule by conquest but also consolidating their white supremacist ideology. They ruled with a conviction that Africans were a subject race not only in need of moral guidance and civilization, but also of strict and close control.

Tracy's historical, social and political background was one characterized by the colonial rule that was based on white supremacist ideology and considered the indigenous African majority in its colony as a subject race that required tutelage. Her experiences of racist elements and racial factions during the movement took her back to this era in Zimbabwe where Black people were regarded as lesser human beings without 'civilization' and in need of moral guidance. For Katty, her experiences of racism and violence made her feel as though Black people's lives did not matter in view of the manner in which Black students were subjected to police brutality and various forms of repressive violence. Katty's remarks resonate with those of Tracy who felt as though she was being taken back to the colonial era when white supremacy and dominance prevailed at the expense of the black population. The severity of police violence and brutality targeted at Black students while their white counterparts were treated preferentially with dignity, confronted both Tracy and Katty among other participants. This resulted in Katty remaining angry with Whites during the movement because she felt they undermined the movement when it was the only platform at the disposal of Blacks for their liberation.

The repressive violence's impact also assisted students to understand in very deep and personal ways, the difference between being Black and being white. They felt that because some Whites condemned the protest and endorsed the view that Blacks needed to face the brunt of repressive violence on their own, was testimony to the fact that they had never been black. What this meant was that White people's understanding of blackness lacked first-hand experience and because of their position of privilege, this made whiteness and blackness irreconcilable. Regarding this, some held a view that some White students were young and naïve to fully comprehend the impact and implications of the institutionalised racism that Blacks experienced. From empirical evidence, Blacks were faced with torrid moments where they lost more than gained. Their subjectivities as Blacks were trampled by violence, for example, shot and arrested. In fact, some came to associate their blackness with extermination and whiteness with preservation because from where they stood, it seemed the authorities and the state did not see anything untoward with unleashing violence on Blacks. The ease with which the police

and private security unleashed violence on Black students made this group associate blackness with dispensability. That management saw them as hooligans did not help matters.

The contradictory experiences Whites and Blacks encountered relating to preferential treatment and repressive violence explains why particular remarks could be expressed particularly by some Whites about Blacks. The view held by JB relating to naivety and NTKZ on Whites saying Blacks were on their own reveals the depth of lack of understanding regarding the impact of repressive violence on black lives. A good example is how some Black women did not only get subjected to racist and repressive violence but also gender prejudice. Black women were frisked like their male counterparts and further subjected to rape threats and this intersectional experience was non-existent for White students. Repressive violence in this way, illustrated what race meant for Black women, which did not matter for some White females.

The intersectionality of race and gender for Black women and the contrasting privilege that their White female counterparts had is captured by Depalesa who remarked 'There was still a massive gap between me and my White counterparts and I do not think the gap will ever close'[50]. This quote implies that Black students and White students generally experienced repressive violence of the university authorities and the state in very contrasting ways. Their experiences were like two sides of the same coin where one side had institutionalised privileges for Whites and the other – brutality and violence for Blacks. The contrasting experiences of race and racism between Black and White students conjures Chikane's (2018) motif of a failed rainbow nation. The rainbow motif failed in the sense that in its true symbolic attribute, the colours of the rainbow never intersect (Chikane 2018). The Black students and White students' experiences contrasted and remained apart. These non-intersecting experiences of selective repressive violence shaped the students' relations and attitudes towards one another.

The overall implication of the sentiments from the above citations, for example, NTKZ's view that 'race remained entrenched' calls for an analytical question of what that means. How race is constituted as an economic and social structure of inequality brings a class position to the matrix of inequality. This shows how race intersects with class and shapes the social stratification in ways that show how those of a superior class experience violence differently from the lower class. When NTKZ says such a discourse permeated everything, she implied everything about the experience of blackness or being black in relation to being subjugated to violence as a Black and inferior class. Students associated blackness with intersections of

[50] Interview Depalesa 01 June 2018 Wits University

poverty, gender disparities, sexism and other ills. This means violence against Blacks was not only racist but gendered, sexist and classist because it targeted Blacks of a poor social class.

This implies what Tracy meant by being regressive when she said racism took her back, while Katty explained it was about white preservation perpetual violence targeting Blacks. In the main Black students felt whites could not understand blackness because they had never been black. Being Black as the above views suggest is to have intersectional and multiple identities with interlocking oppressions. Black students meant whites could not understand the intersectionality of blackness; hence they said, 'Blacks, you are own your own', and this is how the movement mobilized racial tensions and divisions.

5.6 Reflections on emerging participant relations and attitudes due to different experiences of repressive violence

The study participants' different experiences of repressive violence had an impact on their relations and attitudes towards one another. This section presents some of the perceptions that show how repressive violence impacted on ways that shaped and transformed attitudes and relations between participants. Selected participants Tracy, Stella, Susan, JB, Lerato and Thembeka presented the citations below:

> …It was only two percent of White students who took part yet there are so many White students at Wits University but they were not seen. Therefore, there were no shifts, the White students who took part, took a liberal stance…[51]

> I did not see any White people. I did not register that Whites existed in fact there was no collective struggle, it was fragmented racial struggle. I am not optimistic that Blacks and Whites will ever reconcile[52].

> One thing that affected the movement was that while Black students were being shot at by the police there was a group of students from one of the University sporting clubs who just stared at us. One of the White students from this group which just stared at us and never participated in the FMF protest was saying it was because they did not recognise the Black students[53].

[51] Interview Tracy, 04 October 2017 Wits University

[52] First Interview Stella 01 November 2017 Wits University.

[53] Interview, Susan 19 December 2018 Oldenburg University Germany

The best thing is that violence revealed the truth and it peeled off this mask. It exposed the disadvantages and the struggles that Black people still faced, although doors were opened, Black people remained tied to a chair[54].

When I was on campus, there were White students watching the violent scene at a distance and there were Black students coming to my friend and I, one of them approached us inviting us to join the protest to protect them from police shooting…[55]'

The thing was that we were busy fighting inequality and issues of being disadvantaged yet we had White academics actually conduct classes off campus in white neighbourhoods forcing the students to submit assignments and things like that even when the management had suspended the academic programme[56].

These White academics really did not care and this opened my eyes in terms of White academics' attitudes towards Black students. However, this is something that I had always experienced in my previous Department which I keep referring to but in terms of the White kids[57].

It was a movement that was looking for a reform through the dismantling of the entire white institution to create knowledge that was not centred in Whiteness and taught by the majority White professors who did not care about the fate of Black students [58].

The movement was affected by factions particularly amongst Black students and there were some Black students who wanted to see themselves in the forefront, and there was a view by some males that there was an element by feminists of taking over the movement[61].

During the protest White people did not show sincerity. A White person wanted to run students over with a motor bike[59].

White people became very indifferent, we had a long break. They had a protest called

[54] Interview Depalesa 01 June 2018 Wits University
[55] Interview, Susan 19 December 2018 Oldenburg University Germany
[56] Interview JB 09 October 2017 Wits University
[57] Interview JB 09 October 2017 Wits University
[58] Interview, Lerato 02 March 2018 Wits Anthropology Museum
[61] Repeat Interview Stella 24 July Wits University.
[59] Interview Thembeka 05 October 2017 Sociology Wits University

> #OpenWits….they were no longer a part to us. A White male disrupted the demonstration… my demands did not matter[60].

There is a storyline that can be drawn from the above quotes with regards the shaping of participants' relations and attitudes towards one another as an effect of the experience of repressive violence over time. These show how the race cleavage shifted, transformed and helped us to understand the burden of intersections of Black identity during different events and moments as the movement unfolded. What emerges is that different experiences of race were shaped, impacted and transformed by the repressive violence of university authorities and the state. The violence targeted at Black students also evinced different attitudes displayed by Whites against Blacks and vice-versa. When the movement first began, particularly early 2015 as Stella's above citation also confirms, there were partisan factions and gender contestations, particularly amongst Black students. Intra-race divisions on political and gender grounds first emerged then and some cited participants condemned the low number of White student protestors. JB mentioned earlier, that he had always carried a negative attitude against White students due to their non-caring attitude towards Black students in his department. This paints a picture of prior intra-racial and interracial relations and attitudes that would colour relations during the FMF days.

One important point from one of JB's citations is that while Black students were busy fighting inequality and issues of being disadvantaged, White academics continued with classes off campus. What is important here is the claim by Blacks for the persistent failure by Whites to appreciate the intersectionality and interlocking forms of oppression that the FMF as a social movement was seeking to address. JB describes this intersectionality's as 'inequality and issues of being disadvantaged'. The narrative chapter and the next chapter on gender both express the magnitude of the emerging intersectionality's of race and other social identities of the cleavage of gender, for example. The continuation of off-campus classes and the starring by some white students put into context what Black students describe as a failure to appreciate their burden of intersecting challenges.

Although JB for example stated that he had carried this negative attitude against White students, in 2016 during times of escalated repressive violence he realized that due to Biko's BC philosophy that the movement had adopted, there was solidarity amongst the marginalized. Biko's BC philosophy is about the emancipation of marginalized groupings. JB's reference to particular moments particularly in 2016 where those that identified as marginalized Blacks

[60] Interview, Katty 19 April 2018 Wits University

mobilized positive solidarity is helpful to see the shifts and transformations from partisan factions and gendered divisions to moments of active solidarity. JB also revealed another interracial shift over time from the initially passive and hostile attitudes of White students towards their Black counterparts to moments where there was also positive racial solidarity.

JB's account of a shift from White's hostility to positive solidarity was echoed by Tino, another activist leader during the movement who although apolitical, was an attentive long-standing activist and analyst who commented:

> White students assisted with paramedics and first aid although I had always looked upon them as selfish but to the contrary due to militarisation there were injuries sustained by Black students. White people assisted[61].

In spite of the white students' helpfulness, the interesting part is that it was only Blacks who were injured and Whites were not, as they offered paramedic and first aid services. If JB's BC perspective had organized and shifted the movement from racialism to non-racialism, there ought to have been incidents where there were also Black paramedics providing first aid services to injured Whites. With no such evidence, although there were shifts, the role of Whites remained different from that of Blacks during the movement. A Black person under police attack required a 'white human shield' while an injured black body needed a 'white paramedic hand' for first aid. Violence and race remained entwined as the movement unfolded.

The previous section on repressive violence of the university authorities and the state outlined how the repressive curfew protocols impinged Black students' access and movement. JB and

Tino's accounts show how attitudes shifted from the initial hostility to positive solidarity between Blacks and Whites. Positive solidarity between the Black and White students assisted towards the penetration of prohibited spaces and recuperation from brutal injuries through discharging first aid services, for example.

There were also other moments of police shootings that occurred particularly in 2016 where Black students were prohibited from walking in groups and their movements were also under surveillance through curfew. However, passive attitudes displayed by some White students when they only stared at Black students being subjected to brutal police violence and admitting that they did so because they did not recognize them present an extreme shift from solidarity to staring bystanders. This shows how racial relations can be sustained or broken. Some

[61] Interview TN, 12 November 2017 Wits University

academics were also unsupportive of the cause of Black students and arranged private lessons in white neighbourhoods. Initially, in the 2015 Solidarity March of October 6, led by students, academics – including Whites – were behind the march. Although this was a show of solidarity, it was not without suspicion. There were moments when White students and academics did not show sincerity or care when expected to, as captured in Stella's observation: 'There was an element of mistrust that developed. Black students no longer trusted White students' involvement, they were wary of them taking over their struggle'[62]. What we glean from Stella's comment is that trust is a significant value system and when it is broken or absent, fear and even hatred arise. Mistrust was tied to utterances by some White students and inconsistencies in the manner that White academics supported the FMF cause.

The lack of trust spoken of above is reminiscent of one comment by Fanon (1967), [2008] who laments:

> …I was denied the slightest recognition? I resolved, since it was impossible for me to get away from an *inborn complex*, to assert myself as a Black man. Since the other hesitated to recognize me, there remained only one solution: to make myself known (p. 87).

The pursuit of FMF was in part a call for the Black child to make itself known, given the many sentiments and remarks of non-recognition from several quotas. In the process of continued attempts by Black students to assert themselves and make themselves known, solidarities broke down and there were also attitudes of revenge. For example, one of the participants, Stella, contrary to Tracy who at least recognized the few whites who participated in the movement, developed a hostile attitude of also not recognising existence of Whites. This was akin to revenge with a simple logic: if Whites did not recognise the suffering of Blacks in their brutalisation by the police, then whites did not exist. This is different from the attitude that Stella had towards fellow Black international students, as the next chapter will show, where she embraced them and said, 'Zimbabweans were seen as part of us'.

Some participants did not despair but took these negative developments positively. JB for example, embraced the attitude of some White academics for hosting private lessons in their neighbourhoods as a revelation while Depalesa embraced the repressive violence as peeling off the mask and revealing the truth about race, privilege and violence in South Africa. This was a learning experience for them to shift from the simplistic and traditional way of understanding

[62] Repeat interview Stella, 24 July 2018, Wits University

race and racism, to a critical theorisation and conceptualisation of race and its intersections with the broader challenges of blackness such as poverty, sexism and racism. For Depalesa, the repressive violence assisted her to formulate a deeper understanding of how the university system impacted on Black students. Her formulation was that although the university was normatively open, it was equally closed to 'the other' because she likened it to a situation where a door was opened but most Black students remained tied to a chair facing the door from outside, which was as good as having the door closed. The metaphor of the chair by Depalesa represents the entrenchment of what Chun et al (2013) describe as the triple jeopardy of race, gender and class. Being tied to the chair means being captive to the intersections of race and other categories that students tried to fight to transform their painful experiences of blackness and what being black represented to them.

There were also moments where some students untied themselves from the shackles that tied them to the structures of racial inequality. Some however, carried fixed attitudes that tied them to a normalisation of a thinking that Whites and Blacks would for ever remain irreconcilable. These normalised whiteness-blackness binaries shifted during unbearable moments of escalated repressive violence when Black students recognized the practical value of Whites. This was seen particularly through the formation of a buffer or human shield by whites, to protect the Black students from the brutality of the police.

The attitudes of White students towards their Black counterparts also transformed over time from being passive to being hostile, and then to solidarity. Although in general there was no violence by Blacks against Whites, there is mention of an incident in 2015 of the threat of violence towards Black students by a white person. This was during the formative phase of the moment where the movement had not yet galvanised much support from the broader university community. A White biker threatened to run over Black students on the picket line. At a later stage, after the presidential no fee increment announcement of 23 October 2015, as well as during the beginning of 2016 before the intensification of violence, a few White students held a brief counter campaign calling for the reopening of the University. This was seen as insincerity, as reflected in Stella's comment on #OpenWits in which she talked about the duplicity of the White section and concluded that they were no longer part of the Black students.

Indifference towards or abandonment of the cause of Black students was indicative of emotional or attitudinal shifts as well as breakdown of relations facilitated largely by ongoing moments of repressive violence. When Black students were not satisfied with university authorities' response to their demands, they continued to protest even in the face of consistent

violence from the police and university security personnel. Some White students were of the view that the no fee increment concession was a good enough settlement and withdrew their solidarity, which was perceived by some Black students as insincerity or indifference.

5.7 Consequences of repressive violence on black lives

Repressive violence also impacted on the personal lives of Black students. What is revealed from the experiences of Black students is that the brutality of the repressive violence unleashed by the state police and the heavy-handed private security guards was selective. One of the contributors to the fallists' *Rioting & Writing: Diaries of the Wits Fallists* (2017) who self-identifies as a Black academic and ally accounts for the impact of this selective and repressive violence:

> Violence meted out at poor students by security guards, on behalf of university authorities and wealthy students, is proliferating and will leave a scar on yet another generation of traumatised youth. Black men disciplining Black bodies for societal elites (Canham 2017, p.145).

Canham (2017) further disaggregates students by class and argues that this repressive violence on the poor was to the benefit of the wealthy. For him, the intensity of the repressive violence could easily leave an indelible mark in the form of a generational scar or trauma. One of the key observations from the above quote is that security guards were Black males unleashing violence against Black students, suggesting a racialized treatment of Black students. This framing and understanding that repressive violence by the private security and the police was only targeted at Black students also caught the attention of one of the White study participants who related:

> …there were White students watching the violent scene at a distance and there were Black students coming to my friend and I, and one of them approached us said 'If you stand in front of us the police would not shoot us because you [are] White.[63]'

Although the above point has already been emphasized and discussed relating to how the police and private security violence was executed selectively against Black students, the point of emphasis is that this became the norm. White people carried an immunity and Black students capitalised on this reality for the advancement of the movement. A Black insourced workers' representative and FMF solidarity activist and supporter as well as Keite, who was a

[63] Interview, Susan 19 December 2018 Oldenburg University Germany

longstanding student activist and founding member of Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA) confirmed:

> During the 2016 securitisation of the campus, we could hide while White people would talk to the police not to shoot the students[64].

> The state machinery was very lenient to White students and it showed that there was something ok with the violation of black bodies: we used white bodies as a buffer[65].

It would appear at this stage that both Black and White students accepted and lived the reality that violence was only targeted at Black people and there was a consistent deference towards Whites by the state and its security agents. White people had this naturalised and normalised privilege which saved them from violence and at their own will, could decide the fate of Black people. They could negotiate for ceasefire, create a buffer or human shield to protect Blacks or withdraw it and let violence prevail.

These two extremes illustrate the impact of this selective repressive violence on the lives of Black students during the movement, and they impacted the emotions of many Black students. JB for example lamented that:

> There was protection and favours from the state and university authorities. This angered many students, I also got angry and frustrated. The White shield was from a position of privilege[66].

The feeling of anger led to the dismissal of the 'White shield' as sleight of hand, a sign of privilege associated with whiteness as already discussed. Seen this way, Whites did not risk anything during their shield making because they had internalised their privilege of whiteness and knew it beforehand that they could not be harmed.

The various shifts and transformations because of the impact of repressive violence and counter violence between students can also be understood from von Holdt's (2012) account of violence and its shifting outcomes. Von Holdt (2012) accounts for the shift between positive outcomes of violence and negative ones in an instructive way. He argues that such transforming shifts are an illustration of the 'complex way cycles of violence reproduce themselves over time' (p. 93).

[64] Interview, Deliwe 28 February 2018 Wits University

[65] Interview Keite 20 July 2018, Wits Anthropology Museum

[66] Interview JB, 07 October 2017 Wits University

There were shifting cycles of violence that reproduced themselves as the movement unfolded and the process affected different individuals and groups at different times. One of the South African female participants revealed these contradictions between the narrative of small victories and personal losses:

> I was negatively affected by violence because it affected me psychologically. I became a drop out for some time due to violence because I had taken in too much violence psychologically, I took time off. Many students were affected and once it settled it was hard to be normal. The campus was no longer the same. Things were not right, I started to reflect[67].

Although violence had a negative effect on the personal lives of individuals, it also affected groups including families, neighbourhoods and society. Its complex circle relates very well with Black people's extended family system and the notion of community. When Keite was psychologically traumatised, took a break and effectively become a drop out, this affected her extended family, neighbours and the community. Not so many Black children from poor Black townships have the privilege to be at a tertiary institution of Wits University's calibre. If one of their rare models is psychologically affected and stays home, the impact is far reaching.

While for Keite and other Black students the university turned into a battlefield, it was a play field for some White students from a sporting club, the same ones who stared at the Black students being subjected to police shooting. The university meant different things between Blacks and Whites at different times. The cycle of violence shifted from the violence of the psyche to the violence of the soul, as reflected in NTKZ's emotional response below.

> …In most African women protests the idea of stripping your body as a sign of protest, is something thus done but when the situation is extreme… we had seen it done by our women students before, but when I saw it being done by one of the mamas [Woman] who was literally, eeeeishhhhooooo (a deep sigh and cries uncontrollably for about two minutes) in tears and standing in front of the Nyala. I was behind them [women] and she just started taking off her clothes[68].

The above quote by NTKZ refers to one of the three naked protest incidents that occurred at different moments during the movement. NTKZ broke into tears and wept during an interview because of the present and inherited trauma of blackness as seen from her narration of one of

[67] Interview Keite 20 July 2018, Wits Anthropology Museum
[68] Interview NTKZ 07 March 2018, Wits University

the naked protest incidents by an elderly woman. It is important to note that in her participation during the movement, she did not personally experience any physical harm or sustain any bodily injuries. However, she was not spared from the violence of the psyche like Keite and others. This cycle of violence amongst Black people is important to note. An individual or group of people consistently subjected to a particular form of violence facilitates the transference or transmission of violence to others in the family, community and society. The impact of violence for many Black students was also felt through shared emotions derived from goodwill, sisterhood and community-based orientations. This meant that even if one was not directly subjected to violence, they suffered the impact and cycle of violence by reliving the memories. A lot of Black students suffered emotionally from selective police brutality.

The following citations relate the different cycles of violence and its impact on the lives of the Black students:

> The worst thing from violence was the trauma and the repression of Black students because the target was on the soul[69].

> I lost my sanity. I had incredible anxiety. I could not see a policeman without the feeling of deep depression. I lost enthusiasm and I still struggle. I lost time and I am not doing #FMF again[70].

