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University of the Witwatersrand



Research Report

Doek and Dagger. Smoke and Mirrors.

How has the print media represented women of #FeesMustFall 2015?

Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities in partial fulfilment of

M.A. Degree

By

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Supervised by Professor Michelle Williams

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts to the Faculty of Humanities in the School of Social Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other University.

_____

Gregory T. Koole

25th day of September 2017

DEDICATION

“Never regard study as a duty but as an enviable opportunity to learn to know the liberating influence of beauty in the realm of the spirit for your own personal joy and to the profit of the community to which your later works belong."

~Albert Einstein

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Where does one begin when one has stood on the shoulders of so many great women and men? Perhaps I should begin with my mother, Julia, whose strength and warm love has shaped me profoundly. My Godmother, Lorraine, deserves a special mention for constantly extoling the benefits of hard work and a positive state of mind. My not so little sister, Lolo has taught me much about happiness for happiness sake. My life partner and best friend, Farzana's support and witty comedic slices have been an invaluable inspiration and light in the darkest of hours. My deepest gratitude also goes out to a true human being and an amazing teacher who continues to teach me about love of knowledge, nature and humanity. Rest in Peace Lebogang. Lastly I would like to thank the National Research Fund. Many thanks to you all.

Knowledge is power.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

In this report I look at women's representation in #FeesMustFall, which is a student led protest movement that began in mid-October 2015 in response to an increase in fees. The protests started at the University of Witwatersrand and quickly spread to other universities across South Africa. The group was diverse in terms of class, race and gender, consisting of students who are politically active and those who were not, as well as members of the academic, support, cleaning, and the security staff. What is particularly of interest is the central involvement of women in the movement. In this project, I look at the media's representation of women activists in #FeesMustFall. Surprisingly I found that none of the papers -including the student papers- substantially cover women: in fact, the student papers surprisingly are sometimes worse than the other newspapers. At the beginning of my investigation I expected to find a vast difference between student newspapers and mainstream commercial newspapers but the evidence suggests that there is no difference in how student media or mainstream media represented women of #FeesMustFall (#FMF).

The core question posed in this project is how has the print media have been reported on in a selection of newspapers pertaining to the women of #FMF 2015, honing in on 77 articles written about #FMF 2015, and arguing that issues of women in #FMF 2015 are underrepresented in these media outlets. Through this lens, I interrogate the way women are represented, the frequency of the representation, and the topics around which they are represented. #FMF 2015 was undoubtedly one of the most significant social movements of the democratic era in South Africa and understandably generated considerable media interest. In fact, between mid-October and mid-December 2015 it was the main news story across media platforms. Interrogating media representations of this movement, and especially of women, contributes to our understanding of how media perceive and portray women, especially in the extra-ordinary movements of protests.

This project compares commercial media and student media. If the media plays an important role in shaping public opinion then a comparison between commercial media and student media gives insight into how women are written in and out of history and how femininity is conceived and reproduced through media. The omnipresence of the male dominant point of view is vividly

demonstrated in media representations, since women occupy but "a small corner of what we think of officially as possible human experience" (Russ 1972. 2).The aim is to establish the difference between dominant representations and varied and contradictory representations by comparing mainstream print media narratives with student media narratives. The objective of this study is to provide a profile of the mainstream print media's perspective on the women of #FMF by comparing it to student media and outlining the themes used to represent the women of #FMF, the ideologies revealed by these themes, the characterization of the actors, their actions and the attribution of agency.

This project looks at media representations of women activists involved in intense political contestation.Thus; it is not simply about the representation of women in general but about activists involved in a particular struggle. In so doing, it may also be possible to consider whether these women activists disrupted (or not) dominant representations of women, and if so, how the media dealt with this. Even a cursory glance at the media's representation of women in the #FMF movements reveals a pre-occupation with male leadership/ men who are leaders. In this context, there were limited portrayals of women as activists. This project looks at how the media portrays women in a context where they are prominent (and therefore cannot be neglected) and where traditional gender roles are consciously disrupted. #FMF 2015 as a social movement sprang up from a resistance to university fee increments for2016. The movement was formless and fluid representing many interest groups. This kind of fluidity points to a more complex and differentiated relationship between the media and #FMF 2015 because the movement inhabited different spaces in which the presence of the media was negotiated, often with considerable contention. The point of this project is to understand and interrogate representations of women of #FMF 2015 within this contested context.

There is a vast literature that already exists on #FMF, a substantial amount of which has been penned by participants in the movement, for instance *"FeesMustFall, Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance"* by Susan Booysen (2016*), "StudentsMustRise, Youth Struggle in South Africa Before and Beyond Soweto 1976"* edited by Anne Heffernan and Noor Nieftagodien, *Silence is violence: (critical) psychology in an era of Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall* by Suntosh R Pillay (2016)and*#FeesMustFall* by Isabella Golding-Duffy (2017). These publications have interrogated several aspects pertinent to this study, including gender

roles, the contestations in #FMF 2015 over sexuality and intersectionality, on violence and on critiques of writings by non-participants of the movement.

In chapter two I focus on the literature related to women, the media and representation. I review literature related to the media, representation and feminist critiques. The review will look at work such as Hadland (2007), Duncan (2000), Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) to tease out a complex understanding of women's representation in the media. In chapter three I discuss the methodologies used for this project. This project reports on the results of a content analysis of 78 articles published in student online newspapers, SAMedia, Feesmustfall.jozi.org.za and the *Daily Vox*. This study provides a profile of South African print media's perspective of #FMF 2015 by specially outlining the themes used to represent women, the ideologies revealed by these themes and the characterization of the actors and their actions. In chapter four I show that both student and mainstream media gave little explicit attention to the role of women leaders and look at the way in which women were represented. The chapter is divided into three sections namely student newspapers, papers that cover student issues but not from the perspective of the student and papers that were inclusive of student voices while covering student issues.

Looking at media representations of women activists involved in intense political contestation offers a snap shot of the media landscape in relation to representation.Thus, it is not simply about the representation of women in general but also about activists involved in a particular struggle and how the media portrays them. This project compares commercial media with student media to tease out a narrative that will help us understand the media's representation of women in #FMF 2015. If the media plays an important role in shaping public opinion then a comparison between commercial media and student media gives insight into how women are written in and out of history.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study engages literature on the media and feminism. The first body of literature is about the "Media". Boyle et al (2005) examines newspapers coverage of protest from 1960 to 1999, providing a useful point of departure for my own study. Adrian Hadland (2007) looks specifically at the South African print media between 1994-2004 and suggests that the relationship between political systems and the media is very symbiotic in nature. The work by Hadland (2007) and Boyle et al (2005) gave me an insight into the media's relation to society as the fourth estate. Furthermore the work of Duncan (2000) has helped me to understand variances in the media that influence (and are influenced by) ownership and ideology, editorial policy and perceived target market. Becks (1998), Creedon (1993) and Davis (1991) create a lens with which to frame my discussions about gender representation in terms of media personnel and helped to question the idea of objectivity in relation to journalists and media management personnel.

The second literature I engage focuses on "Representation and Feminist Criticism". This section of the literature review pays particular attention to literature about representation of feminism and women's issues. The work by Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) looks at public attitudes towards feminism and finds that most of these attitudes are stereotypical view that link feminism with leftist politics and lesbian orientation. This is of interest to this project because the media plays an important role in shaping public opinion and attitudes. This is corroborated by the work of Brooks and Hébert (2006) who explore the ways in which the media construct notions of race and gender. Brookes and Hébert (2006) suggest that much of what people know and care about is based on the images, symbols and narratives in radio, television, film, music and other media. Walkins Emerson (2000) found that dominant news media organisations marginalized issues salient in the lives of women. This is particularly interesting because this project found there was not much difference between papers covering student issues but not from the perspective of the students; papers covering student issues and was inclusive of Student voices and student newspapers. This project found that issue salient to women were largely marginalised by all papers covering #FMF 2015. Woods (1994) corroborates the work of Brooks and Hébert (2006)

and believes media communication in relation to images of the sexes perpetuate unrealistic, stereotypical and limiting perceptions. Woods (1994) is important for my project as it helps us understand how the media represents gender through three broad themes in the manner in which women are represented by the media. For Woods (1994) women are either (1) underrepresented, (2) women or men are represented in stereotypical ways, or (3) there is an emphasis on traditional roles and normalisation of violence against women.

Three categories I have used (1) papers covering student issues but not from the perspective of the students; (2) papers covering student issues and inclusive of Student voices, and (3) student newspapers help us determine whether there were differences in the way in which women were represented. My research found that all three types of papers under-represented women. This was fascinating because at the beginning of my investigation I thought I would find a vast difference in the narratives, especially from the student papers. However my evidence suggests that narratives published in print media and student online newspapers about #FMF 2015 echoed each other with few exceptions. This is particularly interesting in relation to the work of Mendes et al (2008) who finds that when women are news subjects they are often portrayed as victims and there is a tendency to focus on gender roles, domestic and childcare services. This is of importance for the reason that the media helps to shape public perception. Yunjuan and Xiaoming (2007) examine the relationship between the media and society and found that the socio-economic and political-ideological changes in China influenced the image of Chinese women presented by the covers of *Women of China.* This suggests that the way in which women are represented is contextually located within particular historical, political, social and economic spheres.