> I counselled a lot of them with emotional trauma as a result of violence during protest and they also lived in poverty because university residences had closed down. A lot of them got admission to psychiatric hospital including some staff members[71].

The above citations further show the impact of the repressive violence on the spiritual being and how Black students were affected to the extent of describing the circumstances as loss of sanity and progress. The counselling sessions sought to deal with the depth of trauma that some of the Black students suffered, as confirmed by the professional counsellor who cited that a sizeable number were admitted to hospital for psychiatric therapy. There is no evidence suggesting the same for White students. This reinforced how violence was understood from a racial perspective, resulting in different health conditions for Blacks and Whites in a similar

[69] Interview Mathapelo 01 June 2018 at Humanities Graduate Centre

[70] Interview, Lerato 02 March 2018 Wits Anthropology Museum

[71] Interview, Kima 19 June Wits University

environment. This had a lasting impact because signs of emotional trauma still existed about two or so years after the protest.

The soul is connected to spirituality and spiritual racism goes back to the colonial conquest where indigenous populations were viewed as people without souls, deserving violent ways of engagement and extermination. Regarding subjective experiences and feelings associated with violence on the souls and psyches of Blacks, Lerato a Black South African queer woman earlier lamented her loss of sanity and in the process brings to the fore the burden of the intersectionality of race, gender and the politics of queerness that no White woman experienced during the movement.

> In view of these experiences of transformation of Black students' understanding and experiences of racism in real life where violence was at play and institutionalised some overview accounts of the movement emerged. Violence did not liberate me from the racial divide, it entrenched it. Violence revealed how race violently plays out[72].
>
> Violence impacted on the cleavages, especially the violence of race was one of the divides of the FMF[73].

Both NTKZ and a member of the university executive point to the impact of violence and even the latter recognises that violence had a negative impact on the cleavage of race as it shaped and transformed student relations. What is also important to note is how whites described earlier by some students as preserved species could be mobilised to create human shields and be symbols of negotiation while Blacks remained objects of violation and humiliation. This violence of racism impacted the emotions of some females as NTKZ, a female participant, shed tears while recalling a scene of a stripping elderly female worker while other attained trauma counselling.

5.8 Conclusion

One of the contributions of this chapter to the overall thesis is an illustration of how violence affected the movement and the subjectivities of the study population, a hallmark of the main research question. The different racial dynamics of the movement created a racialized narrative and showed that factionalism was not only racial but intra-racial while blackness emerged with features of intersectionality. The fault lines, fractures and divisions which formed and reshaped

[72] Interview NTKZ 07 March 2018, Wits University
[73] Interview Professor Adam Habib, Vice-Chancellor 12 June 2018 Wits University

with the escalation of repressive violence of the university authorities and the state impacted on the movement and illuminated the outcome of the interactions of race, in its classist version, with violence. There were different perceptions and contradicting perspectives on the implications, interpretations and perceived meanings of the interplay of violence and race. For some participants, different racial dynamics assisted them towards self-actualisation. This fostered deeper understandings of blackness and its intersectionality's. On the other hand, some aspects of violence traumatised and impacted on the souls and psyches of other participants but the same does not seem to have happened to White students.

As part of the ongoing contradictions and contestations of a racially charged and racially mobilised movement configured as a Black child's, there were moments the struggle put white solidarity under suspicion. This meant that the white human shield as a practical strategy and mechanism to quell violence could be contested as an act of privilege not solidarity. This was because some Black students challenged some whites for their failure to appreciate the intersectionality of blackness. In view of the factions and divisions between students, this shows that blackness for example, is a contested terrain hence the different cleavages that subsequent chapters explore in relation to violence complete the puzzle of the complexity and intersectionality of these social cleavages and the relationships within a violent setting. Blackness is intersectional and it is not a universal and collective identity which is a single unit. The mobilisation of blackness in social movements for solidarity purposes needs to be explored from its intersectionality reality because once actors are subjected to violence from within and outside the movement, the different layers and categories of black become apparent.

Chapter 6

6. The gender dynamics and their shifts from outright exclusion to negotiated or contested inclusion

6.1 Introduction

Gender plays a significant role in social movements because as shown in the literature review chapter through the works of Langa and Kiguwa (2013) it does interact with violence and violence also interacts with it. Langa and Kiguwa's (2013) findings resonate with how male students mobilised violent tactics to reassert their manhood. In this chapter, I employ three feminist struggles #MbokodoLead, the sjamboks protest and the naked protest to explore the gender dynamics that emerged when some feminists mobilised other women to challenge the dominant patriarchal males. Radical feminists and queer feminists forced a shift from outright exclusion to negotiated and contested inclusion into a space dominated by patriarchy. I explore and understand feminism from Hassim (2006) and other scholars' conception of feminism from the perspective of common interests among women to eliminate patriarchy.

The mobilisation by Black feminists was determined to disrupt the dominant patriarchy. Patriarchy as a social construct is defined by Just Associates cited in Horn (2013, p. 107) as a: 'Systemic and institutionalised male domination and the cultural, political, economic and social structures and ideologies that perpetuate gender inequality and women's subordination'. In relation to the above conception of feminism and patriarchy, I show in this chapter, the tensions that put the contrasting differences into perspective. In these contradictions, it becomes clear that gender interacts with violence as seen for example, through women appropriating patriarchal symbols such as sjamboks to challenge males with violence. The symbolic use of sjamboks and bare breasts as some of the tactics of negotiating environments dominated by patriarchy, is explored in this chapter. These tactics were embraced and contested in terms of their meanings in the context of the movement, and violence in general. This shaped the manner in which the movement became organised and influenced the clashing views between standpoint feminism and radical feminist ideologies, including how patriarchal tendencies affected some female participants. Most importantly, different experiences of various dimensions of violence show the intersectionality of the cleavage gender with other social categories of identity.

6.2 Context to key research participants for this chapter

The reality of multiple identities constituting an individual emanates from key informants having different backgrounds, ideologies and roles in the context of gender dynamics of the movement, including race. Key informants constitute international and local student activists with vast experiences in activism, labour movement and trade union involvement. Participants such as Tino, Thoko, and TN for example, were postgraduate international students. Thoko features in this study for the first time while Tino and TN already have. They had trade union and student political activism experiences. Their individual experiences in these areas were helpful in exploring gender and violence as they brought their previous protest experience to bear on FMF. Among the group of local students, I have included labour movement activists, distinguished feminists and a worker representative and activist, as well as a member of staff who provided students with professional counselling services. The former Wits University VC, Professor Adam Habib, also features in this chapter as both a key informant and actor. This presents a rich source of diverse empirical material which represents different backgrounds and roles. For example, the former VC represents the institution that initially used symbolic forms of violence that eventually morphed into repressive violence through the police and private security violence.

One of the important aspects amongst the participants was their contradicting views on feminism. Tracy, for example, was an international PhD candidate who held that her standpoint feminism differed from the 'naked protest' feminists. Her experience of the 'naked protest' impacted on her gender views differently from those of other feminists and activists like Stella, NTKZ and Deliwe to mention a few. The participants represent different experiences and reactions to the many gender dynamics. JB, a male senior postgraduate student who was a fallist and recruited students during the movement, had a different attitude towards feminism after the movement. The shifts and changes amongst these participants are helpful in exploring different aspects of gender and its interaction with violence.

6.3 Setting the scene: Historical baseline of gender shifts, continuities and discontinuities

> We were no longer just fighting against an increment of fees. We were fighting against all ills that affected Black people in our society. In our unconscious, we knew very well that when we say Fees Must Fall we were actually saying Blacks and all other oppressed groups must rise (Mcebo Dlamini 2018, p. 05).

The above opening citation provides the grounds on which to locate FMF in an intersectional framework for the reader to understand the subsequent theorisation of the power dynamics of

the movement from a gendered perspective which I explore in this chapter. Some of the social ills referred to in the above citation as narrated earlier (see narrative chapter 4) concerns the various strategies and symbols that feminists mobilised to form alliances and coalitions of solidarity to patriarchy. It is imperative to mention that there is a bridging historical baseline to highlight the shifts, continuities, and discontinuities in gender dynamics between the apartheid era and the post-apartheid moment in the context of South Africa. This helps in setting the scene for this chapter by providing a historical baseline that puts contemporary gender politics into context. Such a brief historical reflection is also important because current student experiences that mainly affect Black South African society cannot be disassociated from past experiences and how those affect the current thinking and shape gender relations.

The scholarship on liberation and 'post-liberation' struggles in South Africa shows various social, political and economic ills that continue to affect Black people in particular. This chapter draws from intensive case studies on women and social movements during the South African liberation struggle era by Kuumba (2001) and Hassim (1991, 2002 and 2006). These scholars both provide historical baselines of rigorous gendered analyses of the trajectory of liberation struggles in the South African context. Their findings help to reflect on the shifts, continuities and discontinuities of gendered accounts in relation to violence during FMF. For Hassim (2006), violence in the form of repressive state violence and persecutions resulted in the shift from non-violence to violence in liberation movements. This is an important historical consideration that provides a parallel to how FMF encountered similar gender and violence dynamics. She argues that this non-violence to violence shift resulted in the insurgence of the ANC's guerrilla warfare. This subsequently shaped and reshaped the character of emerging social movements. According to Hassim (1991), the role and nature of women's participation in the ongoing struggles in South Africa was shaped by the type of politics of the 1980s. In the 1980s, opposition politics in South Africa became dominated by organisations focused on the mobilisation of women for national liberation as opposed to their own liberation (Hassim 1991). Within the context of FMF, the side-lining of women's issues, which were seen as minor in respect of the battle for free and decolonised education, eventually ignited contestations.

One of the notable shifts which shaped women's politics and the nature of their participation was the unbanning of the ANC, South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) (Hassim 1991). This took the debates and politics to new dimensions. Hassim (1991) clarifies that the new debates were not about the relevance of feminism in women's struggles per se but the context and shape of what indigenous feminism could be. She also explains that the Malibongwe conference organised by the ANC, held in Holland in January

1990, brought together South African women activists and their comrades from many countries. This, Hassim (2001) further argues, provided South African women activists within the ANC with crucial insights and confidence to challenge the domination of the ANC by men, a situation that had resulted in the marginalisation of women. The idea of contesting the relevance and role of feminism or feminists in the social movements is still an ongoing debate.

In the context of women's role and nature of participation in politics, Kuumba (2001) echoes Hassim (2006) and argues that gender norms restricted women leadership of large movements like the ANC, Congress of Democrats and PAC. Kuumba (2001) also makes a case that in spite of the change that saw women emerge from auxiliary status to being granted voter rights in the ANC at the formation of the Women's league in 1943, they nonetheless remained limited in their roles. The apartheid state played a role towards the shaping of women's participation in national politics and politics of their own liberation. This is put in context by Kuumba (2001) who argues that the apartheid government responded with violent repression and legislative barriers to the increasing fervour of movements. Although there was crude state violence and repression, women played crucial roles in the liberation struggle. Kuumba (2001) explains that women were engaged in anti-pass marches led by the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) to oppose the worsening socio-economic conditions and other ills. In the post-apartheid era, women's participation in leadership roles and in social movements or protests remains a contested terrain. Langa and Kiguwa (2013) provide a case study of how young men asserted their masculinities and threatened female councillors for example.

Kuumba (2001) mentions that the period 1960-74 was characterized by increased militarization by both the government and liberation movements. She qualifies her assertion by arguing that the non-violent approach of liberation movements and the repressive response by the state, initiated the guerrilla warfare of the ANC. In particular, the ANC formed a military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (spear of the nation) while the PAC followed suit to form a year later, POQO, its armed force (Kuumba 2001). The protracted struggle, according to Kuumba (2001), led to later formation of BC in the 1970s under Steve Biko, which was also skewed towards predominance of male leadership and membership. Women remained marginalised until the BC broadened its scope and initiated the formation of the Black Women's Federation (BWF) in 1975 (Kuumba (2001). However, Kuumba (2001) laments that the BWF tended to also focus on national than women's political participation. The meaningful shift in quality and quantity of women's participation was realized in the 1980s as an effect of the resurgence of community and grassroots organisations and trade unions devoted to women and gender issues (Kuumba 2001). The prevailing conditions catalysed the Soweto uprising in 1976 while the government's

reaction ushered a new movement phase (Kuumba 2001). This period was also characterized by mass killings and further banning of additional movement organisations (Kuumba 2001).

What emerges from this brief historical baseline is that gender dynamics, particularly women's roles and their participation were side-lined by the call for the broader national liberation struggles. It also comes to light that although women played a part in the liberation struggle, there was little focus on their own feminist agency and subjectivities. This means women's means of taking action and their worldviews or feelings remained subordinated. Women organisations that emerged failed to specifically frame and prioritise women's participation, their subjective experiences and beliefs outside the broader framework of national matters like liberation. This illustrates the general historical problem of patriarchy and its long-standing history of resistance in politics and social movements. This historical background provides an account of how gender and its dynamics have been experienced and negotiated in bigger liberation movements and in protests. At this stage of the argument in this chapter, it becomes imperative to delve into the narratives of the shifts in gender dynamics in relation to violence during FMF.

6.4 The narrative of the shifts of gender dynamics: #MbokodoLead perceptions and perspectives

MbokodoLead as partly discussed in the narrative chapter and described by Mpofu-Walsh (2016) as one of the key political forces during FMF, emerged as an organized group of feminists taking a radical stance to challenge the dominance of patriarchy. One of the leading fallists and feminists, Dlakavu (2017), narrates thus:

> We started a hashtag #MbokodoLead on 17 October 2015, three days after the first Wits shutdown. It began from a WhatsApp group, where the aim was to add as many Black women as possible to the group to dismantle the tyranny of patriarchy in the movement while affirming each other (p. 111).

Dlakavu (2017) further explains that it was because of the FMF protest environment of patriarchal domination that the #MbokodoLead was ignited and eventually emerged. Patriarchy as already indicated in the baseline historical account, dominated liberation movements and did the same during FMF as seen through Dlakavu's comment above. She was convinced that patriarchy during FMF required to be dismantled through the mobilisation of Black women while they simultaneously affirmed each other and their agency in the movement.

Mathapelo was a Black female Masters student working in the Sociology Department and a fallist when the movement started in 2015. She provided an instructive background to the formation of #MbokodoLead emerged:

> What affected the movement from the onset was that in 2015 there was gender violence leading to the emerging of the women movement in solidarity with queer women. #MbokodoLead began on 19 October 2015[74].

Mathapelo raised three key aspects which are helpful to understand the factors that led to the emergence of #MbokodoLead movement. Firstly, she reiterated the tyranny of patriarchy that Dlakavu spoke of but framed it as gendered violence. Secondly, she introduced the symbolic importance of forging solidarities and mentioned queer women in particular. This connects well with both Keite and Kima's subsequent perceptions regarding how LGBQTIA+ politics and gender issues emerged in relation to the physical forms of patriarchal violence. Her third point traced the genealogy of #MbokodoLead to 19 October 2015, although slightly different from Dlakavu's perceived date. This timeline is important because it puts things into perspective given that FMF movement started on 14 October 2015.

What we learn from these dates is that early into the movement, strategies and tactics to mobilise solidarities against gender violence had already emerged. Another fallist Black female leader of the FMF put into perspective the role and purpose of #MbokodoLead by saying, 'I led #MbokodoLead to fight for our [women and queer activists] inclusivity. It was a protest against patriarchy'[75]. Patriarchy as one of the matrices of power is a social construct and social structure from which gender inequality and women's subordination emanates and is perpetuated. Busisiwe in the above quote located herself at the forefront of a movement, which she framed as a protest against patriarchy in a fight for inclusion. Most women argued that they had been subjected to physical violence by some of the male students, resulting in solidarities with queer activists emerging. In essence, this points to the fight for gender equality and the inclusion of other non-normative sexual and gender identities.

The recognition of the creation of MbokodoLead as a coalition of feminists and queer feminists in solidarity with one another against the 'tyranny of patriarchy' is important both as an empirical highlight and a conceptual element. Conceptually, it brings to the fore the value of analysing gender in its intersectional configuration against the biological dichotomy of male

[74] Interview Mathapelo 01 June 2018 at Humanities Graduate Centre

[75] Interview Busisiwe, 18 April 2018 Humanities Graduate Centre, Wits University

and female. Montoya's (2020) view is that, there is a trend in social movement studies to follow a single-axis logic that fails to recognize the differences of study populations. A single-axis overlooks those at the intersection of multiple marginalities. In this study, I approach the concept of women not as a single unitary unit but from an intersectionality approach to take care of some of the experiences that can be obscured by the homogenisation of the concept of gender.

Another Black fallist brings an additional dimension to the significance of #MbokodoLead:

> Prior to the rise of #MbokodoLead I felt the oppression and discipline of patriarchy within the movement itself. I had to discipline my body by dressing as 'unfeminine' as possible in order to assimilate and avoid exposing my body while we were moving around. I also had to discipline my tongue, and to teach it the proper grammatical rules… I had to discipline my movement, to forbid my feet from carrying me to front or to the centre where I could lead a song because as many said, that is a man's job.
>
> (Mabaso 2017, p. 102).

The significance of the above citation is that it provides an account of how some females felt subordinated by patriarchal dominance before #MbokodoLead emerged. This speaks to the normalisation of gender disparity in society where women are expected to dress up and behave in particular culturally sanctioned ways that subordinate them. #MbokodoLead as a feminist movement that empowered women and queer activists and illustrates the transitions from outright exclusion to being able to lead songs, for example. It also became a platform for transformation of gender inequality into radical feminism. Mabaso (2017) accounts for how women are socially ordered to comply with certain culturally sanctioned standards and in two of her examples, mentions her fear to expose her body and the expectation to speak in a particular 'appropriate' way for a woman. Some of these socially constructed norms disciplined and ordered females and queer women until they mobilised under #MbokodoLead to challenge patriarchy at times through appropriation of symbols of patriarchal violence.

#MbokodoLead emerged to counter gender norms that fallist Mabaso (2017) narrates and Kuumba (2001) laments, that some of these norms historically restricted women leadership in large movements like ANC, PAC and others. The experiences of gender domination and exclusion during FMF show that gender continued to be a significant terrain of contestation in social movements. A Black queer female activist whose role among others during the movement was to organise food, pointed to the enduring sexism as the reason #MbokodoLead was formed: 'What remained entrenched and fixed without a shift was that as Black women

we were still fighting the same battles'[76]. What Lerato perceived was that the social context of the past had remained unchanged and continued to sustain gender inequalities, hence the emergence of #MbokodoLead. As both Hassim (2006) and Kuumba (2001) earlier revealed, one of the battles faced by women during liberation struggles of the 1980s was subordination and disregard of their own liberation. To relate Lerato's assertion of the unchanged social environment to FMF specifically, the unchanged power relations configured males as superior and women and non-gender confirming participants as subordinates. This means the intersectionality of gender disparities remained evident. A non-partisan Black male activist affiliated to Zimbabwe Students Association who also identified as an analyst put this narrative into perspective:

> We were engaged in a fight. It was like war, this is what we were working on. Women issues were not a priority; we could deal with them later although there were eventually some statements during the movement to fight for the recognition of Black females including Black female academics in the academy[77].

TN's summation above frames the main discursive theme of this chapter which is the shift from outright exclusion to negotiated or contested inclusion. Male domination and its normalisation through the relegation of women into generally feminised roles such as serving food and refreshments during the movement became one of the wars that radical feminists eventually fought. TN as a Black male participant socially positions women in a subordinate social category and males in a different and superior one where there are matters of priority. This social profiling and positioning is gendered and insensitive to the myriad intersectional social realities that confronted women during FMF like their sexual orientations, racial exclusions, regulated statist nationalities that tied their lives to study visa conditions. TN instead refers these as 'women issues' which falls short of what Cho et al's (2013) recommendation to pay attention to the multiple ways in which gender interacts with race, class and other social categories in this case nationality.

The push back of women through #MbokodoLead which emerged days after the official commencement of FMF was, as we have seen, to offset and disrupt male domination. The later insurgence of radical feminists from April 2016 and subsequent incidents where queer activists also emerged, was the means through which outright exclusion was fought through a negotiated

[76] Interview, Lerato 02 March 2018 Wits Anthropology Museum
[77] Interview TN, 12 November 2017 Wits University

or contested means. The feminists fought different dimensions of patriarchy through the 'wars' of the naked protest and the sjamboks protest. Patriarchy is what seems to have stimulated the eruption of #MbokodoLead, leading to incidents involving radical feminists and queer feminists. Although this contextualisation frames the understanding by some activists, others still framed the narrative differently. Tino, an experienced activist and leader of the Zimbabwean Student Association saw 'a balance on who were the faces of the movement because females did feature'[78]. Tino suggested that the FMF movement struck an even balance because females also featured as the faces of the movement. This is in contrast to the previous views by other activists that emphasised the sidelining of women who were forced to assert themselves. However, Tino self-contradicted when he commented on female leadership in FMF by asserting that, 'Nompendulo's ascendance to fame was disturbing patriarchal thought'[79]. Nompendulo Mkhatshwa as already indicated in the narrative chapter, was the official SRC President designate at the beginning of the Wits FMF movement. She officially took over from Shaeera Kalla, another female SRC President, and became popular as the movement unfolded.