MEDIA

Michael P. Boyle, Michael R. McCluskey, Douglas M. McLeod, and Sue E. Stein (2005) examine newspaper coverage of different types of protests in from 1960 to 1999 in the United States of America. This study presents several key findings regarding newspaper coverage of different types of protests from 1960 to 1999, suggesting that coverage of protests diminished over the period of time: “newspapers appear to have covered less deviant protest activity over

time, which may have resulted either from choices made by journalists and editors, or from decreases in the extent to which protests challenged the status quo. The general pattern indicates that the nature of protest coverage remained consistent over time, suggesting that newspapers became more critical of less deviant activity" (Boyle et al. 2005. 638).While I am not looking at coverage over time, it is interesting to note that the coverage became more critical. By outlining the themes used to represent the women of #FeesMustFall, the ideologies revealed by these themes, the characterization of the actors, their actions and the attribution of agency we may confirm the findings of Boyle et al (2005) that newspapers have become "more critical of less deviant activity".

Adrian Hadland's (2007) "The South African print media, 1994-2004: An application and critique of comparative media systems theory" focuses on the South African print media and tests both the paradigm's theoretical underpinnings as well as its four principle dimensions off analysis: political parallelism, state intervention, development of mass market and journalistic professionalisation. Hadland (2007) argues that "it would seem that political parallelism in South Africa is on the rise, that state intervention is increasing, that journalistic professionalism is declining and that the media system is shifting in a manner that will heed, and possibly reverse, the processes of differentiation and indeed of democratization" (Hadland. 2007. 223).Hadland's (2007) analysis suggests a very symbiotic relationship between political systems and the media.

> Hadland (2007) argues further that "the Three Models paradigm and my development of it, indicates that media systems are the progeny of political systems. Yes, they are symbiotic in the sense that change on the one side may cause change on the other. And, yes, there are triggers of change that are not inherently political, such as commercialisation and the framing of business strategy" (Hadland, 2007. 224).

Sanger and Hadland's (2008) article explores South African community print media's regulatory environment and reflects on what this means for the ways in which gender is understood and represented in the sector. It reflects on regulatory limitations even within the mainstream print media sector. It discusses a case study in which a feminist content analysis methodology is applied to two community print media titles. According to Sanger and Hadland's (2008) "in tackling issues of gender, where the constructed roles of women and men make up the ways

living experiences are gendered, these 'community newspapers', like the mainstream print media, seldom comment on the social and political patriarchal landscape in which we live" Sanger and Hadland's. 2008. 17). This is interesting for this project because the print media is complicit in instilling and reproducing the dominant heteronormative matrix in society. If gender is a performance and the print media only portrays a certain kind of gender dynamic or gender image then what are the implications in relation to gender representation or in particular the representation of women of #FMF 2015?

The media can be thought of as the fourth branch of government that checks and balances the power of the three other branches. It plays an important role in informing the citizenry and thus plays a critical role in shaping public opinion. For Nordenstreng (2007) states this role has come under scrutiny;

> "The same role for carrying out checks and balances of the three main branches of government has also been proposed for other institutions such as trade unions and new social movements. However, the mass media still enjoy a special status in this respect mainly due to the constitutional guarantees of freedom of information based on international law on human rights. Lately, however, the mass media themselves with their commercialization and tabloidization developments have been brought under critical scrutiny, leading to proposals to establish a global media watch as a "fifth power". (Nordenstreng. 2007. 2)

Following Duncan (2000) there are variances in the media, the contours of which are shaped by, among others, ownership and ideology, editorial policy and perceived target audience. For example, does it matter if the owners of a particular media company are black and female, compared to white and male?

> Duncan (2000) argues that "many media companies are seeking to become competitive, and may even expand internationally should circumstances permit. As a result, media are following the trend of many other companies and restructuring on an ongoing basis; downsizing and refocussing on core business have become the order of the day" (Duncan. 2000. 55).

What does this say about who qualifies to be the main reference point for political news? What scope is there for regionally sensitive political copy? Duncan and Reid (2013) posit that a diverse and pluralistic media enables the potential of citizens to exercise their basic human rights. Duncan and Reid (2013) believe that in South Africa a diverse media can ensure that a multiplicity of viewpoints reaches the public domain, with its diversity of languages, political heterogeneity, multiplicity of gender identities, as well as its continuing 'race', class and gender disparities. However if only a few commercial media houses monopolise the media landscape the multiplicity of views represented in South Africa may not be highlighted or reported on because they do not fit the commercial interests of these media companies.

If we look at the *Avusa* editorial policy we can get a snap shot of a commercial operation. Times Media Group is a South African media company which was formerly known as Johnnic Communications, then *Avusa*. The *TM Media* division is a newspaper publisher with brands that include: *Sunday Times, The Times, Business Day, Financial Mail, Sowetan, Sunday World, The Herald, Weekend Post, Daily Dispatch* and *Saturday Dispatch*. The *Avusa* editorial document published in 2012 states "our newspapers play a vital and indispensable role in facilitating the dissemination of information in South Africa. This role places on us a duty to act as a trustee for the public interest. In performing this duty, we uphold the values of the constitution" (*Avusa* Policy Document. 2012. 2).

The opening part of the document expounds the right to freedom of expression. The policy document's second part has a checklist of do's and don'ts. Let us take for instance the policy on accuracy, which states:

> "All reporters are to conduct an accuracy check on their stories ahead of publication. Accuracy checks should be conducted with a colleague. News editors/managers are required to keep a record of reporters' accuracy checks and to produce them when asked to do so, particularly in the event of a complaint about the accuracy of a story. News editors/manager are required to ensure that accuracy checks are done on stories" (Avusa Policy Document 2012. 8).

The document doesn't however state how long the editor has to do these checks. Secondly the accuracy test questions are open to the reporters and managers discretion and thus subjective interpretations of these questions may not necessarily be impartial. For instance "Are you satisfied that the story is accurate? Are you satisfied that it is angled correctly? Are you satisfied that it is fair to all parties? Did you contact all parties involved?" (*Avusa* Policy Document 2012. 8). The policy document does not specify how much time must be spent answering these accuracy questions or how rigorous one ought to be.

Duncan and Reid (2013) argue that "a diverse media system that is not dominated by private monopolies and/or government serves to better (and more responsibly) inform the wider citizenry, which is crucial if citizens are to exercise their rights successfully" (Duncan and Reid. 2013. 483). "The diversity and plurality of the print sector only will potentially have limited benefits with regard to the normative ideals of increasing citizens' access to a divergent collection of competing ideas/opinions, if the greatest portion of the citizenry does not have access to much of the print media." (Duncan and Reid. 2013. 497). Duncan (2000) asks the question how the media is supposed to reflect a diversity of opinion if their newsgathering and production structures disable expressions of diverse points of view in their own newsrooms. She is sceptical and argues that "thoroughgoing transformation of newsrooms will probably not solve the structural barriers to media access, though, especially in the print media" (Duncan. 2000. 56). If diversity of opinion is disabled by newsgathering and production structures in newsrooms then it is very likely that diversity of representation, particularly of women is disabled too.

Duncan (2000) further argues that print media have undergone highly significant changes on the level of ownership, yet they face an ever-increasing problem of access

> Evidence suggests that "the decline in readership is linked in a very intimate but ill-understood way with the unemployment crisis- the more unemployment increases, the more the circulation of print media decreases, and the more the media will be characterised by concentration of ownership as they seek to maximise advantages to attract a portion of the shrinking advertising cake. In the process, the more difficult it will become to start up new titles, as barriers to entry rise" (Duncan. 2000. 55)

Another issue with the media as highlighted by Becks (1998) journalistic objectivity.

> Becks (1998) believes “most journalists place great stock in their ability to maintain ‘objectivity’ on the surface, which would seem to imply an inherent fairness in this approach to news coverage. After all, wouldn't an objective reporter simply convey some set of independent facts as they are without imposing meaning upon them?” (Becks.1998. 142).

The idea that one can be completely objective presupposes the idea that one is able to enter an indeterminate space devoid of all frames of reference like language or logic or history. However this is not possible because journalists, like all other humans, have histories, norms and cultures that influence every-day behaviour. Even the questions a journalist chooses to ask are informed by a particular learning or frame of reference. Creedon (1993a) says “the objectivity so revered by the news media is just a standpoint, one that cannot be separated from factors like gender” (Creedon. 1993a. 77). Objectivity in this view is an ideal but "in practice, objectivity is a standpoint-white and male" (Creedon. 1993a. 15). Creedon published this paper in 1993 and the editorial, management and ownership structures have changed. However, data from my project suggests that issues related to gender are still marginalised.

> Furthermore “since most media decision makers are male, the chance of them changing the dominant gendered standpoint to give women their due is somewhere between slim and none. Despite the fact that more women are entering the field of journalism, those who rule the newsroom are predominantly male” (Creedon, 1993, 4).

Creedon (1993b) presents three possible explanations. The first of which is that mass media companies are still making decisions driven by the bottom-line. “Women's increased presence in the field has not been powerful enough to overcome the need to make a profit” (Creedon. 1993b. 13). The second explanation according to Creedon (1993b) is that the newsroom is dominated by men in that "the news definers still are predominantly white males, and these editors and owners control the hiring and firing decisions" (Creedon. 1993b. 13).

The above may not necessarily be true today. However if news rooms are still dominated by man of different races then the implications are the same. The third explanation presented by Creedon

(1993b) has more to do with organisational culture and suggests that the dominant norms and values in an organisation will shape behaviour within it. "Workplace routines and norms force reporters to conform to dominant values, rather than act on empowering values" (Creedon. 1993b. 13).Furthermore women are not in positions to change norms and values.