Tino's view in the above quote that Nompendulo's ascendance to leadership disturbed patriarchy confirms that there was no reasonable accommodation for women leadership. Even Nompendulo's ascendance was not easy as attested to by one female participant: 'As women we fought to be in the lead. Female students could not be listened at but patriarchy was dominating'[80]. While males were in a war that had nothing to do with placing women's needs on the agenda, women organized their own battle and #MbokodoLead became the feminist platform for women of different sexual orientations to fight for their own liberation to reaffirm and reassert themselves. The need to reaffirm and reassert women and their queer counterparts sought to level the ground so that inequalities, oppressions and other unmet gender dynamics could be addressed and incorporated into the movement. Horn (2013) reiterates that social movements emerge as collective actions against situations of inequality, oppression and/or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands. The #MbokodoLead emerged within a similar context where patriarchal dominance subordinated heterosexual women and queer women.

FMF as a contested political space and the problem that was experienced by a female SRC leader, Nompendulo, in her ascendance can be conceptualised from Mlotshwa's (2021) assertion. He asserts that, 'when issues of voice are considered, it can be argued that women in

[78] Interview, Tino 02 February 2018 Wits University
[79] Interview, Tino 02 February 2018 Wits University
[80] Interview, Deliwe 28 February 2018 Wits University

African politics (including movements with contestations for representation- my emphasis) are silenced and male representation ("speaking on their behalf") silences them further' (p. 02). This implies that women as a social category within the cleavage of gender carry the burden that when they speak their voice or message is not considered or merit but instead their gender takes precedence. In this particular case, Nompendulo did not find it difficult to speak based on low public speaking abilities but because her subjectivity was rooted in gender and marginalised by the repressive patriarchy.

To this end, Kima, a staff member who provided professional counselling services and an ally of the movement provides further context to the emergence of #MbokodoLead:

> The FMF movement was characterized by physical violence. Students physically assaulted each other for example and women felt marginalised. The movement focused on fees and relegated women issues and a female leader was assaulted for raising issues on gender[81].

In the above quote, Kima's framing of the movement as characterised by physical violence is important. Her characterisation establishes how the physical dynamics of violence impacted on gender. Of particular interest is how some students particularly the males, deployed physical violence against some female and queer students. This exposes the non-availability of space for inclusion and accommodation of gender related matters such as women getting opportunities to address meetings. In view of these kinds and forms of exclusion, such violent reactions also undoubtedly cemented certain ideas in people's minds. For example, the gender violence cemented the idea that the movement was masculine as one participant points out in the subsequent quote.

Kima argued that the movement mainly focused on tuition fees to fall and relegated some of the gender dynamics, in particular subordination of heterosexual and queer women. Her views coincided with those of various other activists who felt that repressive physical forms of violence were a big challenge to the movement that eventually ignited gender related contestations. Thus, a long-standing activist, TN alongside fallists Busisiwe and Mathapelo also emphasised violence against queer groups:

[81] Interview, Kima 19 June Wits University

> Unfortunately, the movement was masculine. I could see the violence meted out to women and LGBQTIA+. The space was too hard to push other different agendas[82].

Both Kima and TN argued the movement was masculine and with patriarchal violence. According to them, this resulted in the closure of space and opportunities for the inclusion and accommodation of gender specific matters in general and LGBQTIA+ politics in particular. This they held, led to women and LGBQTIA+ solidarities emerging and organizing a pushback as Busisiwe and Mathapelo account for the rise of #ImbokodoLead.

#ImbokodoLead has been identified a mass mobilisation of as many Black women together with queer groupings to fight for their inclusion. There was a sense of moments when patriarchy was temporarily circumvented by radical feminists and queer activists particularly and for example, when a gay man became active in queer politics. NTKZ who was a Masters student in 2015, staff member and activist in 2016 and Academics for Free Education member commented:

> Gender inequality still played out based on sex. However, I remember that one of the student leaders who used to facilitate the discussions at the concourse was gay. I was like it is refreshing to have someone who identified as gay who was strong in queer politics leading us in those at times heated political debates. I suppose in a sense it was a bit jarring but for me also liberating in my thinking…[83].

As indicated, #MbokodoLead protested against patriarchy. It fought for the inclusion of women and queer identities in the movement, hence LGBQTIA+ politics emerged. NTKZ identified a rare moment where a queer activist led discussions and how this inspired #MbokodoLead to confidently enter spaces of patriarchal dominance. This reflects on the fluidity of protest space. The space shifted from a closed one dominated by patriarchy to a potentially open one where queer activists and females also found expression. NTKZ also raised another important aspect, that although it was initially shocking for her to see a prominent queer activist lead the FMF, she felt liberated all the same. Contestations of gender through physical violence tended to suppress women and queer identities and NTKZ's feeling 'liberated' is in that context of unusual focalisation of gender issues within FMF.

One of the tenets of intersectionality by Tormos (2017) is that, 'feminists of colour developed the idea of intersectionality to disrupt the subjugation of their knowledge and to avoid the

[82] Interview TN, 12 November 2017 Wits University
[83] Interview, NTKZ 07 March 2018 Wits University

erasure of their voices' (p. 708). This is important in putting to perspective the mobilisation of intersectional solidarities of marginalised gender groupings from heterosexual feminists to LGBQTIA+ members. Their exclusion was not only a gender identity struggle but it meant that their knowledge, experiences and politics as gender groups of different sexual orientations were sidelined. Consequently, this means gender identity is not independent of other social, political, ideological and intellectual positionalities but intersects with them to define individuals and groups.

Katty, an undergraduate Black female student who played a mobilizing role and held meetings with the SRC, provided first aid services and also negotiated with management on behalf of suspended students echoed NTKZ:

> Queer people mobilised and participated in the facilitation of meetings and were also involved in catering. There were four queer people who got suspended because they broke the law of the University[84].

Earlier submissions have understood and framed the movement as physically violent and dominated by patriarchy at its inception. Queer people's involvement in mobilisation and facilitation of meetings points to the shifts and discontinuities of gender inequalities and reconfiguration of the broader movement. In the above quote, Katty mentioned the downside of the impact of repressive violence on gender. She mentioned that four queer activists were suspended from University for breaking the law. #MbokodoLead emerged to fight the dynamics of repressive violence which manifested through the normalised patriarchal tendencies and practices. However, after the space was created through shifts for women and queer people to participate, other forms of violence emerged to destabilise feminist and queer politics. The four queer activists who asserted themselves in the name of social justice were found on the wrong side of the university law and were suspended. These are the dynamics and consequences of negotiating gender dynamics through violent means. Of particular mention is the impact of the symbolic violence of the University police to sanction suspension.

Katty elaborated on how Nompendulo, a female leader's low morale after the march to the Union Buildings affected the other female activists. This is a different dimension from the feeling of fulfilment and being liberated that NTKZ mentioned earlier:

[84] Interview, Katty 19 April 2018 Wits University

> Nompendulo occupied the highest student office, however there were sexist rages. Before that she would lead and sing songs for #MbokodoLead. After coming back from the Union Buildings, she was broken down and this affected other women[85].

Katty implied that when students returned from the protest at the Union Buildings on 23 October 2015, the SRC President was a different person subjectively. The environment had been intoxicated with sexist rage according to Katty. She explained that 'women comrades felt that they had no say but to follow the males and their rules due to the dominance of continued dominance of patriarchy and side-lining of female leaders like Nompendulo'. She further implied in the above utterance that prior to the Union Buildings March, Nompendulo could lead the movement and sing. She described Nompendulo as 'broken down' post- the Union Buildings March which affected other women because the spaces for their participation remained contested terrain for legitimacy.

One of the extenuating circumstances that could have contributed to Nompendulo's post-Union Buildings March breakdown were the circumstances that surrounded her at that time. A few days before the march to Union Buildings, while marching to occupy Luthuli House, students made an important discovery about her. The politics at the time was such that students were in confrontation with the ANC and government generally as the perceived core stakeholders of higher education. Dlakavu (2017) reveals the discovery, thus:

> At that time, the majority of the student population had no idea that one of their leaders, Nompendulo Mkhatshwa, was working at the same building whose power and nondelivery of #FreeEducation we were trying to challenge (Dlakavu 2017, p. 113).

Students discovered that Nompendulo held a job at Luthuli House, something she had not declared. This was confirmed when she appeared on the cover page of *Destiny* Magazine where she was profiled. On the cover page, Nompendulo was wearing an ANC *doek* or head wrap (Mazibuko 2018). This was viewed by some activists as problematic. This discovery divided the activists, with some of the view that she was not fully committed to the movement because of career opportunism. Protestors had already expressed their discontent with the ANC and its government. Profiling herself on the *Destiny* Magazine's front page wearing an ANC *doek* may have contributed to Nompendulo's unpopularity. The whole incident compromised her

[85] Interview, Katty 19 April 2018 Wits University

credibility and suitability as a leader, culminating in the entire SRC being at logger heads and some protesters insisting on proceeding with protest post-no fee increase announcement.

Before her reputation had been under the spotlight, Nompendulo had been celebrated and compared to Lillian Ngoyi, an anti-apartheid activist and the first womxn elected to the committee of the African National Congress among others (Mazibuko 2018). Although not in salient ways across the thesis but certainly in a conceptually important way, the turn against Nompendulo brings an intersectionality dimension between gender and class. An the onset Nompendulo had been likened to Lilian Ngoyi, a South African anti-apartheid activist and first woman to be elected to the National Executive Committee of the ANC. Her class position as elite and middle-class sidelined her. Gender has intersectional implications with other categories of identity and this became salient during contestations for representation during FMF. Fellow activists of massive poor class majority of the Black student collective regarded leaders with particular class orientations such as Nompendulo as unfit to lead them.

Although the purpose of #MbokodoLead was to disrupt patriarchal domination and fight for the inclusion of women and queer people, it appears its politics impacted negatively on some of the activists. Katty pointed to the suspension of four queer students and Nompendulo's infamy which led her to being 'broken down,' for example. Kima earlier pointed to the physical assault of one of the female leaders for raising women's issues. The different and conflicting perspectives suggest that the broader FMF movement's focus was education and this ignored gender dynamics. The #MbokodoLead emerged to fill this void through the reconfiguration of the politics of the movement but there were consequences. Nandy, an Indian female activist who played an advisory role to the movement spoke to some of the challenges that confronted the #MbokodoLead feminists:

> 'There was ongoing pushback by women. There was deep sexism. Women were sexually harassed in the process of claiming the space'[86].

What emerged from Nandy's observation was that women mobilised against deep structures of sexism and got harassed in the process of space claiming. The deep sexism that manifested in the sexual harassment of female and queer women was conducted by patriarchs described earlier as dominating the environment.

[86] Interview Nandy 08 February 2018 Wits University

Beyond physical assault, general exclusion and marginalisation mentioned earlier, one of the key fallists speaks to the ridicule and shaming of #MbokodoLead activists by heterosexual men. Dlakavu (2017) argues that there was a patriarchal narrative by some male activists that labelled women as 'counter revolutionary' and 'feminist agents'. She further argues that it was also through 'men singing I smell pussy when ridiculing faces of women who participated in #MbokodoLead' (p. 112). Subjection of women to humiliation and derogatory ridicule such as 'smelly pussy' and negative labels such as counter revolutionary feminist agents, exposed virulent patriarchy at work. This in turn, led to #MbokodoLead activists pushing back in radical ways at times.

In spite of patriarchal aggression, women and queer members fought back:

> During #FeesMustFall movement… we saw Black women, queer and trans-women claiming the space and raising their voices. They refused to allow a space where their voices and experiences of oppression could be silenced or side-lined (Dlakavu 2017, p 110).

Different encounters emerged around the subject of gender and the dynamics of violence. Dlakavu identifies the pushback by women of different sexual orientations as a critical element of their agency which allowed them to claim the FMF space and voice instead of being silenced or side-lined. Hassim (2006, p.351) clarifies that 'women's movements are not homogenous entities characterised by singular and coherent sets of demands' but can be diverse and at times with contradictory demands. Her assertions resonate with what also transpired in the #MbokodoLead. This is because although #MbokodoLead was organised and led by female activists, there were different views, experiences and outcomes. There were also shared and contested meanings and feelings. A Black queer woman activist who organised food during the movement and participated in the 'naked protest' explained:

> During the #MbokodoLead I felt superior because when we set our feet in we ripped these Black men apart. We divided them, and a lot of them conceded and the movement became easier to mobilise[87].

In the above quote, Lerato, a Black queer activist, pointed to her individual subjectivity. She felt fulfilled and 'superior' due to the impact of the #MbokodoLead on providing the agency to 'rip men apart' and divide them. In some way this shows a different framing of that moment

[87] Interview, Lerato 02 March 2018 Wits Anthropology Museum

during the movement, where an individual subject felt her superiority within contested and tensional moments. She experienced the joy of dismantling patriarchy which she perceived as a barrier to the movement's goals and capabilities. This is similar to Tracy's view that when there was parity, the movement progressed.

In contrast to Lerato's views, JB, a Black long-standing male activist and fallist who identified as an Africanist and played an important role of recruiting participants to the movement had a negative view of #MbokodoLead:

> I had always understood feminism to be about emancipation of women from the dominant violence of patriarchy. The #MbokodoLead feminists practised their politics in a way that impacted negatively on me. They started holding their own caucus meetings. My understanding of feminism shifted to be about male bashing.[88]

Lerato's pleasure in disrupting patriarchy impacted negatively on JB as he came to understand feminism from a 'male-bashing' perspective. JB's view represents threatened masculinity. The turns and shifts in the gendered contestations shaped and framed the movement as it evolved. According to Busisiwe, one of the key female activists and leaders of the overall movement, who earlier in this section framed #MbokodoLead as a protest against patriarchy argued that 'the gender disparities [in the movement] did not resolve, in 2016 it became fractured. Men felt the women had taken over. It [gender] had not been thoroughly dealt with'.[89]She described it as a fractured movement owing to unresolved gender disparities.

When some males thought women were taking over, they began arranging separate meetings that excluded women. Males resolved that women and queer activists in particular, would no longer be afforded opportunities to address or speak during meetings, which further deepened the tensions. Tracy, an international Black female postgraduate who supported the very idea of protest lamented the gender lines that had split the movement:

> And when the struggle [FMF movement] was framed in terms of 'male' and 'female' it would not move forward. It actually stood out that males wanted to be in the forefront, but funny enough the student leaders who were also movement leaders were mostly

[88] Interview JB, 07 October 2017 Wits University

[89] Interview, Busisiwe 18 April 2018 Wits Humanities Graduate Centre

> female and they were more vocal against patriarchal domination. They insisted in the accommodation and representation of women's voices than the male students[90].

Tracy's comment put into perspective gender politics, particularly at the beginning of the movement in October 2015. What came out of Tracy's perception was that when the gender cleavages such as male and female were pronounced as a way of organising the movement, tensions erupted and stalled the movement. She argued that the movement could not move forward. What it means is that the moments of threatened masculinities closed spaces for women's involvement and the movement lost its traction when patriarchal attitudes and practices of subordinating women prevailed. It was then that it became evident that male students wanted to assume total leadership of the movement through reasserting themselves to dominate the environment, according to Tracy. These continuities of gender contestation between activists brought different experiences, outcomes, impacts, meanings and feelings. The fractured nature of the movement described offered an opportunity for other specific forms of protest to emerge. At this point it is important to explore how the emerging fractures within the movement presented opportunities for the insurgence of 'The sjamboks protest' and subsequent others.

One of the long-standing and experienced activists of FMF, Keite, was specific on some of the continuities and challenges that women in general still faced during FMF building up to the appropriation of symbols of patriarchy by observing that 'sexism had become a lived experience so much that when male students touched the female students' bums it was not seen as violence because it was lived and normalised'[91]. Earlier, Dlakavu is quoted saying that the mobilisation by feminists was meant to dismantle the tyranny of patriarchy and undo its domination. Keite outlined some of the specific challenges and conditions that some women faced during FMF. These according to her, were not seen as sexist and patriarchal violence against women as they were imbedded in societal norms. This asymmetrical matrix of power subordinated females and elevated males. There is an element of continued disregard of women as shown by both Kuumba (2001) and Hassim (1991, 2002; 2006) when they reference the liberation struggle era where women's issues were side-lined. The emergence of different gender groupings in a movement to challenge repressive violence like patriarchy generate a variety of group specific demands that are different and at times contradictory. This makes it difficult to coordinate a movement with various oppressed gender identity-based groupings.

[90] Interview Tracy, 04 October 2017 Wits University
[91] Interview Keite 20 July 2018, Wits Anthropology Museum

Social identities are intersectional and contradictory while solidarities emerge and decline over time due to different priorities, needs, experiences and demands.

6.5 Shifts of gender dynamics: Sjamboks protest

The controversies, contradictions and contestations relating to the different gender dynamics that unfolded during the movement in relation to violence resulted in different perceptions and perspectives on gender relations amongst students. This also intensified the gender politics during the movement as already discussed, culminating in the rise of #MbokodoLead whose aim was to disrupt patriarchy. As the movement unfolded, gender remained a contested terrain and its gender dynamics shifted to negotiate the space. The sjamboks protest was not a single event but had dimensions and variants that occurred at different moments during the movement. One of the first narratives of the different dimensions of sjamboks protest is offered by Malabela's (2017) findings in his contributing chapter in a study of FMF at South African Universities commissioned by the Centre for Study of Violence and Reconciliation. In his findings, it was clear that the initial incidents of the shifting dimensions of the sjamboks protest started as early as October 2015, following the march to Luthuli House. For him, the debate about the dominance of males in the leadership of the movement and general patriarchy emerged during the march to Luthuli House. At this point, women questioned Mcebo and

Vuyani's dominance of the march to Luthuli House which side-lined Nompendulo and Shaeera (Malabela, 2017). One of Malabela's field work participants who was an SRC member put the narrative of the evolution of sjamboks protest into perspective:

> I remember the following day we were just going to disrupt the status quo of the university, those women came with doeks and sjamboks in numbers. They came from the OLS gate to say 'we are here to protect our fellow females; they must be given the platform'. I remember we had a mass meeting in the Senate House, [Solomon Mahlangu House], Vuyani and Mcebo attempted to co-chair a meeting with Shaeera and
>
> Nompendulo and the women said 'not today'; sadly the meeting collapsed (Malabela 2017, p 141).

What has become a common narrative so far and drawing from aspects of the narrative chapter is that FMF was characterised by male dominance. Some of the racial dynamics that I have explored in the previous chapter also express themselves distinctly when race and gender interact under violent settings such as the subjugation of Black women through rape.

Nonetheless, in the quote above, what emerges is the manner in which women mobilised themselves in numbers and appropriated a sjambok as their form of agency.

The march to Luthuli House marked an important moment in the life of the movement. Ndlovu (2017) as shown in the narrative chapter, describes the moment as a definitive one when political cracks within the movement began to show. The prime incident was whether to target Luthuli House and how to engage the ANC officials. As political cracks opened, gender politics permeated the cracks. There are different perspectives and views relating to meaning, purpose and experiences of sjamboks. For example, a Black female international PhD student and a long-standing activist and trade unionist with no political affiliation who was involved in the initial conceptualisation of the movement and in the formulation and distribution of the content for protest, underlined the political cracks and linked them with sjamboks:

> The general setback of the movement was partisan politics. Had we remained nonpartisan we would have won the struggle. The issue of the struggle for intersectionality remained unresolved. Women and queers for example fought for the space, they armed themselves with sjamboks at some point[92].

According to Thoko's observation above, Black women 'armed themselves with sjamboks' the day after the march to Luthuli House. Although now there is no mention of any violent act, what is important is that women mobilised into an 'army' and carried sjamboks. For them, the symbolic purpose of the sjamboks was protection. They said they carried these sjamboks to 'protect' their fellow females. This protection was against patriarchy and the mobilisation of an army of Black women was against what they experienced as dominant patriarchs.

Women appropriated the sjambok as a symbol of defence and protection. They also used it to negotiate and contest for their inclusion at the forefront of the movement. The first narrative presented in Malabela's quote points to the fact that Mcebo attempted to co-chair the meeting with the two female leaders but the group of Black women armed with sjamboks refused to accept that arrangement. This suggests that the women wanted the female leaders to take over completely. They used the sjambok as a symbol of their agency meant to dislodge the male leaders from power. This shows how a patriarchal symbol used to inflict physical pain and generally associated with violence, was appropriated by women to assert themselves in a patriarchal space.