> "But until the number of women in media management positions increase significantly, no one will know whether they will bring with them their experiences as women (which tend to become more radical with age), and hence a new perspective on news judgment, or whether they will maintain the philosophy into which they were indoctrinated by their male predecessors" (Becks. 1998. 142).

Davis (1991) believes "though there are more women in the newsroom, they generally are not in a position to influence any of these powerful factors in the mass media. The women's movement has had its media allies over the years, usually other women" (Davis, 1991, 107).

In providing a profile of the print media's perspective on the women of #FeesMustFall I have looked at the internal dynamics of media houses and the challenge of gender representations within them and also gender representivity in the content of their publications. In writing this section I show that gender representivity in media houses is an issue internally. With the increase push towards competiveness and chasing profits, the commercialisation of the mass media is calling into question its role as the fourth branch of government. Furthermore we learn from Becks (1998) that if there is not an increase of women in management positions in media communication companies then there is little possibility of challenging the dominant patriarchal norms and values. The above works suggest that if there is little gender representation in the media organisations in and of themselves, then there is little chance gender representative content will be published. The objectives of this study are to provide a profile of the print media's perception on the women of #FMF 2015. With the above in mind this project aims to locate the #FMF movement in the broader milieu of media studies by paying attention to women's representation. In examining the representation of women in media and feminist critique thereof we will be able to get a snap shot of the media's perspective on women of #FMF 2015.

REPRESENTATION AND FEMINIST CRITICISM

According to Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) research in social psychology has shown that public attitudes towards feminism are mostly based on stereotypical views linking feminism with leftist politics and lesbian orientation. Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) believe such attitudes are due to the negative and sexualised media construction of feminism. Studies concerned with the media representation of feminism seem to confirm this tendency. While most of this research provides significant insights into the representation of feminism, the findings are often based on a small sample of texts.

Luo Yunjuan & Hao Xiaoming (2007) argues that the major question in studying the relationship between mass media and society is whether mass media are agents of social change or reinforcers of the status quo. Yunjuan and Xiaoming's (2007) study examined media portrayal of women to explore the relationship between the media and society within the Chinese context. Yunjuan and Xiaoming (2007) found "that the image of Chinese women presented by the covers of Women of China is to a large extent influenced by the socio-economic and political-ideological changes in China. Rather than a literal portrayal of the 'reality', it is a symbolic representation of the Chinese women created through the interaction of party ideology, editorial policy, and readers' taste as well as the changing reality of Chinese women's life and work." (Yunjuan and Xiaoming. 2007. 281). By teasing out the literal portrayal of "reality," we may be able to understand the symbolic representation of women in the #FMF movement. Although the Chinese political landscape differs from the South African significantly, what may be interesting to note is, if the image of women of #FMF presented by the print media in South Africa is a literal portrayal of the "reality," or it is a symbolic representation of the South Africa women created through the interaction of editorial policy and readers' taste as well as the changing reality of South African women's life and work?

According to Walkins and Emerson (2000), feminist analysis of the dominant news media organizations revealed that issues salient in the lives of women were generally marginalized, if not ignored outright. Conversely, the issues most likely to be designated as newsworthy-the economy, electoral politics, and crime typically involved male authority figures (Walkins and Emerson. 2000. 153). "Analysts of news media consistently reported that men were far more

likely than women to be selected as media commentators and sources" (Walkins and Emerson. 2000. 153). "Men in our culture not only control news discourse but are authorized to know more than women" (Reeves and Campbell 1994, 65). "For example, news media organizations would focus on sensationalized images of "bra burners" rather than the issues that drove women to dramatize their protest politics" (Walkins and Emerson. 153).

The above analysis of news media is particularly interesting in relation to this project because if issues relevant in the lives of women are generally marginalized then media representations of women can only conceive of femininity from the male point of view. This can only lead to misrepresentations or distorted representations.

> Walkins and Emerson (2000) believe "feminist media criticism identifies some of the salient issues, themes, and conflicts that require a more direct challenge on the part of media practitioners. "Any serious feminist analysis of the media industry must devote considerable attention to the organizational milieu in which media products are created" (Walkins and Emerson 2000. 153).

According to Brooks and Hébert, 2006 feminist critique is rooted in the struggle to end sexist oppression because gender is seen as a major structuring component of power relations in society. The work by Brooks and Hébert (2006) exposes the various ways the media construct monolithic notions of race and gender, however point to a gap in literature on terms of the representation of women by news print media. Wood (1994) corroborating the idea of Brooks and Hébert (2006) that much of what people know and care about is based on the images, symbols, and narratives in radio, television, film, music, and other media. Wood (1994) believes "All forms of media communicate images of the sexes, many of which perpetuate unrealistic, stereotypical, and limiting perceptions" (Wood. 1994. 31)

> Wood (1994) reflects on three themes that describe how media represent gender. "First, women are underrepresented, which falsely implies that men are the cultural standard and women are unimportant or invisible. Second, men and women are portrayed in stereotypic always that reflect and sustain socially endorsed views of gender. Third, depictions of relationships between men and

> women emphasize traditional roles and normalize violence against women" (Wood.1994. 31).