[92] Interview, Thoko 02 February 2018 Humanities Graduate Centre Wits University

The march to Luthuli House occurred not far from the end of the 2015 academic year. Gender dynamics kept brewing and became a big part of the movement coming into 2016. Nandy, a Black female South African of Indian descent who played an advisory role during the movement summed 2016 this way, '2016 was much more fractured, more violent, there were more squabbles. Gender struggles operated on party lines'[93]. The fractured nature of the movement in 2016 that escalated squabbles amongst students and also intensified gender struggles, saw the sjambok protest resurface. Regarding the sjambok, Tracy, an internal Black PhD student who operated in the background but played a very supportive role in the movement once commented, 'I recall the private security guards using the sjamboks in 2016 to whip the protesters indiscriminately while the police were also shooting indiscriminately'[94]. The private security guards were generally muscular males meant to win physical battles where necessary, as a security measure. The private security's indiscriminate use of sjamboks suggests that women were also whipped by the male private security guards. The symbolic meaning of sjamboks for the male private security guards was that it stood for masculinity, control and subjugation but as appropriated by female activists, it was a symbol of equality, inclusion and protection

The shift from the symbolism of *doeks* that Black women wore when #MbokodoLead emerged to that of sjamboks when Black women appropriated this patriarchal symbol and threatened violence against men, is important. Whereas *doeks* presented women as dignified and peaceful, the sjambok represented how women could also become agents of violence. Thenjiwe Mswane, a queer woman activist epitomised this shifting narrative. Images of Thenjiwe in a scuffle with a male UCT student activist, Chumani Maxwele, during a protest at Wits, were shown on various media platforms. Shange (2017), a social research and media expert provides a detailed narrative of Mswane's interview on Radio 702 relating to this gendered spectacle. In the interview, Mswane reveals that, there had been a meeting held in Pretoria which had intentionally excluded the LGBQTIA+ and feminists (Shange 2017). Mswane then questioned the rationale for excluding women and the LGBQTIA+ feminists and activists:

> We asked one of our student leaders within PASMA… I asked him, my leader who has been excluded and who has been included? He said feminists are not allowed, queer bodies are not allowed. We then decided we were going to go to Bree[95] to buy

[93] Interview, Nandy 08 February 2018 Wits University

[94] Interview Tracy, 04 October 2017 Wits University

[95] Public taxis rank in adjacent to Johannesburg CBD where there are open market stalls where sjamboks and such related objects are general on sale.

> sjamboks, and we are going to demand that Phethani address us to the crowd (Shange 2017, p.
>
> 64).

The above quote highlights the conflictual conversation between Mswane and one of the PASMA leaders, Phethani. For Mswane, it was problematic that others excluded particular activists from the movement. On the return from buying the sjamboks, Mswane is further quoted as saying:

> When we are arrived [at the protest] I moved to the front and hit the sjambok on the floor. We said we wanted Phethani to address whether what he said to us is the stance of this collective…. We demanded to be addressed because our bodies had been put on the line (Shange 2017, p. 64).

Mswane was not by herself but with fellow queer women. Mswane's thrashing of the floor with a sjambok represents how some women responded to the violence of patriarchs by appropriating symbols of patriarchy and threatening patriarchal men with violence. Women read back to men, the latter's script of violence. This was different from the symbolism of doeks. The sjambok represented militant and radical feminism and queer politics which aimed to push back and claim the space to have their voices heard. The sjamboks protest became a source of political agency for queers.

Although not written much about, the sjambok protests marked moments of heightened tension during FMF movement. The sjamboks themselves became one of the weapons by which those marginalised sought to assert themselves and those who were dominant sought to maintain their dominance. Busisiwe one of the feminist leaders of the movement stated, that '[the] female voices were accommodated through #MbokodoLead. We did it in a militant manner, we had to get sjamboks'[96] and added, 'I took a sjambok from Mcebo and I warned him'[97]. Thus, different dynamics of violence interacted with gender and the results were associated with different aspects in the movement. Some activists associated violence of resistance with a feeling of safety, a means for inclusion, a force to dismantle patriarchy, and a form of resilience.

In the second quote, above Busisiwe shows how the same sjambok changed hands between activists and presented different meanings. Disarming Mcebo presented Busisiwe with political

[96] Interview Busisiwe, 18 April 2018 Humanities Graduate Centre, Wits University
[97] Ibid

agency and opportunity to warn him. Without the sjambok, Mcebo represented a different form of patriarchy to feminists and women in general. When the sjambok was wrested by Busisiwe from Mcebo, power shifted as seen through the situation where the potential violence of the sjambok became directed at a male who had earlier on directed it at women and feminists.

Busisiwe's account of deploying a sjambok to warn Mcebo was similar to that of Mswane who also armed herself with a sjambok and confronted Phethani, a male leader. Women activists' appropriation of sjambok to threaten men with violence complicated the gender narrative. Busisiwe one of the militant feminists and key leaders revealed how gender contestations continued: 'The gender disparities did not resolve, in 2016 it became fractured. Men felt the women had taken over. It had not been thoroughly dealt with'.[98] The accepted norm had been that men were in the lead so much that even women and some queer activists in leadership positions or playing key roles such as Shaeera, Nompendulo, Busisiwe, Simamkele, Hlengiwe, Thenjiwe and many others were side lined even by media at the inception of the protest. Their persistent push back and mobilisation of fellow feminists and queer activists led to men perceiving them as having taken over the movement. In the words of TN, a Black male activist:

> Unfortunately, the movement was masculine. I could see the violence meted out to women and LGBQTIA+. The space was too hard to push other different agendas[99].

Busisiwe and TN's views provide context and background for the sjambok protests. The unresolved gender disparities mentioned by Busisiwe represent the perpetual normalisation of structures of patriarchy although some radical feminists posed challenges against it. The violence witnessed by TN against women and the LGBQTIA+ groupings contributed to the more violent push backs, making gender to be closely linked with violence in the manifestation of the different dynamics of violence.

The third strand of the narrative of sjambok protests at Wits after the initial non-violent one at the inception of the movement and the two accounts by Busisiwe and Thenjiwe, is the #ReferenceList solidarity protest. The venue for the anti-rape culture solidarity protest was Wits University. It took place in April 2016 and it mobilised as many women and queer activists as possible. All participants paraded carrying sjamboks and their images were captured in mainstream media. Dlakavu (2016) states that sjamboks were a key element of the #RUReferenceList solidarity protest, and went on to comment, 'I was carrying one myself,

[98] Interview, Busisiwe 18 April 2018 Wits Humanities Graduate Centre
[99] Interview TN, 12 November 2017 Wits University

bare-breasted, with the word "REVOLT" written across my chest in black' (Dlakavu 2016, p. 104). These actions represented women's revolt against the ongoing rape culture on campuses. The #RUReferenceList protest was supported under a solidarity protest entitled #IamOneInThree spearheaded by Black feminists at Wits (Dlakavu 2016). The aim was to protest the high number of rape cases on different campuses estimated to be one in every three females or 33%. Thus, the solidarity protest in support of the #RUReferenceList was according to Dlakavu (2016), a deliberate space created for sharing experiences of patriarchal violence. Carrying sjamboks during this solidarity protest represented fighting back patriarchy, as Dlakavu) 2016, p. 104) put it, 'The sjamboks were about fighting back, taking back our agency and power in a moment of vulnerability'.

Research participants of this study read the meaning, purpose and implications of the sjambok differently. For some, the sjamboks came to be understood as a symbol of liberation and inclusion in the mainstream politics. The radical stance adopted in use of sjamboks was also understood as a key component of the process of self-liberation. Although it may not have been physically used as in what the private security guards did, for Black feminists, it was appropriated as a symbol, 'a message to say we were willing to fight all patriarchal and violent forms of domination physically' (Dlakavu 2016, p. 104). The message was about the readiness of the feminists to engage in a physical fight to reassert their agency and power. This represented the extent to which Black feminists could also appropriate symbols of patriarchal violence to restore their own agency and power as further confirmed by Deliwe:

> It took sjamboks for the voices of females to be included for example, Sarah and others armed themselves with sjamboks. Now I understand why they engaged in such a type of a fight during the movement[100].

Deliwe's utterance shows how the sjambok carried a particular type of symbolism that created an opportunity to reconfigure and redefine gender dynamics. Black feminists like Sarah, Busisiwe and others claimed space in mainstream student politics by spectacularising a symbol of patriarchal violence and dominance. Kima, a staff member who supported the movement and provided professional counselling brought another perspective to the symbolism of the sjambok:

> The moment had a variety of meanings. It was a spiritual and political struggle. The sjamboks protest was a reflection of the patriarchal dominance that confronted South

[100] Interview, Deliwe 28 February 2018 Wits University

> society. When we engaged female students, some of them said it was a moment where they were looking for their own identity. They said it meant that they had to confront issues with violence and anger[101].

Kima framed the moment as both a political and spiritual struggle in which a sjambok was reclaiming lost agency by using a language that had been normalised at the expense of the marginalised and less powerful–violence. The mention of spirituality is also key as it harps affect, particularly anger and violence reminiscent of Lerato's utterance about the kind of satisfaction she derived from 'ripping men apart'. The sjambok revived women's and queer activists' spirits through embracing and asserting their identity.

The link between sjamboks and identity was echoed Katty who said, 'I am a subject of identity and if one disregards those identities [women and queers], they are disregarding me'[102]. Katty's remark had links with what Kima's, particularly in the context of women and queer activists appropriating sjamboks to claim and assert their identities. Katty's self-description as a subject of identity meant that she needed her political subjectivity to be acknowledged and if not, this would invoke feelings of anger and violence of the sort already described above. In this regard, for marginalised women and queers, a sjambok was a means to subject-making and claim-making.

The sjambok incidents as a spectacle, helped to put women leaders in the organisation to the fore. Thembeka, a young Black first year female student who played an ordinary role and had no political affiliation argued that when the movement officially started:

> … female voices were narrowly accommodated by mainstream media. To the contrary, there were many females who played major roles in the movement but instead media silenced their voices and only picked one or two females. Vuyani Pambo's surface to leadership was suspicious yet he had a strong presence. You could not know that there were women organising, mobilising, even when females were arrested, their stories were not fully documented[103].

Thembeka's remark validated the claim that there was transition from the outright exclusion from the onset to a negotiated and contested inclusion of women and queer people through the sjambok. Pre-sjambok incidents, women were invisibilised and therefore, their visibility was

[101] Interview, Kima 19 June Wits University
[102] Interview, Katty 19 April 2018 Wits University
[103] Interview Thembeka, 05 October 2017 Wits University

important, as pointed out by Danai, an international academic: 'Visibility was important. The cooking, cleaning, private decisions were not seen. The experience of male students was universal'[104]. The roles played by Black women and queer activists were disregarded and subordinated as outside the main political agenda of the movement. For Hassim (1991), what sustains patriarchal attitudes is a long-held ideology which always subordinates women and whose base is material reality. Thus, gender is rooted in material base and continually expresses itself in socio-cultural traditions and attitudes (Hassim 1991).

Thembeka's submission above, suggests that media barely included female voices irrespective of their crucial roles of organising and mobilising for the movement. Media instead profiled male leaders more than their female counterparts and one of the FMF female leaders, Busisiwe, put it this way: 'Pop star Mcebo allowed them [males] space in the media[105]'. Based on Thembeka's observation, the omission of women's stories and experiences, even on mainstream media, catalysed the appropriation of the sjambok in search of inclusion and agency through identity. Visibility thus remained an important factor for women and queer activists to be seen in their own rights and be equally engaged as subjects with intellectual subjectivities.

The actions of some females and some queers like Busisiwe and Mswane can best be understood from Mama's (1995) conception of subjectivity. She accounts for subjectivity as a non-unitary and non-static subject. She clarifies that subjectivity is 'multiple, dynamic and continuously produced in the course of social relations' that are not themselves constant but changing and contradictory at times (Mama 1995, p. 02). Personal subjectivities and intersubjectivities emerged relating to personal experiences and how sjamboks came to be experienced individually and collectively. A symbol of liberation, representation, reclaiming lost identity, protection, fighting back and others, illustrates the different and multiple symbolic representations of how the sjambok came to be experienced and interpreted over time as violence also continued to shape relations.

Symbols represent and signify different meanings when they are appropriated by different gender groups against each other. For feminists and queer activists the sjambok was symbolic in the mobilisation of solidarities with one another as oppressed groups. The appropriation of the sjambok became symbolic in the asserting the agency of marginalized women. The same symbol signified a different meaning when appropriated by male private security guards who

[104] Interview Danai 26 April 2018 Wits University

[105] Interview Busisiwe, 18 April 2018 Humanities Graduate Centre, Wits University

sought to exert their masculinity. This explains that our understanding of identity-based social movements is nuanced by the depth of our analysis of objects and particular body parts as symbols of meanings. Black feminists kept fighting back to restore their lost identity and restore their agency and identity and by so doing had to change tactics to fight back the escalating violence of patriarchy. Thus, the 'naked' protest emerged to quell the escalating violence.

6.6 Shifts of gender dynamics: the naked protest

By October 2016, the student movement entered an era of unprecedented violence, numerous universities faced the prospect of suspending the 2016 academic year (Hodes 2016, p. 1500). In the narrative chapter, I also showed how intense the month of October 2016 was at Wits. It was characterised by back and forth negotiations for a political settlement, increased police and private security presence and patrol on campus, police shootings, curfew and many student arrests. The preceding announcement of the 8% fee increment for the 2017 academic year in September 2016 by DHET Minister, Nzimande, also sparked ongoing violence during October 2016 which strained relationships between students and management. At some point, Habib (2019) described those moments as when 'hell broke loose' to demonstrate the 'hellish' conditions that eventually prevailed on campus, especially in October 2016.

It is important to briefly give context to the naked protest at Wits University. It was not a single event but three incidents on the main campus at Wits. Their contexts differed. The first naked protest incident happened in April 2016. This protest was witnessed during a solidarity protest that was entitled #IAmOneInThree, as explained earlier, organised by Black feminists at Wits University to support the #RUReferenceList. Dlakavu, one of the key feminists involved, indicated that she had bared her breasts and media showed a group of half-naked Wits women during this moment. The second naked protest event happened on 4 October 2016 and three feminist Wits students on campus executed it. They removed their tops and created a buffer between charging police and protesting students. Ndlovu (2017) explains that the aim of this particular 'naked' protest was to stop the violence between armed police and male students. That is, it was aimed to stop the police from firing stun grenades, tear gas, and rubber bullets and the male students from throwing stones at police in retaliation.

There is also another single incident more or less similar in context to that of the three female students but is not written about. At the time of conducting field work and during follow ups, I was not able to establish the exact date of the incident. Chronologically, this incident happened after the naked protest by the three female students because they are regarded to have inspired the workers and brought new life to protest politics on campus. This event was witnessed by

one of the research participants, NTKZ and no other participant spoke about it during field work. One of the elderly workers who had witnessed police shooting rubber bullets at students executed this particular naked protest and she confronted them by removing her clothes and saying they could as well as shoot her too.

Mazibuko (2020) posits that, intersectionality is in itself a methodology. During FMF some feminists of used their nakedness as a method and strategy of protest. Intersectionality as a methodological choice requires the use of various forms and methods of protest to challenge systemic oppressions (Mazibuko 2020). The feminists' use of nakedness as a form of protest is representation of the multiplicity of different challenges faced by Black women during the movement. After ceasefire when the police could not face the nakedness of female protesters, female students had moments to reflect on their different and intersectional challenges in the movement.

I now delve into the narratives and specifics of each of these three incidents, chronologically, starting with #IAmOneInThree. This solidarity protest initially emerged from a mass mobilisation by some Black feminists at UCT who demanded that an alleged rapist who had reportedly raped a young Black female student at Azania House during protest be held to account (Dlakavu 2016). The Wits student newspaper, *Vuvuzela* (2016) captured images of another different incidence of 'naked protest', the #IamOneInThree Wits rape protest. Various captions emerged from the images of #IamOneInThree staged at the front of the Great Hall stairs. The following were some of the captions:

> 'Niks Mapha! Not for your consumption.'
>
> 'Stop the war against our bodies.'
>
> 'One rapist, Ten sjamboks.'
>
> 'Not in my cookie' [Directly translated from Zulu].
>
> 'Revolt.'
>
> 'My body my choice.'
>
> 'Hayi ekhekheni lami.'

Most of these #IAmOneInThree 'naked protest' captions were body paint inscriptions on the topless bodies of some of the female protesters. The main theme derived from the above 'naked

protest' talks to those of both the #MbokodoLead and sjamboks protests. The 'one rapist ten sjamboks' caption for example, brings the significance of sjamboks in the fight against patriarchy. Patriarchy was also central in the gender politics that played out in the other two key movement protests that were organised by female and queer activists. The call for 10 whips of the sjambok for every rapist was a statement that supposed that if each male rapist got 10 whips it would assist to lessen brutal patriarchy while the half-naked bodies represented the demand for women's visibility and revolt against rape and rape culture as suggested by one of the inscriptions above. Some of the captions further illustrate that women's bodies were not objects of sexualisation but instead theirs, hence the 'war' against objectification and subordination. *'Hayi ekhekheni'* lami loosely translates to '*not in my cookie',* with reference to the colloquial term for vagina – cookie. It speaks against wanton violation of women's bodies as consistent targets for rape or sexual abuse.

At the centre of many of the images of the #IAmOneInThree 'naked protest' were visuals of topless women and many others fully dressed and gathered in solidarity. Simamkele Dlakavu, one of the key fallists in the movement is captured live on YouTube on that particular #IamOneInThree 'naked protest' in which she narrates her rape ordeal and states that in an ordinary conversation with three other female students, it came to her attention that they also shared similar experiences. She goes on to state that in the previous year [2015] yet another female activist had been raped in Azania House. The purpose for protesting half-naked was to call for the restoration agency and human dignity for women. This represented how women could appropriate their bodies as a resource to challenge patriarchy and its violent manifestations, including rape. Another phase of a 'naked' protest surfaced later as the movement continued and violence escalated. It occurred on 4 October 2016 as recounted by NTKZ, a member of the observation team of the FMF protest and Academics for Free Education during the movement:

> I remember when we left the Holy Trinity Catholic Church some of the women had an informal discussion and one of them was saying I am tired of us being led by men and also being harassed by the bouncers[106] and being shot at by the police, *mina* [I myself] I am ready now for the 'naked protest'[110].

[106] Most of the outsourced private security officials were heavily built in stature hence referred to as bouncers.
[110] Interview NTKZ 07 March 2018, Wits University.

Thus, the speaker cited by NTKZ resorted to the 'naked protest' to reassert herself in the face of patriarchal and repressive forms of violence. NTKZ narrated further:

> At some point I lost this group of women I was chatting to … I was saying this is amazing – the police are backing off, is this really happening? I was now in the middle of the group and after some time, I ended up at the front… the woman that I was talking to earlier had started the 'naked protest'… and that's why the police were withdrawing. In our African culture, a man cannot look at a woman's nakedness if it is not their wife[107].

Three half-naked female protesters forced the police to withdraw and stop their violence, in a manner that recalls the human shield that was constructed by Whites with the same effect. The 'naked protest' symbolised the voices of oppressed women against the tyranny of patriarchy during the movement, as expressed by Keite, one of the female FMF activists:

> The naked protests attacked the structures of power of the same society that is sexist and heteronormative. Society started to see the power of femininity through naked protests[108].

For Keite, the 'naked protest' was an illustration of the power of women in confronting social ills of the subjugation of women. By 'attacking', she meant confronting and disrupting the status quo of patriarchal dominance and the masculinities used to side-line and silence women in the movement. There was, as indicated earlier, the other solo 'naked' protest incident by a middle-aged female worker as witnessed by NTKZ:

> So I remember this incident, this mama[109] … there was a group of mamas, I think they were part of NEHAWU[110]…and they were confronting the police and here is the thing: in most African women protests, the idea of stripping your body as a sign protest, is something thus done but when the situation is extreme…, we had seen it done by our women students before, but when I saw it being done by one of the mamas [Women] who was literally, *eeeeishhhhooooo* [a deep sigh and cried

[107] Ibid.

[108] Interview Keite 20 July 2018, Wits Anthropology Museum

[109] Reference to a matured woman that can be one's mother

[110] A trade union named National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union

> uncontrollably for about two minutes] in tears and standing in front of the Nyala. I was behind them [women] and she just started taking off her clothes[111].

Like Keite and other activists, NTKZ also recounted how a group of politically affiliated women staff members also protested against police violence apart from students. NTKZ's recollection involves affect. She related in her narrative account that the middle-aged woman was in tears when she stripped half-naked to confront the police. In this instance, gender manifested through emotions as expressed through tears. Thus, women can negotiate violent spaces through their emotions and in the process, challenge some cultural customs or appropriate cultural knowledge about gender and its use during moments of violence.

The protesting woman challenged police to shoot and kill her first with her half-naked body. What emerges from this narrative is that while women cannot equally apply the physique that masculine males can to confront violence, they generate emotional responses based on well-known cultural knowledge regarding gender and violence. It is equally important to analyse how this naked protest impacted NTKZ's own subjectivity. She got deeply affected by the sacrifice displayed by this woman against the enduring power of patriarchy, which necessitated such a response. Although the elderly woman's nakedness had the power in stopping the police from shooting at students, it degraded.

The 'naked protests' were organised in different ways. The one by the three feminists that NTKZ narrated earlier confronted physical and repressive police violence, as did that by the solo middle-aged NEHAWU woman activist. The #IAmOneInThree 'naked protest' was more of a political statement against structural forms of violence. Some of its protesters carried sjamboks and its performances were non-violent. It also entailed instances of women lying on the ground in silence. Given the different dynamics of the naked-protests, there were mixed reactions amongst students, some workers, media houses and the public. It is also important to state that some of the feminists and queers who participated in the naked 'protests' also participated in #MbokodoLead and sjambok protests. For Deliwe a worker activist, 'The violence of the movement was traumatic and female students were forced to be half-naked to stop violence by exposing their breasts'[112].

According to Deliwe, violence and trauma impacted on women, forcing some to expose their breasts to symbolically challenge patriarchy in all the three 'naked' protests. In spite of the

[111] Interview NTKZ 07 March 2018, Wits University
[112] Interview, Deliwe 28 February 2018 Wits University

trauma, women, according to Stella, were motivated to fight relentlessly: 'Women were ready to fight back because they were being violated every day for so long. We were not backing off they could do whatever they could we were not backing off'[113]. Although police were deploying violence against the students, Stella states that they were not prepared to back off. The everyday violation of women speaks to some of the experiences already stated by other activists. In all other feminist struggles that emerged, resilience was common.

Not everyone saw the 'naked' protest in a positive light. Tracy, an international PhD student who was in the background during the movement, holds a contrasting view to the perceived positive outcomes of the 'naked protest':

> I felt my gender inferiority, I felt that my gender was compromised by the time the ladies stripped half-naked. I also felt exposed because most of those ladies who had stripped half-naked as I hear were feminists. I do not subscribe to that kind of feminism. I subscribe to stand point feminism where you acknowledge that you are a woman but you do not have to expose body essentials to prove you are a feminist. I felt that was exposing my vulnerability as a woman[114].

While Deliwe and others for example, held positive views of the protest, for example that exposure of breasts stopped police violence, for Tracy, such exposure had a negative impact on her gender positionality because it disempowered and exposed her vulnerability as a woman. NTKZ indicated earlier that naked protests have a history in African women protests. She argued that they are usually conducted during desperate moments when there are no other alternatives to restore or take back agency. Thus, naked protest for some was a door out of vulnerability but for Tracy, it was a total trap into vulnerability.

A trade unionist perspective from Stella brings another dimension:

> It was an emotional moment when women took off their clothes and exposed their feminine organs. The patriarchal voice ridiculed them. Society viewed the half-naked protesters as barbaric while on campus we viewed the naked protest as a tool for our own liberation from a feminist theoretical perspective[115].

[113] First Interview Stella 01 November 2017 Wits University.
[114] Interview Tracy, 04 October 2017 Wits University
[115] First Interview Stella 01 November 2017 Wits University

The moment was for Stella, emotionally charged, which puts into context what NTKZ meant by 'naked' protest as a last resort, a gesture whose poignancy was missed by some feminists and patriarchy. NTKZ expresses some of these contradictions this way:

> I am honoured to say I was in solidarity with the half-naked protestors. I understood it and some of our male comrades you could see they were a bit embarrassed by this… they felt we were now hijacking the agenda. But strategically and tactically at that point it worked. It was done to win the battle for the day because war was still ongoing[116].
>
> If you were not a Black woman in the protest you would not have understood why we did that [half stripped] and what it meant because after that…there was some bashing on media. I remember there was this other DJ [Skhumbuzo 'Skhumba' Hlophe]…he
>
> was saying 'what were they doing with their droopy breasts' …still attacking the Black woman's body when she is laying her body for a bigger cause… you cannot expect even your brothers to understand why you go to that extreme[117].

In this utterance, NTKZ suggests that one needed to be fully immersed in the movement, both politically and emotionally, and be a particular feminist to be able to fully understand the 'naked protest' and its meaning. This moment, according to NTKZ and like-minded feminists, although emotionally charged, was liberating for them. She cites on the other hand, DJ Skhumba who was both politically and emotionally detached and as expected, espoused a patriarchal stance of ridicule and body shaming. The naked protest for her, shifted the balance of power in FMF to correct invisibilisation:

> …Many of us were in the frontline but whenever the story is going to be told we will be erased and it is going to be to be your Mcebos. The frontline men were the super heroes of it all forgetting that your Simamkeles were there, your Hlengiwes were there and your Sarahs were there…[118]

Thus, NTKZ read the 'naked' protest not only from its affective but also affirmative angle which meant that female activists could not be erased any more form the narrative of the movement and they were also empowered in the same motion. For NTKZ, Simamkele, Hlengiwe and Sarah were some of the key feminists whose stories should not have been superseded by those of male leaders such as Mcebo. Hlengiwe and Sarah are the two of the trio

[116] Interview NTKZ 07 March 2018, Wits University.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Interview NTKZ 07 March 2018, Wits University.

that that executed the naked protest in question while Simamkele as stated earlier was central in the #IAmOneInThree solidarity naked protest amongst many other incidents.

The Black women who bared their bodies to stop police violence are were also seen by some Black activists as having made a sacrifice compared to white students compared to the white students who had formed a human shield. The white students did not have to strip half-naked and expose their bodies' essentials and they had the option not to construct the human shield but Blacks were at the extreme end without alternatives and without racial privilege. In spite of these perceived positive outcomes also mentioned by other activists like Stella and Mathapelo, Tracy remained unconvinced:

> There were instances that indeed haunted me as a Black female. I will use the incidence where some ladies had to strip half-naked. That made things worse because they were called stupid feminists. Nevertheless, may be thus their weapon they can use to fight the system but it made it worse[119].

Although some of the feminists and activists did not physically participate in the naked protest, they embraced it as their collective struggle which empowered and liberated them. However, Tracy felt the protest had invited public comments such as 'stupid feminists,' which made the whole situation worse. At the centre of the of the 'Naked' protest was the portrayal of how nakedness of a Black female can be appropriated as symbol of protest yet a half-naked top part of a woman can be sexualised and ridiculed by patriarchs. Women inscribed their half-naked bodies with statements that spoke to their intersectional experiences of oppression.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter illustrated through various incidents and different forms of violence, that gender became a contested terrain which manifested in outright exclusion to negotiated and contested inclusion. Different forms of violence emerged with different targets and for different intentions and purposes as well. There was violence of patriarchy by the male students which dominated and excluded women from equal participation and side-lined their voices. This male-female contest characterised the movement from its very onset. The rise of #MbokodoLead as a platform of intersectional feminism was aimed at disrupting the domination of female and queer students by male students. Outright exclusion of women from political participation, political leadership and decision-making was negotiated and contested by females through the appropriation of symbols of patriarchy to threaten violence in order to

[119] Interview Tracy, 04 October 2017 Wits University

achieve inclusion. The first account of the appropriation of symbols of patriarchy was during the march to Luthuli house in October 2015 which was in contradiction with the fallist paradigm and pursuit.

Intra-student tensions ensued on political grounds and moments of violence generally escalated through intense police and private security violence into 2016. Private security guards exerted their repressive patriarchal and masculine violence through the appropriation of the sjambok. An intersectionality approach to the analysis of patriarchy in this chapter deepens the social power relations and the dynamics of oppressions. After the feminist insurgence through emergence of #MbokodoLead, male students regrouped in 2016 and re-negotiated the establishment of their lost patriarchal dominance through a secret and exclusionary all-male meeting. This development illustrates how gender exclusion was negotiated and contested. The moment was contested by queer feminists, throwing the movement into another fierce contestation for inclusion. It became a forceful and insurgent inclusion because queer feminists appropriated sjamboks, a symbol of patriarchy, to disrupt the meeting and negotiate their inclusion.

The repressive violence of the police and private security guards intensified and escalated in 2016 in efforts to forcefully stabilise the campuses. Some male police officers were involved in repressive and physical scuffles with a female student at some point. The forceful police violence in 2016 saw radical feminists changing their tactics of contesting domination by staging a naked protest. The naked protest had a crucial significance because it happened now police were aggressive and shooting at students. The naked protest's symbolic significance is that it simultaneously pushed back the repressive forces of the police and challenged the practices and leadership of male comrades.

The outright exclusion of women and their contested and negotiated inclusion harks to earlier situations in liberation struggles where women were side-lined in mainstream politics. Historically, women's movements did not explore aspects that had to do with the struggles of women either but focused instead, on national matters of a political matter. The FMF operated on a similar script from inception, where males generally took the lead and sustained their exclusionary patriarchal dominance through violent tactics such as physical assaults of some feminists by fellow male students. The next tactic employed was the naked protest which forced patriarchy to retreat but evinced different views regarding its value. By analysis feminism was instrumental in the mobilisation of the different intersectional gender oppressed groupings to pursue their own struggles without a single group taking a dominating role.

Chapter 7

7. Citizenship: its dynamics, experiences of exclusionary national citizenship and the emerging feminists aligned with Pan-Africanism

7.1 Introduction

Pan Africanism was perceived by some South African FMF activists as an inclusive continental citizenship which they appropriated as a strategy for mobilisation beyond state-based citizenship. Neocosmos (2016) reveals that Pan-Africanism was founded on the demand for universal freedom, justice and equality for all African people. The strategy to mobilise a Pan-Africanist approach based on justice and equality for all Africans failed to work in the context FMF where local national interests were at stake. The main challenge to Pan-Africanism as an ideology and tactic of mobilisation was the emerging politics that came to characterise the movement. While the Pan-Africanism ideology is founded on African inclusivity, the exclusionary nationalist tensions and partisan politics discussed in the previous chapter divided students into various strands based on citizenship. Neocosmos (2016) explains that nationality can be linked to the idea of a nation founded on indigeneity and controlled by a state-based political criteria. In the case of FMF, a state sanctioned political delimitation was against the social mobilisation that FMF activists wanted to adopt. Falling into the trap of state-based political criteria of citizenship, the students were politically pitted against each other as local/foreign and citizen/non-citizen.

Nationalist tendencies, sentiments and interests came to shape the understanding of how the movement could proceed. There were views and utterances among some local students which prioritised a national agenda that saw international students pushed to the periphery. Of particular note was the memorandum of demands that sidelined international students' needs concerning tuition fees, making it difficult for them to feel they were a part to the bigger cause. International students were subjected to tendencies of discrimination and xenophobic utterances by some locals, making them to lose a sense of belonging from a Pan-Africanist perspective. This sparked divisions among local students turning against each other to condemn some perceived insensitive utterances towards international students. In particular, groups of feminists and queer activists who had emerged from male domination aligned themselves with Pan-Africanism against nationalist citizenship. Intra-student conflicts and tensions in 2016 resulted in the entrenchment of exclusionary citizenship which further weakened the

mobilisation of Pan-Africanist ideology. This impacted on the relationships between national and continental African students.

The violence that ensued resulted in contested citizenship where the feeling among some international students was of fear of deportation and arrest by the state. The state-based criteria of citizenship which sanctioned international students as non-citizens in South Africa, widened and weakened the initial Pan-Africanist thought of citizenship. Part of the contradiction in the Pan-Africanist model of social mobilisation against the adoption of a fallist mandate was in the superficial handling of the intersectionality of blackness and citizenship at the expense of nationalist interests. In this chapter, I show how the nationalist interest and contested citizenship and past realities of xenophobic experiences shaped the relationships within a contested and violent environment. The essence of this chapter is that the contested citizenship based on the statist way of defining citizenship and nation also intersected with how a Black and racialized citizen came to be understood and self-understand during the movement.

7.2 Context to key research participants for this chapter

Most of the participants that I featured in the previous chapter also feature in this chapter except for Dickinson, Depalesa, Susan, Thando and Veritas as well as two focus groups. All the key participants, including new ones who did not feature in the previous chapter, were key actors. They brought different backgrounds, ideologies and roles into play, in the context of the dynamics of citizenship in the movement. These participants constitute local and international students whose experiences in different aspects of activism and protest movements were important for this chapter. They had different experiences of belonging during the movement which highlights how citizenship intersects and interacts with other social categories of identity.

Among the participants in this chapter, are long-standing labour movement activists, trade unionists, radical feminists, gender activists, advocates for anti-racism and proponents of Pan-Africanism. They all bring their vast experiences in different struggles of exclusion and representation into contestations of the politics of belonging and identities. Some of the activists such as Tino and Tracy, both international students, bring individual experiences concerning student politics and representation. Their voices on discrepancies and exclusionary student political structures are profound and provide a sense of how they understood the politics of exclusion as non-citizens. Radical feminists such as Lerato and Keite, both South African nationals, bring queer politics experiences and Pan-Africanist ideologies respectively. The intersectionality of the activists' feminist queer politics and their Pan-Africanist views for

example, shine a light on important aspects on citizenship. All the experiences of participants in this chapter illustrate how identities and ideologies shape and reshape particular ways of understanding citizenship as activists self-identify in particular ways at different times in the same movement.

The participants in this chapter had contrasting experiences and views regarding the meaning of citizenship. On one hand, for some activists like JB, Tino, TN, Katty, Tracy and the inter-University focus group participants, citizenship became a terrain of volatility, brutality, xenophobia, exceptionalism as well as racism. On the other hand, some activists like JB and Danai for example, state that they experienced moments of unity, solidarities and Pan-Africanism at some points. These shifting different experiences, perceptions and self-understandings among different activists in the same movement are helpful in exploring the fluid and contested nature of citizenship.

7.3 Background to the chapter

> The movement was legitimate. It was indeed a progressive struggle because it attempted to accommodate the issues of the poor, confronted class mobility and addressed inequality. The students achieved in 10 days what Vice-Chancellors failed to achieve in 10 years[120].

It is imperative to begin this chapter with a reiteration of its intersectionality with the previous race and gender chapters. This is important because gender contestation in the form of insurgent radical feminists and queer activists fought male domination in ways that shaped particular framings of solidarities of oppressed citizens. The other dimension is that Black feminists shared lived experiences of racialized and gendered exclusions which shaped their Pan-Africanist citizenship ideologies which constitute an important theme of analysis for this chapter. In the above epigraph, then VC of Wits, Adam Habib, sums up some of the key aspects of this intersectionality. The issues of poverty, class struggles and general inequalities that he mentioned are important social conditions and existential realities that confronted the majority of the students. Such conditions defined them as Black citizens with a myriad of intersectionality.

The struggles of a poor class of Black students, their contested gender identities and racial profiling presented the overall intersectionality of blackness that local and international students encountered during FMF. These socio-economic conditions were more or less the

[120] Interview Professor Adam Habib, Vice-Chancellor 12 June 2018 Wits University

markers of this particular type of exclusionary citizenship. The experiences and fears of state violence, including memories of past xenophobic attacks framed, shaped and transformed the understanding of citizenship. This was because xenophobia in South Africa was at times mediated by the shared experiences of social-economic conditions of existence including shared cultural elements. It must be noted that beyond the fear of xenophobic eruption, the state itself as shown in the past chapters was fearsome. It unleashed repressive violence through its police targeted at Blacks. Yuval-Davis' (2007) notion of multi-layered citizenship suggests that people's citizenships are shaped by their locations within each polity. International students were aware that they were trading on thin ice when it came to full rights of citizens because of their location as outsider-insiders.

The two preceding chapters have shown that part of the challenges that confronted the movement actors were the interactions and intersections of race and gender, not as monolithic but as intersectional social categories. Those racialized and excluded on grounds of gender and their sexual orientations were citizens and non-citizens constituted by the intersectionality of these social categories of identity. This makes citizenship inseparable from gender and race as social constructs of identity and difference. This intersectional relationship made instances of discriminate violence, institutionalised racism and violent patriarchy to affect and transform categories of belonging, exclusion and inclusion.

In essence, students as the main social agents of the movement were racialized and gendered citizens. It emerged that the impact of selective repressive violence and to an extent, patriarchal violence, impacted and shaped gender and racial inclusions and exclusions which increased chances of feminists' inclination towards non-exclusionary citizenship. The emerging intersectionality that I see blending all the three empirical chapters is that for example, some feminists that encountered race and gender discrimination were also exposed to the many struggles of exclusionary citizenship that I explore in this chapter. I mention these race and gender tensions deliberately. This reminds the reader of the social conditions and existential realities that confronted and characterised the majority of FMF activists as Black citizens. In light of this background, I mainly focus on the emerging perceptions and perspectives of being citizens and non-citizens as mediated by Pan-Africanist and nationalist citizenship. The experiences and views of students at the inception of the movement, as it unfolded and at its end are important in showing the transformations in the understanding and social mobilisation of particular strands of citizenship during different movements of violence in relation to different scales and types of violence.

7.4 Outsiders inside the movement: from exclusion to negotiated/contested inclusion

> A fellow international student from Zimbabwe explained that he was not keen to be active in the protests because of his precarious position as a foreign student. He argued that his fear was that if the protest were to turn violent and if he was arrested, he may be deported and risk not completing his degree. He raised concern that most of the police officers… have what he called 'xenophobia syndrome' (Chinguno 2017, p. 140)

In this opening citation, what emerges is the additional precarity that foreign nationals had going into the movement. Foreign nationals' agency and subjectivities were punctuated by fear of arrest, deportation and the potential risk of not completing degree programmes. This is how some foreign nationals understood the meaning of the movement in view of how vulnerable they were as continental African students. The beginning of the movement in October 2015 was marked by international students' fear of the state and as already shown in parts of the previous chapters, scholars have accounted for South Africa as a police state. The anticipation of the protest turning violent, stripped international students of any agency making them insider-outsider type of citizens that had to negotiate and navigate their inclusion. However once they negotiated their inclusion through the mobilisation of Pan-Africanist ideologies, once insiders, they encountered repressive forms of violence and some intra-student xenophobic utterances or fears.

At the beginning of FMF movement, the events that influenced the fate of international students particularly Black women included the mutinous #MbokodoLead which fought patriarchal dominance. The significance of this moment going forward relates to the complex intersectionality challenge that faced foreign female students from the onset. While there was generally international students' fear of the state and other factors such as thoughts of possible violent xenophobic attacks, foreign Black female students were already faced with patriarchal domination. The patriarchal domination of the movement from the onset meant that foreign students, particularly females, had to settle for a contested and negotiated inclusion.

As indicated in the previous chapter, one of the international postgraduate students and long standing activists, TN, provided a context concerning the circumstances that culminated in the insurgence of #MbokodoLead. The context he provided captures the essence of the contestations and negotiations for inclusion and exclusion of international students which unfolded over time during the movement as he remarked that:

> Unfortunately, the movement was masculine. I could see violence meted out to women and LGBQTIA+. The space was too hard to push other different agendas[121].

The closed space that international students found themselves faced with opened at some points through the radicalism of the feminists. The mandate of #MbokodoLead as detailed in the previous chapters was among other developments that it disrupted the dominance of patriarchy and protected female and queer students. This contributed to the opening up of spaces to include the voices of international students. As an illustration that the space was closed from the inception of the movement in 2015, NTKZ, JB and Tino provided interesting narratives relating to the intersectionality of challenges which international students encountered in relation to negotiating the closed special and political environments.

NTKZ was a prominent female South African activist and member of the Observation Team as well as the Academics for Free Education during the movement. JB, a dual citizenship holder and senior postgraduate male student, was a fallist and recruited students to join the movement. Tino was an international Black student who identified as a Black African and foot soldier who was in the leadership of the Zimbabwe Student Association. They provided the following narratives:

> I did not relate with international students that much. There were some from the African Centre for Migration and Society[122] that I had some chats with. They expressed their frustration and anxiety. We cannot be as vocal as the rest of you because at the end of the day *thina* [we] we are non-nationals…we can just get kicked out and never be able to get our student visas again[123].

> There was limited participation from international students, they had lived experiences of past xenophobic attacks so they were unsure if they were welcomed in the movement.

> Instead, foreign students' participation was erratic because they feared that they could be deported or black listed without renewal of their visas[124].

> There was a challenge in bringing international students on board. There was a political gap at the level of Student Representative Council. As international students we

[121] Interview TN, 12 November 2017 Wits University

[122] One of the Research entities at Wits University offering postgraduate studies focusing on politics of migration and society

[123] Interview NTKZ 07 March 2018, Wits University.

[124] Interview JB, 07 October 2017 Wits University

> advocated for a creation of a permanent international student seat in the SRC executive. The SRC had Sports Council, University Residence and Postgraduate Association as additional seats and there was nothing representing the international student voice[125].

International students and local students were from the onset and early stages of the movement as well as during different subsequent moments that unfolded, separated by statist notions of citizenship. International students feared participation and some local students had no relationship with them due to some of these existent exclusive statist citizenship arrangements and institutionalised structural limitations which separated students into categories of different nationalities.

This nationalistic grouping was also evident during the crafting of the memorandum of demands presented to the university authorities at the beginning of the movement. The memorandum did not include the hefty percentage of upfront tuition fees required from international students. Tied to this was lack of international student representation in the SRC as Tino pointed out above. A permanent international student political seat could have bolstered the Pan-Africanist mobilisation that the movement attempted to explore but its absence revealed the nationalistic orientation of the student body. The existent state and foreign citizens' relations were such that international students conceived the state from the onset as a political actor and aggressor with the agency to 'kick them out' and deny them student visas.