This is of interest for this project because if the media plays an important role in shaping public opinion and it underrepresents, portrays stereotypes or emphasizes traditional roles and normalize violence against women then the implication maybe the continued subjugation of women driven by public opinion**.**

Global research examining women's representation as news subjects has found women are often portrayed as victims (Mendes and Carter 2008). When reporting on women in politics, there tends to be a focus on gender roles, domestic and childcare services. As the result of this project initially focusing on the media's pre-occupation with the "Doek" as the primary sartorial symbol of black female protesters, it would be interesting to investigate to what extent print media in South Africa discussed the appearance of the women of #FMF more than their policies or messages. And to what extent were women of #FMF portrayed as victims.

If women are portrayed as victims then what does this say about portrayals of women in vigorous struggle? Hassim (1999. 201) in "The dual politics of representation: women and electoral politics in South Africa" examines the politics of women's representation in South Africa and argues that "there has been a significant shift since 1994 in the ways in which women's organisations have articulated women's electoral interests. While women's organisations and women within political parties have been outwardly in agreement about the need for increasing women's representation, there are differences in their policy positions with respect to strategies for advancing equality. Within women's forums, these differences have been openly and sometimes acrimoniously debated". (Hassim.1999. 201). The above is interesting and related to this project because the #Womandla and #Imbokodo within #FMF could be seen as yet another significant shift since 1994 in the ways in which women organise women's ideological interests and whether or not they are accurately portrayed by the media. The "doek" became an overt symbol of womanhood that took gender-talk from private spaces into the open. The #Womandla and #Imbokodo movements within #FMF became counter hegemonic movements in that they directly challenged the normative structures that constructed #FMF in the first place. This counter culture within a culture is largely pressed for the recognition that issues related to women are of great importance to the #FMF movement but also in society at large.

However the print media largely neglects this nuanced #FMF representation. #Womandla and #Imbokodo directly challenged masculinity in a way that only the #FMF movement could allow. In some instances violent masculinity was met with violent feminism, in the case of some female students carrying around "sjamboks". #Womandla and #Imbokodo within #FMF forced dialogue about gender representation, violence against women, misogyny and number of other issue related to women. Many of the members of #Womandla and #Imbokodo had read the words of Gqola (2007) and vocalised the need for serious and sincere gender-talk. Gqola (2007) believes that "there is clear and urgent need to change South Africa's public and private gender-talk" (Gqola. 2007. 121) Gqola (2007) believes we need to tackle violent masculinities head on exposing the disdain with which violent men hold all women. As part of this we need to rid ourselves of the 'passwords' that Sibongile Ndashe (2006) speaks about, which refer to the disclaimers and qualifiers that silence real debate on gender based violence. Ndashe says these passwords are a pre-requisite that goes something akin to 'not all men are rapists and that in the past some people have been falsely accused'. Continuing to mouth these passwords, and demanding them before you listen to what women have to say, is part of the problem." (Gqola. 2007.121).

Although my project is not about gender-based violence per se but I could argue that misrepresentation is a form of gender based violence in that it writes out the narratives of women in favour of those of men. Women are thus alienated from society because all narratives and images seek to confirm their nonexistence. And even when women do "exist" they do so from the fringes of society as victims. The above speaks to contemporary South African women who are dealing with exclusion from university which is a macrocosm of society. To what extent have these violent masculinities influenced narratives about women in #FMF? Perhaps misrepresenting women's issues in the media is a form of slow violence against women by portraying women in particular ways that do not reflect a clear image of reality. If gender based violence is a reflection of overt misogyny then how would we measure slow violence or covert misogyny in the print media or within the FMF movement? In this project I attempted to tease out the slow violence of misrepresentation (at least for the women of #FMF) and thus challenge South Africa's public and private gender-talk in the way that #Womandla and #Imbokodo did within #FMF 2015.