JB expanded on NTKZ's account of the cause of low participation by some international students when he added that besides the fear of being deported, low participation of international students was based on lived experiences of spates of xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals in the country. This made international students according to JB, unsure if they would be welcomed as equal participants and citizens in the movement. The nationalistic character of the movement denied FMF an opportunity to fully explore different strands of feminism such as transnational feminism, which could have sustained its fallist mandate. Be that as it may, the agency and subjectivities of international students transformed over time from the confines of bounded citizenship to the possibilities of different models of flexible citizenship.

One of the bases for the 'Black Child' formulation was a strategy to negotiate the inclusion of Black students of African continental descent amid the limitations of statist citizenship which is exclusionary and nationalistic. The hurdle that faced FMF activists from a mobilisation

[125] Interview, Tino 02 February 2018 Wits University

perspective was the bounded nature of citizenship. Bounded citizenship according to Nyamnjoh (2007) is highly hierarchal, in-egalitarian and affects 'individuals differently as informed by race, ethnicity, class, gender and geography' (p. 730). To overcome the realities of bounded citizenship, FMF activists and fallists framed the movement from a Pan-Africanist type of continental citizenship of the Black child narrative.

By Pan-Africanism, the understanding according to Neocosmos (2016) is that it 'was founded on the demand for universal freedom, justice and equality for all African peoples and was perforce irreducible to narrow national interest' (p. 125). The point of emphasis is the movement's realisation of the need for justice and equality for all Black students without being bogged by narrow national interests.

Conceptually, the theory behind the Black child narrative's its intended ideological framing was in the social mobilisation and incorporation of all intersections of the race, gender and citizenship and other forms of oppression and inequalities that affected poor class Black students. However, its ideological premise did not translate to pragmatic application and social mobilisation because its anchors of Pan-Africanism, Black Consciousness and Feminism did not fully address the realism of nationalist differences. Black students had different statist framed citizenships, languages, cultures, racial experiences, different feminist ideologies and the mobilised Black child narrative practically excluded those who remained socially located outside its Pan-Africanist version of fallism. The concept of justice and equality for all remained a contested terrain. The students' mobilisation Pan-Africanist solidarity failed to address their intersectionality, which was shaped by the social divisions of citizenship and gender within the Black student collective.

A Black international academic, Danai, who was a member of the Academics for Free Education, an ally, and feminist activist relates a Pan-Africanist strategy that the movement employed to galvanize its mobilisation:

> The perceptions and relations with international students started to shift through language and songs during the movement and through language and songs the movement became located in Pan-Africanist thoughts[126].

Danai highlighted how the movement allayed the fears that some international students had at its inception through the appropriation of language and songs as symbols of inclusivity to level the unequal ground. The significance of this strategy lies in her mention of transformative shifts

[126] Interview Danai 26 April 2018 Wits University

from pre-existent hostile attitudes between local and international students to the embrace of a Pan-Africanist ideology. Language played a role in bridging the gap between some local and international students which was one of the strategies some international students employed to undo the social distance between them and their local counterparts.

Chinguno, one of the international senior postgraduate students, fallist and long-standing trade unionist with experience in the trade union movement in Zimbabwe reflects on the value of language as a strategy of navigation and negotiation of inclusion during FMF:

> My position as a Black 'foreign student' with an ability to speak at least one of the main local South African languages was critical in understanding the underlying dynamics and meanings related to the experiences of international students (Chinguno 2017, p. 138).

Like Danai, Chinguno, identifies language and its symbolism in negotiating and navigating inclusion, as aspects of forging a Pan-Africanist narrative. While songs played a significant role in mobilising and locating the movement in a Pan-Africanist model founded on freedom and justice for all Africans, language was also a factor. Although Chinguno refers to official local language, in the methodology chapter I indicated how 'kasi lingo' or township language assisted me to negotiate and navigate my inclusion to become an insider. Language had a similar symbolic significance like songs during the movement as it bridged the insider-outsider relations. Songs were composed with messages of African solidarity while the language carried political terminology that also embraced friendship and unity. The term 'leadership' in the political and protest space in South Africa for example, became part of the slogan to address each other, especially in meetings. The term accords one with honour and respect and elevates them to a status of recognition within a political space although not necessarily always occupying a leadership position. It is such language of politics and relevant songs that mobilised the Pan-Africanist orientation of the movement. One of the common Pan-Africanist songs during the movement was the 'decolonised national anthem' or Fees Must Fall Anthem whose lyrics were as follows:

> Nkosi sikelel' iAfrica. Maluphakanyisw' ukhololwayo, yizwa imithandazo yethu sibemoya munye. Noma sekunzima emhlabeni, sihlukunyezwa kabuhlungu Nkosi siphamandla okunqoba silwe noSatane.
>
> *God bless Africa, let the believer be raised up. Hear our prayers in one spirit. Even when it is hard in the world and we are tormented so badly, Lord we have the power to win and fight against Satan.*

The message in the above loosely translated FMF anthem calls for divine intervention in blessing Africa, in this case, calling for universal freedom and justice for the Black African child even during hardships such as police brutality that Black students encountered. The message also called for the Almighty, the Lord, to grant them power to fight all evils and this was accommodative and embracive of all protesters irrespective of nationality. Its composition is Pan-African. The posture and focus of the movement at its inception was to mobilise all Black students beyond the nation-state, South Africa.

One of the earliest tests of the Pan-Africanist orientations of the movement was the organised march to occupy Luthuli House on 22 October 2015. This day, as has already been discussed earlier, was characterised by political factions based on partisan differences and the PYA dominated SRC affiliated to the ANC, losing grip of leading the movement. The next important incident was the march to the Union Buildings on 23 October 2015 which marked the government's no fee increment announcement. The two marches to Luthuli House and Union Buildings are both important because they show how the Pan-Africanist mobilisation eventually transformed and broke down into nationalistic orientations of the cleavage of citizenship. The failed Pan-Africanist version of social mobilisation of intersectional solidarities meant that patriarchy prevailed, a racist-classist profile sustained and while other forms of hierarchies which marginalized women and queer activists remained unresolved making them lesser Black citizens who became unequal nationalist feminists.

Ndlovu (2017), a fallist and feminist refers to the tensions and partisan politics that played out during the Luthuli House march as a 'final fall down'. This final fall down marked what she describes as the 'turning moment of the movement', which resulted in students returning from Luthuli House as divided groupings. For another activist, Moloi (2017), post-Union Buildings was 'when the real struggle began'. After these two moments, the majority of international students and local students advocated returning to class. This episode also marked the beginning of a real struggle related to contestations between local and international students which eventually culminated in various intra-student tensions and contestations. JB accounted for part of the emerging inter-nationality contestations:

> Some local students went to the West Campus Village which housed foreign students to attack and force them to participate. They were saying international students must bear the brunt of brutality because of their lack of participation[127].

[127] Interview JB, 07 October 2017 Wits University

JB reported coerced participation of international students by the local students. His account, similar to others that emerge later, shows how violence was mobilised by local students for a coerced inclusion and for exclusion through defining the goal of the movement as only a national agenda, marking a shift from the initial Pan-Africanist agenda. This moment of tensions and contestations over whether or not to continue with the movement and the threat of coercion to participate happened at a time that also witnessed political infiltrations. The combination of these factors contributed towards the destabilisation and weakening of the movement's Pan-Africanist ideologies.

The two opposing positions which divided the movement regarding the continuation and discontinuation of the movement carried into 2016. This opened a new chapter and started the real struggle to borrow from Ndlovu (2017), which pitted locals against foreign students. This shaped a particular narrative which framed the divisions, rifts and frictions between the Black dominant citizens and their oppressed counterparts. The common and intersectional struggles such as gender disparity, and institutionalised racism targeted at Black students through repressive and brutal police violence to mention a few, assisted Black students particularly feminists and queer activists to challenge exclusionary citizenship through Pan-Africanist citizenship.

7.5 Radical feminists taking a Pan-Africanist stance to disrupt exclusive patriarchy

When the movement was seen to exclude women and queer people, some radical feminists organised and mobilised to fight against male domination in ways that aligned them with the Pan-Africanist ideology. As already indicated, radical feminists and queer activists experienced the violence of patriarchy emerging from within the student body.

In the previous section, NTKZ and JB's views outlined the vulnerability of international Black students from beginning of the movement. This provided context from which citizenship can be socially and intersection ally experienced and lived where there is potential for intra-protestor violence and the fear of a retributive state through immigration regulations. A Black queer feminist and South African student activist who participated in the 'naked protest' accounted for her challenge of nationalistic tendencies of her fellow students:

> I fought with my fellow local comrades against their xenophobic tendencies towards international students because they did not understand the impact of their actions. Their

> actions were undoing our agenda because we had included international students from inception[128].

Unlike NTKZ who earlier indicated her brief interaction with international students, Lerato was immersed in their lived experiences. The mandate and agenda for #MbokodoLead feminists and queer feminists was to fight social injustices of structural gender and sexual oppression in search of equal citizenship. Lerato's push back language presented her as an advocate for equal citizenship, which was anchored on the ethos of fallism. She understood the impact of xenophobic tendencies and practices differently from some of her fellow local students. The symbolism of her push back is similar to the human shield created by White students and academics; she became the shielding voice and agency for international students. This transformed their self-understanding of being non-vocal, devoid of a sense of belonging, frustrated and anxious that JB and NTKZ's narrations earlier revealed. Lerato did not stick to an insider nationalist position but used the queer feminist agency of her citizenship to bring the outsiders (excluded voices) into the movement.

Another key feminist and one of the vocal leaders of the movement, Busisiwe, reflected on the situation of the movement that called for a strand radical feminism:

> It was very difficult for the movement to overcome the insider-outsider politics because international students feared that if they participated in violent protest and are arrested they would be deported with criminal records. It became our mandate to assure them protection[129].

The fate of international students and how they perceived the actions of the state also surfaced in Busisiwe's submission in the above quote. Like other previous views, the emphasis was on international students' living in fear. Busisiwe echoed Lerato concerning assuring international students in order to allay their fears of deportation. In particular, their views emphasised the role played by feminist politics in mitigating the disparities in citizenship. The agenda and mandate of the feminists was to empower the marginalised and excluded groupings to transform them from being fearful to being fearless, and from being voiceless (non-vocal) to having a say in the movement.

The greater part of 2016 was a counter reality to the Pan-Africanist ideology that feminists and queer feminists advocated. Xenophobic and narrow ethno-nationalist practices confronted and

[128] Interview, Lerato 02 March 2018 Wits Anthropology Museum

[129] Interview Busisiwe, 18 April 2018 Humanities Graduate Centre, Wits University

undermined the Pan-Africanist mobilisation. Feminists Busisiwe, Keite, Stella and others involved in different activist intersectional work from within the movement and beyond presented some of the accounts:

> As an activist my personal loss from the movement is that I realised that there was still South African exceptionalism. There were still xenophobic sentiments. I lost a sense of belonging. As much as we appeared united, we were divided. I could see the exceptionalism playing out. *Thana* [We] as South Africans, this utterance was dehumanising as particular voices were silenced and excluded[130].

> Equal citizenship was very important. Our attitude towards Black international students and the ideological debate showed me that we were very xenophobic. We made them feel bad and we forgot that they were here on borrowed time. We left them to participate at their own call. Home was down the road for us but what about international students[131].

> During the movement I did not see any equality on citizenship but maybe xenophobic practices and tendencies. Violence instead impacted on the movement and widened the cleavages of citizenship. Violence dug deeper and uprooted the hidden realities[132].

The radical feminists and queer feminists, by way of reiteration, had a mandate to push the Pan-Africanist ideology and to disrupt the intersectional male domination in search of equality and freedom for all. TN, Keite and Stella in the above citations mention a common xenophobic dimension that contributed in the division of the movement into nationalistic exceptionalism. There was a shift from the Pan-Africanist agenda into new nationalistic debate which framed a different agenda where xenophobic sentiments, tendencies and practices emerged and circulated. This new focus occurred at a time when there was intra-student violence which weakened the movement resulting in queer politics also emerging to join the bigger #MbokodoLead radical feminism.

At the level of identity politics of belonging, TN identified the language of exclusion such as 'we South Africans' which was attached to exceptionalism. This marked a shift from the Black child narrative under which the movement had been framed at inception. Keite used the term 'Our' to refer to local students' xenophobic attitudes against 'international' students, a tendency

[130] Interview TN, 12 November 2017 Wits University

[131] Interview Keite 20 July 2018, Wits Anthropology Museum

[132] Repeat interview Stella 24 July 2018 Wits University

that she condemned. Fominaya (2010) observes that conflict provides the basis from which group identity and solidarity become consolidated, rather than shared interests. Accordingly, emerging conflicts in the form of intra-student xenophobic related violence shifted from the initially shared Black child Pan-Africanist common agenda into narrow nationalistic and exclusionary citizenship narrative. The other important fact of note is the shift in the use of language. Initially language was used as a symbol to mobilize intersectional solidarities among all Blacks of different experiences of oppressions. Eventually, as TN indicated above language became a symbol of exceptionalism, exclusion and discrimination, which entrenched statist forms of citizenship.

The intra-student violence and tensions demonstrated that the solidarity and allyship according to Tracy, was superficial. This as I earlier argued, was because the Pan-Africanist-Black child narrative version failed to fully capture what fallism as concept had intended to address due to diversity and intersectionality of blackness. TN also agreed that although activists appeared as united, they were actually divided. The movements of intra-student tensions that feminists sought to disrupt showed signs of unequal citizenship. While a Pan-Africanist agenda embraced all Africans as Blacks, the tensions shifted this sense of belonging into the loss of a sense of belonging experienced by TN. As indicated earlier, the downfall of Pan-Africanist mobilisation was in regarding blackness as homogenous or unitary, which sidelined its intersectional challenges and social location in relation to gender and citizenship. This meant that due to the brewing tensions that pushed back activists into national citizenship, some remained excluded. For TN, this had a negative impact on his subjectivity because for him, xenophobic sentiments and utterances of exceptionalism were dehumanising. He did not only lose a sense of belonging and subjectivity but equally, his agency, as he became part of the silenced and excluded voices of a category of nationalities.

Keite as one of the key feminists of the movement aligned to Pan-Africanism, like TN, accounted for the negative impact of xenophobic tendencies which made international students feel unwanted and excluded. Keite still remained aligned to Pan-Africanism with preference for equal citizenship. This also put into perspective, the epigraph that quoted the then VC on categories of inequalities which were also used by TN and Keite to frame their lived experiences of unequal citizenship. Keite remained pro-Pan-Africanist and was ashamed of the impact of the intra-student violence which marked a territorial and spatial distinction of citizenship based on the delimitations of the geography of nation-states. Thus, she was not happy that international students were being mobilized to fight other forms of violence, including the state and the police. For her and fellow South Africans, ‘home was down the

road' while it was not for internationals (beyond the South African borders). She lamented the lack of measures to protect international students against the potential police raids.

These xenophobic related tensions contrasted with the call for equal citizenship that some feminists advocated for. Depalesa cited below, argued that exclusionary citizenship based on ethnic nationalities was more pronounced before the movement started and these cleavages shifted towards solidarities during the movement. Her observation was different from Stella for example, who lamented that she did not see anything that could warrant equal citizenship:

> The movement had different moments, for the greater part of it there were class and citizenship-based tensions. During the struggle we were united but under normal circumstances the reality was that Indians would be on their own. The nationality citizenship issues had always been a problem so when local students confronted international students they did it tactfully[133].

Depalesa introduced another dimension beyond xenophobic tendencies and argued that the usual nationalist-based citizenship pre-existed the movement. Although Depalesa's view was that when intra-student tensions ended the movement transformed into the pre-existent ethnic and citizenship-nationality categories that she mentioned, Stella held a different view. For her, different forms of violence such as the repressive state violence and intra-student violence crystalized these ethnic-based citizenship realities and exposed their existence. Her thesis was helpful in understanding how the radical feminists and queer feminists emerged. They emerged in the context of structural gender and sexual oppressions that females and queer activists experienced through violence.

In spite of the majority of the feminists cited above citing the positives of pushing and fighting against all odds to advance a Pan-Africanist agenda, one of them Katty, differed:

> I do not have anything to say about Pan-Africanism and Black Consciousness during the student movement except that Pan-Africanism is great for the mobilisation of African solidarity but has its own challenges as an ideology[134].

Katty held a long-standing activist title and also played important roles in the movement but refuted other feminists' views. She understood Pan-Africanism differently. For example, Danai had regarded language and songs as symbols of Pan-Africanist unity and ways of presenting a

[133] Interview Depalesa, 01 June 2018 Wits University
[134] Interview, Katty 19 April 2018 Wits University

non-territorial type of citizenship, for Katty Pan-Africanism was great only at the level of solidarity. Pan-Africanism in simpler terms has the idea of uniting all Africans into common citizenship as well as equity in social, political and economic matters. This means Katty's stance was that different nationalities must only come together for solidarity reasons. She was thus opposed to the Pan-African perspective of citizenship which can be argued to be an embracive and political union of all indigenous Africans as equal non-territorial citizens.

Chinguno, one of the fallists and international postgraduate students observes that it was not only Katty, a long-standing female activist or local students who contested Pan-Africanism. Chinguno (2017) states that after his address in one of the mass meetings where he had motivated for the movement to explore a Pan-African perspective, he was confronted by several international students. He says he had advocated for unity and solidarity through a Pan-African perspective

The different moments of violence that Stella referred to in one of the previous citations which relate to #MbokodoLead feminists and queer activists' activism had a huge impact on the movement. These include the #IAmOneInThree in April 2016, the Naked Protest by three Wits feminist students on 4 October 2016 and the Naked Protest performed by a middle-aged woman after 4 October 2016. These and other forms of violence did disintegrate the movement into divisions that feminists sought to fight against. These developments alienated international students. The different moments of the movement that feminist and trade union activist, Stella, mentioned in the above citation show how these moments of violence sharpened the experiences of exclusive national citizenship. These distinctions become clearer in the next section.

7.6 Perceptions and perspectives of fissures and fractures of citizenship

The concept of citizenship was conceived and experienced differently over time by different activists during the movement. This is because citizenship is not homogenous or unitary. It is socially constituted in ways that interact with other social categories such as of race, gender and class. The context from which the radical feminists and queer feminists operated was characterized by intra-student violent tensions that had some xenophobic tendencies. Alongside the intra-student violence were other specific events, moments and developments of repressive violence that sharpened the experiences of exclusive national citizenship. I explore international students and local students' experiences of exclusive national citizenship in relation to the impact of intra-student violence and repressive violence of the university authorities and the state. Different forms of violence shaped the participants' self-

understanding as local or international students and also shaped and transformed their relationships and attitudes towards one another during different moments of the movement.

This section is in three parts. The first deals with the experiences of international and local students as impacted by the symbolic violence of the university administrative systems, regulations and operational functions. The second explores international and local students' experiences of exclusionary nationalist citizenship in relation to the emerging repressive violence of university authorities and the state, as well as intra-student xenophobic related forms of violence. The third deals with accounts from focus group sessions. To reiterate, international students at the inception of the movement had misgivings relating to their active participation in the movement. The accounts relating to the international students' experiences of exclusive citizenship can be understood in three parts. Firstly, at the inception of the movement the international students were challenged by the exclusionary university administrative systems, regulations and operational functions. These denied them equal access to funding opportunities or equal participation in student politics. Landau and Misago (2009) make an important observation on the notion of exclusion. Landau and Misago (2009) observe that, in the case of social and political rights, including economic ones, where there is belief that such rights are tied to territorial origins and physical location, such perspectives lead to varying degrees of social and institutional exclusion. The following international students' accounts express how some of the moments of the movement impacted on their experiences of exclusion right at the beginning of the movement.

> The moment which made me feel that our nationalities were inferior was when we sat with the Vice-Chancellor and the University Registrar. The reality was that our concerns and issues as international students were being subordinated. The mistake was to only zero on fees and management failed to address the key issues of international students. The rest came as natural consequences of the struggle[135].

> There were political, structural and deep social issues of difference that preoccupied the minds of international students as they considered the realities of participating in the movement. Key issues of international students were more or less similar to those of their local counterparts. They were subjected to institutionalised racism, sexual harassment by the security guards, subjected to patriarchal domination, discriminated on classist basis, were poor and struggling to pay tuition fees. The senior executive at

[135] Interview, Tino 02 February 2018 Wits University

> the meeting with international students did not include these intersectional struggles of Black international students.
>
> Solidarity and allyship was superficial and only needed for the movement…we are studying to finish our degrees and take jobs away from them [locals]. But for that moment they needed the voices from the rest of Africa[136].
>
> Papers [identity documentation] for some of us were not in order. Therefore, if the Universities are centralising the application system then it is excluding some of the students from accessing resources. For poor Black students being at University was a career and means to access funding that would otherwise not be possible if one was not a student[137].

The above utterances were from Tino, Tracy and Depalesa – all international student who commented on the nature and depth of the exclusion that students encountered. Although identity documentation is generally beyond the university's mandate, Depalesa also brought to the fore matters of the university's exclusionary administrative and operational mechanisms. To this end, both Tino and Tracy speak about deeper social and political issues that the management failed to address. For Tracy, there was an intersectional array of factors that influenced the thought and level of participation for international students. She said after completion of their studies, foreign nationals were generally faced with the difficulty of being absorbed into the job industry. This challenge was at times characterised by violent xenophobic attacks by locals as a mechanism of resisting the absorption of foreign nationals. With this reality in mind, for Tracy it meant that any form of solidarity or Pan-Africanist mobilisation was superficial and at best was restricted to the movement.

That university management was engaged by the movement but did not resolve any of the key issues that defined being an international meant, according to Tino, that international students' issues were not equated to those of local students. This resonated with what Landau and Misago (2009) define as varying degrees of social and institutionalised forms of exclusion. Tracy's mention of the structural challenge of international student politics invoked Tino's earlier mention of discrimination in the SRC permanent seats allocation, which excluded international students and infringed on their political rights. The lack of a substantive international students' seat in the SRC structures deemed international student participation as worthless given that

[136] Interview Tracy, 04 October 2017 Wits University

[137] Interview Depalesa, 01 June 2018 Wits University

their concerns and rights were not recognised by the university management. This excluded international students making their solidarity and allyship questionable because of the lack of a formal political channel within the student political structures which addressed their rights. The structure of the student political system on campus according for Tino was crafted in an exclusionary manner that did not represent the international student voice. What emerged from this view was that representation, agency and political subjectivity remained entirely dependent on the flexibility of local students on an informal basis. This means political inclusion and other forms of inclusion remained a struggle that was experienced, negotiated and reconfigured as the movement evolved.

Some of the key exclusionary issues that Tino mentioned without detail were amplified in the intersecting social and economic challenges that also excluded students based on being noncitizens. At Wits University and other universities, funding was generally a challenge and NSFAS only catered for a particular class of local students. Depalesa mentioned that international students were already excluded on the grounds of citizenship when it came to funding opportunities like NSFAS. This institutionalised and national government condition confronted international students and for Depalesa, accessing funding for international students was almost equal to a career because it became the only form of income. For Tracy, some of these social and economic exclusionary issues mentioned by Depalesa in reality were structural and were deeper social issues of difference. Her point illustrated how citizenship intersects with other social realities such as poverty experienced by the majority of Black students.

Tino, Tracy and Depalesa's accounts of the intersections of a social, economic and political nature showed a common narrative that international students' experiences of exclusionary national citizenship were deeply rooted in the normalised differences of inequalities. von Holdt (2012) refers to this as a symbolic form of violence because this normalisation becomes 'the crucial mechanism through which social order, and the hierarchies and structures of domination it sustains, is reproduced over time' (p. 115). These forms of social order and hierarchies as well as structures of domination do not only become normalised but also become formalised and institutionalised such as the exclusionary SRC political arrangements. One other important factor of note according to von Holdt (2012) is that symbolic violence is generally a gentle violence and invisible at times to its victims.

Within an environment of normalised symbolic violence, local students also had their own formulations, conceptions and experiences of citizenship, and these transformed or affected their relationships with international students. Feminist and Pan-Africanist Katty, and feminist

fallist and leader of FMF, Busisiwe shed more light on citizenship-based relations at the beginning of the movement, respectively:

> In the beginning, the movement was educational and friendly. We learnt about protest strategies of direct contact and direct action. This encompassed what to do when directly confronted by violence during protest. The other personal benefits were in making new friends and gaining new contacts, gaining new ideological knowledge in Black feminism[138].

> I led #MbokodoLead to fight for our [women and queer activists] inclusivity. It was a protest against patriarchy[139].

The two above citations show the significant role played by the local feminists in mitigating and bridging the political and social distance that had kept local and international students apart. Although international students were left out in the student politics and from various other social issues Tracy, Katty and Busisiwe mention the making of friends and the pursuit of Black feminist ideologies and being leaders of #MbokodoLead. The Black feminist ideology and #MbokodoLead as a feminist movement empowered women and queer women irrespective of their citizenship. As an inclusive platform, the voices of the majority of women were represented and this broke the nationalist barriers in ways that mobilised Pan-Africanism.

However, an inclusive and embracive model of making friends held by Katty and Busisiwe was not shared by NTKZ. The latter was one of the most involved activists in a number of capacities as already articulated but she argued:

> I had a sense that probably there was a feeling among international students that it was not their fight because *bona* [they] they had already paid international fees. I remember having discussions with colleagues in other departments who questioned the fate of international students and I said can we deal with international students once we have sorted our own national students? That was very wrong of me but that was pretty much what the thinking was within the broader movement. It was like you want to join us and show solidarity that's fine…but at this point we are dealing with a national agenda. Therefore, it is either you understand that and you work with us…or you do not[140].

[138] Interview, Katty 19 April 2018 Wits University

[139] Interview Busisiwe, 18 April 2018 Humanities Graduate Centre, Wits University

[140] Interview NTKZ 07 March 2018, Wits University.

NTKZ presented a shift from the Pan-Africanist agenda and mandate that feminists Busisiwe, Katty, Lerato and others advocated. Her narration spoke to the contradictions regarding the role and inclusion of international students from the onset. In the above evocative quote, NTKZ although seemingly progressive, had a counter nationalist attitude towards international students. For NTKZ the movement was a struggle for a national agenda and international students' issues were secondary and would be dealt with later. This was a citizens first and non-citizens later model when it came to the politics of distribution and allocation of resources. Holston and Appadurai (1996) formulate a dimension of citizenship that goes beyond just political rights. Some of the rights that go beyond rights to political participation are those in the public sphere such as civil, socio-economic and cultural ones but more importantly, dimensions of membership that define meanings and practices of belonging in society (Holston and Appadurai 1996). NTKZ's focus on South Africans first emphasized a different kind of citizenship from that whose meanings and belonging is founded on Pan-Africanism. Hers was nationalist citizenship prone to repressive violence of non-nationals.

NTKZ's sentiments presented rigid options to international students because for her, international students needed to appreciate that the movement's primary focus was the national agenda or remain out of the movement. She stated that international students were made aware by their local counterparts at some point that their participation was only for solidarity reasons, to pursue a national cause. This stance echoed or qualified Tino's sentiments on citizenship that he felt foreign nationality was inferior thus making any allyship or solidarity according to Tracy, superficial. NTKZ's stance although at a personal level, was one in the realm of systemic exclusion and symbolic violence.

The emerging nationalist sentiments at this early stage of the movement in 2015 reveal a contradiction with Pan-Africanist mobilisation at the same time. This assumes that although solidarities emerged they sustained and collapsed, transformed and shaped the level of exclusionary citizenship over time. The contradicting ideas and experiences on Pan-Africanist and exclusionary national citizenship that both international and local students embraced or opposed, presented opportunities for direct violence between students to emerge. The developments as the movement progressed and evolved were that symbolic forms of violence transformed into repressive violence of the university authorities and the state as well as intra-student xenophobic related forms of violence. The symbolic violence transformed into actual intra-student protest violence which brought different experiences and shaped the international students' experiences of exclusionary national citizenship. International students encountered

the shifts from symbolic forms of violence at the beginning to intra-student violence and the repressive violence of the university authorities and the state.

Student divisions and conflicts erupted as the movement evolved and tensions mounted from late 2015 into 2016. Some international students provided accounts of their experiences of exclusionary citizenship:

> The two young men who blocked the entrance explained that they were not going to allow anyone onto campus. They declared that the alternative was for us to join them to ensure that the shutdown was effective (Chinguno 2017, p. 137).
>
> As international students we were affected, we had nowhere to go because we could not leave residences. Residences were closed down and resident students were displaced[141].
>
> This lack of clarity or indifference in many ways deepened the divisions amongst Black students based on citizenship, which is a social construction of the colonial and capitalist project (Chinguno et al 2017, p. 27).
>
> The moment that made me feel that my nationality was inferior was when we tried to explain to them that at times free education does not solve anything but makes things worse. However, because we were Zimbabweans they would argue that you cannot tell us anything where is Zimbabwe now? You guys are suffering because you lost it with a White man[142].
>
> We were telling them something valid that it is free education that actually destroyed Zimbabwe. However if you are from Zimbabwe they see you as an inferior person even though we are [more] academically astute.[143]

When developments in the movement shifted from the symbolic violence of university authorities to intra-student forms of violence, fallist Crispen Chinguno, in his contribution chapter in *Rioting & Writing: Diaries of the Wits Fallists* (2017) and Depalesa, a fellow international student, raised interesting experiential accounts. Chinguno relates the fate of being a foreign student, firstly the symbolic blockade of entrances and secondly, mobilisation of violent solidarity. With reference to the blockade of entrances, Chinguno (2017) reports that it

[141] Interview Depalesa, 01 June 2018 Wits University
[142] Interview Tracy, 04 October 2017 Wits University
[143] Ibid

was his first encounter of the movement. During this first encounter, he was confronted by two protesting students who used their bodies to block one of the entrances to the University.

He describes his experience of confrontation as 'violent solidarity' and explains that violent solidarity is when violence is used to forge collective solidarity. As an international student, he was coerced into solidarity and blocked from entering the university space. The blockage of the entrance stripped international students of their own choices and rights of decision as citizens. He uses *them* and *us* categorisation which suggests that the two identified the other on nationalist grounds and solidarity was through coercion and violence. Depalesa mentioned the closure of residences resulting in the displacement of international students, leaving them with nowhere to go. The blockage of entrances and closure of residences denied international students rights to space. This brought to the fore the relevance of the notion of space and its significance in illuminating international students' experiences of exclusive national citizenship. Landau and Misago (2009) insist that there is need to pay attention to how fragmentary identities become spatially rooted and that rights to space can become resources for ethnic or racial mobilisation. In view of the fragmented and divided relations that existed, for example the use of 'them' and 'us' in Chinguno above, the notion of space and how it shaped the experiences of exclusionary citizenship is important.

The absence of social space for accommodation and inadequate political space in the SRC presented international students as dispossessed subjects. Similar to Chinguno's citation, this suggested that international students had no option but to join the movement and 'shutdown' the university as a space. The notion of space in its physical, social, political and economic form as already indicated, in particular the absence of it, unveils hidden and deeper issues that affected international students that Tino and Tracy mentioned earlier. The shutting down of the university as a space was an attempt to make it as accessible as possible to all students. Landau and Misago (2009) reiterate that the rights to space become resources for ethnic or racial mobilisation. The violent intra-student coercions characterised by indifference impacted on the transformation of an initially Pan-Africanist understanding of citizenship into a different social construction. From

Chinguno's account cited above, the emerging development was a social construction of a nationalist citizenship which had a negative impact. Tracy's experience refers to a different moment from those of Chinguno and Depalesa. The talk of free education emerged post-no fee increment announcement of 23 October 2015. At this time, students became divided concerning going back to class with a few members maintaining that the government concession did not address the bigger goal of free education. This disagreement was carried over into 2016 and

caused violent tensions among students and between students and the police. These violent clashes impacted international students' experiences. That South African students disagreed with Zimbabwean students' experience of free education which further underlined the divide between local and international students.

International students felt disregarded and dismissed by their local counterparts, a feeling that impacted the subjectivities of international students on aspects directly or indirectly linked to the movement. For Tracy there was a shift from the initial inclusive Pan-Africanist approach to citizenship to a nationalist perspective of exclusionary citizenship that deemed non-South African nationalities as inferior. The conception by some local students that Zimbabwean students for example, were suffering as a result of their state's failures to deal with White power, further pushed their relations with locals in a precarious direction since the Zimbabwean students were imbricated in their country's failures to deal with whiteness.

The following section deals with local students' accounts of the period of transition from a Pan-Africanist mobilisation of the movement to moments and developments of emerging student conflicts and repressive violence of university authorities and the state. The specifics are that the symbolic violence of university systems transformed into actual intra-student protest violence, which brought different experiences and shaped the local students' experiences of exclusionary citizenship differently. To recap as a way of offering background relating to local students' experiences, the period under review as indicated in the previous chapters saw the rise of #MbokodoLead feminists and eventually the radical feminists and queer feminists who fought male domination and aligned themselves to Pan-Africanism. Many of the local student feminists and other female students at the time as illustrated by their cited accounts in the race chapter, challenged and condemned the racially rooted exclusionary citizenship:

> 2016 was much more fractured, became more violent, there were more squabbles and intense gender struggles. The movement operated on [political] party lines and citizenship remained entrenched in divisions[144].

> The movement lost focus and direction in 2016 and we became too preoccupied with the suspension of our comrades. We lost handle of the patriarchy and homophobia[145].

[144] Interview Nandy 08 February 2018, Wits University

[145] Interview, Katty 19 April 2018 Wits University

> Our student movement was a bit removed from addressing the needs of international students. There was this incidence where local students were saying we are putting your issues on the agenda but we are not seeing your bodies in the frontline. You are not coming on board as militantly as the rest of us[146].
>
> We were dealing with so many challenges. We still had Blacks who wanted to be Whites. Nationality as much as gender continued to be problematic without a coherent programme of engagement. There were ongoing tensions among students and there were divisions between patriarchs and feminists[147].
>
> The moment which made me feel ashamed of my nationality was when Mayor Herman Mashaba spoke badly about foreign nationals. This destroyed my energy and stance and to me the FMF movement was a waste. It was bullshit his sentiments were based on lies[148].

The intra-student violence resulted in violent coercion and violent solidarity according to international students. Local student activists Nandy, Katty and Busisiwe in the above citations describe the movement after its transition to intra-student violence, further complicated by repressive violence of university authorities and the state as fractured, without direction and dealing with too many challenges. In the context of emerging student tensions between national (local) and continental African students (international), the fractured moments of the movement abandoned Pan-Africanism and adopted a more nationalist agenda of 'them' and 'us'. The submission by Busisiwe who was a feminist, leader of FMF and one of the fallists that they were dealing with many things puts to context the fallist paradigm and the intersectional realities that students had to confront. A nationalist agenda is one that remained consistent with exclusionary citizenship earlier raised by NTKZ at the inception of the movement. This was a South Africans first and non-South Africans last approach.

A closer look into Nandy's citation in one of the above quotations revealed that state of fracture had many fault lines, among them, intra-student and repressive forms of violence, as well as party politics. The partisan politics already excluded the bulk of international students and their issues. This is because as earlier shown by some international students, international students did not have a formal political party representation or seat allocation in the SRC structures. A partisan politics route technically excluded international students in the main. This drew the

[146] Interview, NTKZ 07 March 2018 Wits University

[147] Interview, Busisiwe 18 April 2018 Wits Humanities Graduate Centre

[148] Interview, Lerato 02 March 2018 Wits Anthropology Museum

exclusionary line that separated local students from their international counterparts. The partisan politics route had an impact on ensuring that citizenship remained rooted in divided partisan politics, and in the process excluded those that were not politically represented. This created locals as subjects with agency and excluded international students as those without political agency.

When the university authorities unleashed their repressive violence on the protesting students and effected suspensions and expulsion, the movement plunged into confusion and lost focus. The loss of focus by the movement leadership translated to failure to deal with opportunistic patriarchy and homophobia which further meant the movement lost grip of Pan-Africanism. Busisiwe confirmed in her narration that divisions between patriarchs and feminists widened. This impacted on citizenship, blackness and the social mobilisation strategies of inclusivity because students were not embraced as equal citizens but further categorised into conflictual social categories of identity thought by some students to be irreconcilable. Citizenship in the movement became hierarchical in several aspects – for example nationality, party loyalty, gender and sexuality. Consequently, different forms of rights ranging from political, social and economic remained unequal and became more pronounced.

The local students experienced the effect of the movement's loss of focus and direction according to NTKZ, through its abandonment of the needs of international students. NTKZ mentioned the extreme division that emerged between local and international students where international students were requested to rise to the occasion and be as equally militant in fighting back the violence of the police. This demand by local students exposed the inequalities and differences of citizenship. This is because the international students feared the extent and depth of their vulnerability because they had very little if any of the civil rights that their local counterparts had. The deportability and precarity of international students revealed earlier, weakened them to challenge the state and repressive violence. The vulnerability of international students and militancy of local students during moments of repressive violence from university authorities and the state, shows the magnitude and depth of difference in the context of bounded citizenship and the meaning of its manifestations. This can be illuminated by Landau and

Misago's (2009) conception of the reality surrounding exclusionary citizenship, that discourses of indigeneity can be mobilised to exclude competitors from political and economic resources. In instances where exclusionary citizenship is accepted, naturalised and used to reify national boundaries, the results usually become xenophobic (Landau and Misago 2009). Local students experienced and acknowledged that there were instances during moments of repressive

violence or intra-student tensions where nationalist ideology was rooted in xenophobic and exceptionalism tendencies.

According to Lerato, one of the queer activists with a persistent passion for equality, what also fuelled and naturalised the national boundaries were the generalised and careless sentiments of the then City of Johannesburg Mayor, Herman Mashaba on foreign nationals. For her, the sentiments were unfortunate and undermined efforts to instil a Pan-Africanist agenda in the movement. Although referring to a different context, the former mayor had castigated foreign nationals for various scandalous acts of hijacking buildings in the inner city, among other things. Lerato argued that the mayor's sentiments were misplaced and unfortunate because they impacted negatively on her equal citizenship activism during the movement.

Beyond individual views of either local or international students, were those that emerged from focus group sessions. The focus group participants also reflected on the moments of violence and how those sharpened and shaped their own experiences or understandings of the interactions of violence and citizenship during the movement.

> Citizenship remained a volatile ground for xenophobia[149].
>
> The FMF movement became a contested terrain of socialist ideas which collided with political ideologies such as nationalism. The movement introduced identity politics which manifested into open physical clashes which widened the question of identity politics[150].
>
> We were re-writing our own narrative. There is power in political freedom. We had freedom but we did not have rights. It was not only about the right to free education but it was about our African identity[151].
>
> Race and nationalism became the instruments of violence and this resulted in class oppressions, identity clashes and exclusions based on ethnicity, nationality, religion and other social identities, resulting in the movement going out of hand[152].

What emerged from the above focus group quotations is critical. The notion that citizenship remained a site of contestation gives perspective on the understanding of how intra-student

[149] Focus Group Discussion- Inter-university students, 28 April 2018 SWOP Resource Centre Wits University
[150] Focusewf`70 Group Discussion –WASP, 03 March 2018 SWOP Resource Centre Wits University
[151] Focus Group Discussion- Inter-university students, 28 April 2018 SWOP Resource Centre Wits University
[152] Focus Group Discussion –WASP, 03 March 2018 SWOP Resource Centre Wits University

tensions and the repressive violence shaped and transformed relationships between local and international students from a different perspective of the previous discussions. The reason why citizenship remained a contested site was better contextualised by the Workers and Socialist Party (WASP). WASP's view amongst others was the idea to have the university as an equal community where rights, resources, ownership and privileges were based on the principle of equality clashed with the prevailing exclusionary nationalist ideology of citizenship. The clash of these unreconciled ideological differences and positions impacted on identities of difference in ways that exclusionary nationalist citizenship erupted forcefully.

The realisation of these paradigms of difference and exclusionary identity politics called for some students to object to such a status quo. The student focus group constituted by students with inter-university lived experiences shared different experiences and ideological positions. At stake was not just access to free education but the grand contestation to redeem African identity, its ethos and values as opposed to institutionalised and systemic forms of symbolic violence that divided students. This qualifies what WASP meant by the clashes that invoked and brought identity politics to the centre of the contestations. As an overall view from these focus group sessions, what is worth noting, based on the theme of this chapter, is that violence interacted with social cleavages and particular individuals or groups became excluded on the grounds of ethnicity and national identity. The common understanding from these focus group session discussions was that, ethnic and nationalist exclusionary citizenship became the drivers and components of the intersectionality of violence and social cleavages. This violence and interaction of social cleavages shaped and transformed student relationships based on identity politics and citizenship features as one of the central areas of contestations.

There were shifts, transitions and transformations in the relationships and attitudes between local and international students as well as towards and against other key non-student research participants. These were interlinked and shaped by different forms and levels of dominations and exclusions in addition to contestations against particular forms of exclusive identities in favour of those perceived as progressive and inclusive. These experiences led to research participants' overall pronouncements on citizenship as reflected in the selected citations below:

> Violent incidents assisted in showcasing the xenophobic elements in the attitudes of some South African students towards international students[153].

[153] Interview JB, 07 October 2017 Wits University

> Violence impacted on the cleavages of citizenship. On campus for people who did not know me I was an enemy. I was a colonialist although I sought to work with the new South Africa[154].
>
> Violence united Black students. Nationality was overcome and one of the key students in the movement was a foreign student[155].
>
> Violence for me was inevitable, much as White people could make a shield to protect Blacks. The violence between Whites and Blacks emanated from failure to understand each other[156].

JB, Dickinson, Thando and TN represented an interesting sample from a nationality and positionality point of view regarding violence and nationality. The four citations were from, from JB a postgraduate student with dual citizenship (Zimbabwe-South Africa). Dickinson, an academic, FMF ally and activist with dual citizen (Britain-South Africa). The others were Thando a staff member, trade unionist and activist of the movement, and TN, an international student with long-standing student activism. What was interesting from these different roles, nationalities, races and positionalities in the movement was that their experiences and understandings differ.