Hassim (2005) explores the ways in which the contemporary women's movement in South Africa has been shaped by its own recent history as well as by the changes in the political landscape since 1994. Hassim (2005) argues that the striking feature of the past decade is the manner in which the strategy of inclusion of women in formal political institutions of state and party has tended to displace the transformatory goals of structural and social change. Hassim (2005) believes that "the reduction of the women's movement to a 'development partner', and feminist activism to demands for quotas, has long-term costs for the women's movement as well as for democracy as a whole, as it reduces the ability of the movement to debate the underpinning norms and values of policy directions as well as within other social movements and in civil society more generally" (Hassim. 2005: 192). Hassim's (2005) article brings into stark relief the contemporary women's movement in South Africa but more importantly speaks to the idea that women's issues have been side-lined from state level and thus trickles down to the rest of society through the media and other vehicles. As such the results of my project also speak to how women in South Africa are treated in general. For Hassim "a strong women's movement would have the capacity to debate, and offer alternatives to, the overall policy frameworks of the government as well as to challenge power relations within the private sphere of family and community, that cannot easily be 'remedied' by state action. Feminist organizations would demand a vibrant debate in the public sphere about the nature of society, engaged with norm-setting at the broadest level" (2005. 192). Similarly, the #Imbokodo and #Womandla movement within the #FMF movement brought a vibrant debate in the public sphere about the nature of society, engaging with and going against norm-setting at the broadest level. However gender based issues that were brought up by #FMF 2015 protesters did not get much attention at a governmental level, university level or in the media. It would seem Hassim (2005) also applies to the student movement. Despite women leaders, there was not significant appreciation of gender issues.

In trying to understand media representation of women in intense political activity it was worthwhile to look at the works of such writers as Duncan (2000),Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012), Hassim (2005) Gqola (2007), Walkins and Emerson (2000) and Sanger and Hadland (2008). Duncan (2000) is sceptical of the media and argues that "thoroughgoing transformation of newsrooms will probably not solve the structural barriers to media access, though, especially in the print media" (Duncan. 2000. 56). She suggests a diverse media will give space for a

plethora of narratives to present themselves. However if diversity of opinion is disabled by newsgathering and production structures in newsrooms then it is very likely that diversity of representation, particularly of women is disabled too. We also learn from Walkins and Emerson (2000) that feminist analysis of the dominant news media organizations revealed that issues salient in the lives of women were generally marginalized, if not ignored outright. Conversely, "the issues most likely to be designated as newsworthy-the economy, electoral politics, and crime typically involved male authority figures" (Walkins and Emerson. 2000. 153).

"Analysts of news media consistently reported that men were far more likely than women to be selected as media commentators and sources" (Walkins and Emerson. 2000. 153). The above suggests that women are generally portrayed as having little or no political agency and thus the media marginalises issues prominent to the lives of women in favour of male centric narratives. This is particularly important in relation to this project because #ImbokodoLead, #Womandla and the women of #FMF 2015 sought to challenge these very same patriarchy and hegemonic heterosexual-masculinity ideologies within the #FMF 2015 movement but also in society at large. The media's inability to represent women's issues only seeks to reconfirm gender biases prevalent in society.

> Sanger and Hadland (2008) find that "in tackling issues of gender, where the constructed roles of women and men make up the ways living experiences are gendered, these 'community newspapers', like the mainstream print media, seldom comment on the social and political patriarchal landscape in which we live" (Sanger and Hadland. 2008. 17).

This is interesting for this project because my data suggests that issues significant to women of #FMF 2015 were marginalised or ignored by the media. The women of #FMF 2015 were not focused on by either student newspapers or articles written about students but not inclusive of student voices or articles written about students and are inclusive of student voices.

In essence I have argued that the print media is complicit in instilling and reproducing the hegemonic patriarchal and heterosexual-masculine ideology matrix in society. And if gender is a performance and the print media only portrays a certain kind of gender dynamic or gender image then what are the implications in relation to gender representation or in particular the

representation of women of #FMF 2015? The above question is at the heart of this project because according to Mendes and Carter (2008) global research that examined women's representation by as news subjects found women are often portrayed as victims. As a result political agency is removed from women and women are seen as reactive victims if seen or heard at all. #Womandla and #Imbokodo within #FMF showed that women were not mere victims but active political agents but my evidence suggests that the print media did not show a much nuanced picture in relation to women political participation.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The research in this project was qualitative. Since the primary aim is in-depth description and understanding of representation of women of #FMF 2015, the qualitative approach is most appropriate for this application. For the research project at hand it was profitable to use the reflexive approach adopted by some social science traditions. The qualitative approach was most useful to gain a complex analysis of the media's representation of women of #FMF. In this way this project interpreted the media's interpretations of women of #FMF's behaviour. Janesick (2000) argues that "the essence of good qualitative research design turn on the use of a set of procedures that are simultaneously open-ended and rigorous and that do justice to the complexity of the social setting under study" (Janesick. 2000. 379). Janesick (2000) believes the choreographer is similar to the qualitative researcher because he/she refuses to separate art from ordinary experiences. For Janesick (2000) qualitative research and dance are similar in that they both focus on lived experience. As such this research project looked at 78 newspaper articles related to #FMF 2015 to understand how the South African media represents women involved in protest action.