For JB, violence brought into sharp relief, manifestations of exclusionary citizenship during moments of intra-student violence through xenophobic attitudes. Different forms of violence meant different experiences and conceptions of the movement. For TN, although Whites constructed a human shield to protect Black students, this did not put an end to the ambiguity of White solidarities. Although Tracy explained that intra-student violence showed traces of xenophobic attitudes towards foreign students, TN's comment on the other hand brought a different argument. His argument was that, violence between Blacks and Whites emanated from a lack of understanding one another as different races. This explains the existence of racial attitudes at some point where some Whites did not empathise with Blacks who were being subjected to police brutality. This means that based on the different experiences during the movement, citizenship in South Africa was still mediated through racial differences. In this regard, being a South African citizen did not matter that much but race did.

[154] Interview Professor David Dickinson 15 June 2018 Wits University
[155] Interview Thando, 05 June 2018 Wits University
[156] Interview TN, 12 November 2017 Wits University

Although some Whites were also South African, there were instances when they were antiFMF. During such moments, some Whites did not support the struggles of the Black South African students but as TN explained, failed to understand and contextualise Black students' experiences. There was also an element of inter-racial violence where Dickinson was perceived as an enemy because of his race in spite of his positive involvement and support of the movement.

While violence in its various forms and dimensions had different impacts on diverse participants as shown above, Veritas, Nandy and Danai in the citations below present another different conception of violence and citizenship.

> I do not think I was a beneficiary but as an international student I still feel the nationality divide remained entrenched[157].
>
> Citizenship remained entrenched in divisions. The movement left me despondent about politics. It left me very cynical; it changed my viewpoint on politics[158].
>
> Perceptions and relations with international students started to shift through language and songs… the movement became located in Pan-Africanist thoughts[159].

Veritas and Nandy although of different nationalities, Zimbabwe and South Africa respectively, were both from marginalized and excluded positions. As an international student, Veritas still strongly felt that nationality remained untransformed and he remained excluded because of being a foreign student without some particular rights as an equal citizen. Nandy was a South African of Indian descent and she brought an ethnic citizenship dimension where the politics of exclusionary citizenship did not show any transformative outcome but instead, remained fixed in its exclusionary nature. For Danai, some of the perceptions held by Nandy transformed and reshaped to accommodate international students using language and songs, which cultivated a spirit of Pan-Africanism. This differs from Nandy's take on nationality, which remained divided.

The different views between Nandy and Danai regarding the extent to which nationality divided the movement or Pan-Africanisms took precedence in building the movement, was also

[157] Interview Veritas 19 June 2018, Wits Humanities Graduate Centre
[158] Interview Nandy 08 February 2018, Wits University
[159] Interview Danai 26 April 2018 Wits University

explored by Susan, a White female German, NTKZ and Stella (latter two) were key South African activists in the movement:

> My half Indian and half White friend said if not black enough, the local students questioned your presence. I also personally found it difficult to be involved as a White student and non-South African. I do not know how she did it[160].

> Black Consciousness and Pan-Africanism thoughts were helpful because study sessions quoted Steve Biko and this made us to welcome Indians[165].

> All international students should have come. Zimbabweans were there in the FMF movement amid ongoing flag movement protests in their country. They were there and they participated. Zimbabweans were seen as part of us and this made local students not to see them as ordinary participants[161].

Inclusion and exclusion issues were debatable, as typified by Susan's comment that non-Blacks or at least those considered as not 'black enough' were excluded. As a White international student, Susan reiterated that she did not feel included, in the same way she thought her half Indian South African was not. The exclusion of a half-Indian and half-White participant raises the question of ethnic racism while on the other hand Stella says the door had been kept open for all international students. The emphasis that Zimbabweans in particular were seen as part of South Africans suggests an ideological shift beyond the normative nationalist citizenship, to an expansive citizenship forged in solidarity. This is echoed by other fallists who identified Zimbabweans and other international students, particularly from SADC region who became closely involved in the movement due to shared languages of Zimbabwe and South Africa. This made nationality-based prejudices and discrimination faced by other Black international students a different experience.

The question to be answered is who were those international students beyond Zimbabweans, whom she described as 'considered' local? While the ethnic identity question was raised, NTKZ claimed that the BC teachings, its philosophy and ideology had a transformative effect because Indians were accepted and welcomed into the movement. The race and ethnic question that complicated the mobilisation of citizenship during the movement and attempts to mitigate

[160] Interview Susan, 19 December 2018 Oldenburg University Germany
[165] Interview NTKZ 07 March 2018, Wits University.
[161] First Interview Stella 01 November 2017 Wits University.

these challenges, became central for some. JB presented the mitigating interventions to this emerging challenge of mobilisation of citizenship:

> I was registered as a local student and this assisted towards overcoming the insider-outsider politics. My citizenship status helped me overcome the tensions between local and international students. I played a dual role[162].

The attempts by JB to address insider-outsider identity politics challenges were undermined by Chinguno's overall assessment of the movement:

> They did not understand my motivation and reminded me that I did not belong here. They dismissed my stance of taking this as a Pan-African struggle. Their position implied that the struggle had nothing to do with non-South African students (Chinguno 2017, p. 139).

The above can be summed up as the loss of direction and focus that was earlier referenced to describe particular moments of the movement. Although there had been attempts to employ the BC philosophy, explore Pan-Africanism and use other social realities such as shared language to mention a few, some participants still did not understand the deeper ideological premise of Pan-Africanism in relation to citizenship.

7.7 Conclusion

The importance and value of this chapter is in showing that as the movement unfolded over time with specific events or moments emerging, there were different developments in the contestations between students and the university authorities as well as the state. This illustrated that there were moments of outright exclusion that became negotiated or contested for inclusion and this shaped and transformed citizenship into different dimensions and meanings within the fallist intended FMF movement. I have illustrated how different forms of violence interacted and influenced citizenship through time as the movement unfolded, organised, mobilised and demobilised. Citizenship transformed and transitioned into its various dimensions, this sharpened and shaped the relationships between local, and international, Black and White students within an intersection ally constructed social stratification.

The different forms of violence from symbolic, repressive and intra-student violence influenced, shaped and transformed the experiences of citizenship differently. When the

[162] Interview JB, 07 October 2017 Wits University

underlying existential conditions of institutionalised and systemic exclusions confronted Black students in the main as naturalised and normalised forms of symbolic violence, students mobilized a Pan-Africanist model of citizenship to challenge the intersectionality of inequalities. The repressive violence of university authorities and the state unleashed through the private security and state police instigated counter student solidarities mobilised through Pan-Africanist inclusive ideology. The students failed to sustain their Pan-Africanist agenda due to emerging exclusionary nationalist versions of citizenship mainly dominated my male patriarchs. Feminist activists and queer activists insisted on Pan-Africanist activism. Black feminists like Lerato, Keite, Katty, Busisiwe, Stella and others were instrumental in the advancement a Pan-Africanist model of citizenship. As Black feminists, their demonstrated lived experiences of both racial and gender exclusion in the previous chapters show their inclusive and egalitarian approach to citizenship.

What emerged from the experiences of feminists is that the deeper the gender and racial exclusion experienced by radical feminists, the greater their chance of inclination towards non-exclusionary citizenship. The non-exclusionary Pan-Africanist model of approach and understanding of citizenship did not sustain the movement because intra-student tensions of exclusionary nationalist interests and statist realities impacted on the ideology. The outcomes of the combination of symbolic violence and repressive violence of the university authorities and the state alongside heightened and intra-student violence included among other things xenophobic, racist, ethnic, and nationalist and such other forms of exclusion and domination. What is important to note from these developments is that when violence confronted protestors, it tended to deepen the cracks and weaken Pan-Africanist ideologies of citizenship while in the process statist notions of citizenship prevailed.

Similar to the other chapters, in this chapter the students attempted to mobilise resources such as language and songs as well as ideology to generate solidarities but these collapsed due to state sponsored police violence or intra-student politics.

Chapter 8

8. General Discussion and Conclusions

In this chapter, I seek to unify the intersectionality issues raised in the foregoing empirical chapters to make meaning of how violence in its different forms enlightens us to understand the implications of the interplay of social cleavages under the constraining or enabling violent conditions. In doing so, this helps us think more broadly about what it means to be constituted by intersectional identities, particularly the marginalised ones such as being Black, queer, foreign and female within a space where these intersectional identities are contested and subjected to violence from within and outside. My starting point is to remind the reader that black identity was mobilised as the overarching and collective identity to accommodate all Black students of African descent beyond the nation-state of South Africa. As a strategy of mobilisation of solidarity, students apportioned inclusive and cross-cutting narratives such as Black child struggle and Pan-Africanism, including Black Consciousness to an extent. This clarifies how race was mobilised to generate solidarities, although this had its share of challenges to sustain over time, as I eventually show. While blackness played a significant role in mobilising multiple social identities into the movement, violence confronted the movement and broke down or enabled the generation of solidarities in ways that illuminated their intersectional interplay as they emerged and transformed.

Given the interlocking nature of socially constructed identities, it is important to highlight to the reader that their interplay and implications thereof cannot be fully understood by treating individuals as solitary beings but rather as subjects with multiple intersecting identities. In other words, I attempt to present the conceptual meaning of the intersectional relationship between identity and collective action as mediated by violence from within the movement and outside.

8.1 Solidarity, its mobilisation and breakdown

The story of FMF will be remiss if its analysis does not make meaning of the mobilisation of multiple identities into collective action and the shifts into divisive tensions in an identity-based social movement. This is because FMF is a story that tells us about the intersections and transformation of multiple identities during moments of internal and external violence. ‘These stories are, in other words, about identity: in particular, about the relationship between identity and collective action’ as the movement navigated a terrain of violence della Porta and Diani 2006, p. 91). Black students mobilised and organised a popular fallist student movement, which

directly confronted the violent state police and the hired private security guards, including violence from within the movement itself. This tells us about the extraordinary innovative social mobilisation strategies that students used differently from past student protests to confront the legacies of apartheid, such as the institutionalised racism that they experienced on and off-campus.

The concept of fallism is currently interpreted, reconstructed and represented differently in different sites in South Africa (Maluleka 2021). Drawing from my synthesis of interpretations of different scholars writing about the concept as referring to the demand by students for far reaching change through collective action to collapse all forms of oppression, I argue in relation to solidarity that students were creative and innovative in their call for fallism. This is because, as Featherstone (2012) notes, solidarity is a transformative process that works through the negotiation and renegotiation of forms of political identification and representation. This theorisation of solidarity beyond its accounts based on unity and fixity (Featherstone 2012) is helpful in this analysis to understand the formative workings of FMF. At its inception, FMF was characterised by many mass meetings, political teachings and negotiations as a basis for solidarity mobilisation. Women placed the item of movement leadership on the agenda of some of these meetings, particularly the equal representation of women; hence the early emergence of the 'Fantastic Four' constituted by two male and two female leaders. This brings the negotiation for gender representation to the fore during the formative stages of the movement. The significance of this conversation was in opening avenues for social mobilisation of women participation as a solidarity category in the bigger scheme of fallism. This had a pragmatic and transformative impact on student representation from a gender perspective, as some of the practical solutions that sought to define fallism from the onset were realised through the mobilisation of women representation to challenge patriarchy.

However, one of the greatest failures of the movement in forging sustainable solidarities in relation to race and citizenship was in the use of ill-defined abstract identities of blackness for race and Pan-Africanism for citizenship. The absence of tangible offers of what Pan-Africanism and Black child narrative entailed from inception presented a shortfall in fulfilling the fallist composition of the movement when it came to the mobilisation of intersectional solidarities through negotiation and dialogue. This can be better understood by borrowing from Dean (1996) as cited in Featherstone (2012), who argues that there is a common notion in social movements, which assumes that solidarity is underpinned by universalism. The implication of this approach by the movement was that there was an assumption by some of its main actors that blackness and Pan-Africanism would underpin, forge or generate solidarities. The opposite proved true that solidarity mobilisation must instead underpin universalism or collective

identities by ensuring that there are building blocks to generate solidarities in practical or social terms to fortify universalisms such as blackness and Pan-Africanism. I conclude that solidarity in social movements is better generated when all actors see the value, moral ground or even direct benefit of participation in the protest. The value to participate is embraced if different groupings are all affected, marginalised or oppressed more or less in similar ways to the dominant group. The lack of inclusion of international students' demands for the scrapping off and staggering the hefty upfront tuition fee percentage, for example, weakened the aspirations of international students because the Pan-Africanist universalism had no tangible offers. This meant that universal blackness did not consider the different categories and layers of being black in FMF. Some Blacks were local citizens, some foreign, some female, some queer and others male with specific and fractured needs that required to be pulled into the movement as such.

The shortfall of the movement in its formative stages and during some of its moments of evolution in relation to the mobilisation of the intersecting social identities can be better understood by borrowing from Featherstone (2012). He argues that there is an assumption that 'solidarity is part of an expression of a singular community of us all, rather than bearing on fractured and contested political struggles…' (p. 38). Black child narrative and Pan Africanism as umbrella or universally inclusive identities did not address the intersectional fractures of being female, queer, and foreign, which weakened the intersectional solidarity mobilisation at the level of negotiation.

The internal factions, tensions and violence among students beyond negotiations affected and transformed solidarities into various groups organised to pursue particular goals such as resisting on maintain the status quo. This takes us into an analysis of the interplay between violence and solidarity in an intersectional social movement like FMF. Internal violence, as in violence among FMF movement actors as either gender-related tensions or contestations, nationality related tensions of xenophobic tendencies and attacks saw violence assuming at least two functions. The function of resistant solidarities and coerced solidarities. Some radical feminists with a fallist philosophy like Busisiwe organised and mobilised feminist solidarities to challenge the tyranny of patriarchy through the MbokodoLead movement.

The MbokodoLead and its broader work during FMF helps us to understand how solidarity and intersectionality can be mobilised to challenge gender and nationality disparities even within people of the same race. The radical feminist group of MbokodoLead, in its pursuit of fallism, was a mandate to challenge patriarchal dominance through pushback and resistance. When this goal was clearly articulated by defining the MbokodoLead mandate, it enabled to mobilize

intersectional solidarities of females in their heterosexual and queer sexual orientations and local and foreign identities. This became a community of females in their various identities moving towards the fortification of their gendered solidarity against patriarchy because their different needs and challenges did not become dominated by one group. Queer feminists pursued their queer politics, and heterosexual ones provided the channels of support, including accommodation of different strands of feminism and inclusion of foreign females.

Coercive force was employed by local students to force international students to participate, although not so extensively but reasonable enough to illustrate the point of violent solidarities. This was coerced solidarity beyond negotiation. Solidarity building during the movement was initially achieved through negotiation, open meetings and political teachings but shifted and turned into resistance politics through MbokodoLead as well as through coercion. This collective mobilisation of solidarities and the collective agency was eroded by political infiltration and the rise of some questionable leadership political affiliations, including suspected individual political opportunism. To emphasize this point, I borrow from von Holdt's (2003) findings from his analysis of the trade union transition from below in his Highveld Steel case study that in the same context, the collective activity and intersectional solidarity did not forge an unproblematic solidarity. FMF solidarity mobilisation similarly generated intense conflicts as different groupings battled and contended some of the power relations and representativity arrangements, direction and the prolonged protests.

The moments of heightened internal tensions through resistance and politics of dominance, tore the movement apart from within and re-configured social identities back into their normal social orders of existence on campus. Collective and intersectional solidarity mobilisation was eroded by political infiltration, but at the same time, different emerging groups shaped the movement itself and defined new forms of solidarities emerging from it. During moments of collective resistance of the state and university authority violence, students mobilised in their different categories to challenge the state power and symbolic violence. This changed the tactics of mobilisation from internal politics to mobilisation against the state.

8.2 Mobilisation from outside campus borders

There is another form of mobilisation of solidarities that was mediated by violence from outside the movement. This type of mobilisation is separate from the two key forms of solidarity generation from within already explored. The heavy-handed nature of police and private security violence on campus culminated in a spatial shift to protest off-campus. This was through protests on the streets of Braamfontein, including two key marches to Luthuli House and Union Buildings. I mention these to help me illuminate my analysis of the spatial shift to

mobilisation from outside campus, particularly how the state and university authorities used their repressive violence to claim territorial ownership of the space. The monopoly of campus space through a combination of repressive forms of state violence and the symbolic violence of the university authorities shows us the implications of repressive and symbolic violence on the intersectional identities of the movement actors and how they mobilised and demobilised.

The university authorities were empowered by court interdicts to sanction curfew on campus and even intensified the presence of police and private security guards at strategic spaces, including at the university main entrances. The VC's series of communique, court interdicts, curfew system, intensified police and private security presence, and their violence imposed and exerted repressive and symbolic violence that pushed the student collective off-campus. The intensity of this external violence re-organised and transformed the solidarities within the movement, which mobilised various social identities to confront the state and university authorities. The intersectional implications of this shift from violence from within the movement to violence from outside was that when students became pushed out of a safe university environment, they became more precarious and vulnerable outside.

The spatiality relation of these external forms of violence to the social identity solidarities were that international students, for example, felt not only pushed outside the campus but outside the movement itself. This reminded them of being outsiders, and it impacted on their subjectivities and weakened their agency. The symbolic and repressive forms of violence experienced by the movement actors sharpened the experiences of what it meant to be a local citizen and foreign one among students. This was aptly put by one of the South African student feminists, Keite, who said, *home was down the road for us, but what about international students.* International students' subjection to repressive state violence made them vulnerable to the fear of being deported. International students did not only feel pushed out of campus but out of the movement itself. This reminded them that they were outsiders, which affected their subjectivities and weakened their agency. Repressive state violence and symbolic violence of the university authorities sharpened the differences between being a Black local student citizen and being a foreign one during FMF.

Although being shut out of university meant going back home, described by one participant as being down the road, the reality is most Black students reside in townships like Soweto and Alexander and others. This implied being driven back to the deep realities of abject poverty away from the safe campus life. Although students mobilised into a solidarity front, they still succumbed to repressive arrests, teargasing, persecution and incarceration, which neutralised and gradually broke down the movement. The shifts from solidarity building to its breakdown

due to external force signify the state's monopoly of space and how the state and its subsidiaries can manipulate its supremacy and control of citizens and non-citizens. As the state persecuted and incarnated some students, none of the white students who supported Blacks and participated anyhow were subjected to anything by the state or university. They remained immune to all security protocols, including the closure of university entrances and curfews; they walked freely with no subjection to some frisking.

State violence and that of institutions of authority, such as in a South African context, as shown in this case study, has the potential to define race and citizenship while it remains indiscriminate against gender. The relationship between violence and race became clearer when repressive state violence confronted students because it became targeted at Blacks, and no white students joined the police against Black students. The intersectional dynamics arising from the closure of the space was that when Black students negotiated entry, some female ones were still sexually harassed with rape threats by the university's private security agents. Foreign students' deportability defined their citizenship while it became clear where locals belonged. Social movements depend on space and thrive on it by organising marches, staging performances and sittings, displaying graffiti, etc. When the state and institutions monopolise such spaces through police and security agents, court interdicts, curfews and other forms of control, this affects the strategies of mobilisation because space is a common resource for defence and resistance. Solidarity mobilisation and sustenance work well with the intersectional differences of oppressions than in an attempt to homogenise social cleavages.

8.3 Contributions and the way forward

My envisaged contribution to the literature on social movement studies in this study is in the provision of the nuances and meanings of multiple identities. This is in relation to how they play themselves out in social movements such as FMF as mediated by violence. Violence is generally not adequately used as a theoretical resource in most social movements, and where it is done, it is not used to enlighten the intersectionality of the multiple social identities and their meaning. What the FMF case study does is augment the theoretical argument of the intersectionality of multiple identities and their meaning with grounded primary empirical evidence with the backing of many secondary accounts of the same case. It has become conclusive in this study that violence shapes and re-shapes, configures and re-configures the intersectionality of social identities in ways that either enhance solidarities or weaken them.

I have demonstrated through theory that violence takes various functions either from within the movement or from outside it. The violence from within clarifies that universalisms do not

underpin solidarities, but instead, solidarities mobilise better in search of them. The study shows that when blackness, for example, is mobilised as a collective identity without a clear definition and accommodation of its intersecting social differences, it fails to sustain its universalism claim. During moments of violence from outside the movement, the internal solidarities solidify to confront it. However, external violence in the form of state violence thrives on monopoly and ownership of state resources. State violence in the process also shows the salience of race and citizenship as its impact affects these cleavages differently.

Given the limitation of this study, to engage social movements outside South Africa, it could be worthwhile to explore other democracies with a different history of violence to study how they could engage with such an unprecedented national insurgence of violent protests. Perhaps this could entail the exertion of symbolic violence through using restrictive court interdicts and institutional policies to stall protests. Further studies can also be sought to foreground the cleavage of class as a major analysis concept to see how contemporary and post-industry social movements mobilise class in their organisation in relation to other social cleavages.

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