According to Janesick (2000) the qualitative researcher takes a thoughtful and critical approach to every experience and as such, a good qualitative researcher, like a good dancer, refuses to be limited to just one approach or technique. "The qualitative researcher uses various techniques and rigorous and tested procedures in working to capture the nuance and complexity of the social situation understudy" (Janesick 2000. 381). For Janesick (2000) qualitative research design begins with a question and once the question is clear, the researcher can determine the most appropriate methodology for the research project. The research question that spurred this project is how has the media represented women of #FMF? And the most appropriate method of analysis is content analysis. This project is exploratory and descriptive as such content analysis was employed and allowed me to get a snapshot of the media's portrayal of women of #FMF 2015.

According to Weber (1990) content analysis classifies textual material, reducing it to more manageable bits of data by using procedures to make valid inferences from text. There is however debate about how those inferences should be made. For instance, Weber (1990) eloquently states that "there is no simple right way to do content analysis. Instead, investigators must judge what methods are most appropriate for their substantive problems" (Weber. 1990.1). This project aims to use the same methods utilized by Wenden (2005) focuses on the role of language in social life, specifically on discourse as the focus of political struggle, i.e. the struggle for the power of representation.

Wenden (2005) reports on the results of an analysis of twelve articles posted on Aljazeera's English website to mark the third anniversary of the al-Aqsa Intifada, outlining the themes used to represent the Intifada, the ideologies revealed by these themes, the characterization of the actors and their actions It is important to take account of how media represents young black people, considering the predominance of the "lost generation" narrative and the ways in which this was challenged by students. The distinction between leaders and general protesters, as well as the shifting relationship between them is also important both to critically review the media's pre-occupation with particular female leaders and how the movement's changing leadership reacted to this phenomenon. A potentially productive starting point for this research project was an interrogation of the social media's emphasis on the 'Doek' as the primary sartorial symbol of black female protesters.

This project reported on the results of a discourse analysis of 78 articles posted in student newspapers, *SAMedia, and The Daily Vox.* Convenient sampling was utilised for this study as such article related to #FMF 2015 were selected from student online newspaper archives, *SAMedia.com, and The Daily Vox* from the period 14th October 2015 to the 30th of December. This period was selected because it marked the very beginning of the #FMF movement and a great of articles were published at the time. The interest of this project is those early representations about #FMF but particularly women participation in the movement. The student online newspaper archives, *SAMedia, and The Daily Vox* archive were mined for data from the period 1 July 2016 to 31 December 2016. This project is descriptive and explores in detail the nuances of textual representation of South African women in political activism. I chose to focus on articles rather than photographs because I was interested in textual representation rather than

visual representation – although I do believe photographs would have added to the overall project and perhaps this leaves enough room for further research.

> "S.A Media is one of the most comprehensive press cutting services offering access to a database consisting of more than 3 million newspaper reports and periodical articles which have been indexed on computer since 1976. Close on 108 000 press reports are added to the system annually. S.A. Media offers; viewpoints of the public and private sectors on contemporary affairs; approaches of experts and the opinions of the man in the street; statistics and researched articles; representative perspectives of the various press groups." (SAMedia 2016, July. Retrieved from URL www.SAMedia.com)

As such, mainstream media for this project will mean newspaper articles cited from www.SAMedia.com. After analysis these articles could be categorised into three groups namely student newspapers, papers that were inclusive of student voices and papers that cover student issues but not from the perspective of the student. Using Woods' (1994) categories as a guide this project has three thematic categories that the newspapers can be viewed. The first category is "underrepresentation of women", the second is "the stereotypical representation of men and women" and the last category is "an emphasis on traditional roles and the marginalisation of women"

Papers covering student issues but not from the perspective of the students:

Papers covering student issues but not from the perspective of the students for this project will be thought of as the following publications: *Business Day; City Press; Diamond Field;; Sowetan; Pretoria News; Witness; Weekend Witness; Weekend Post and Sunday Tribune.*

Business Day is a Times Media owned newspaper with a focus on the South African economy and business sector, companies and financial markets and distributes national on a daily basis. The readership is estimated at 59000 (2012). (*Business Day*. As seen on 2016, July 1. Retrieved from URL (www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Business_Day_(South_Africa)#Distribution_areas)

City Press is a national Sunday newspaper aimed at black readers and is the third biggest selling newspaper in South Africa. The estimated readership is said to be 2, 5 million readers nationally and internationally (*City Press*. As seen on 2016, July 1). Retrieved from URL www.wikipedia.org/wiki/City_Press_(South_Africa).

Diamond Field is a daily newspaper published in Kimberley and distributed in the Western Cape and is a member of Independent News and Media. The estimated readership is 76000 (2012) readers. (*Diamond Field*, as seen on 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URL (www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diamond_Fields_Advertiser#Distribution_areas).

Pretoria News is a daily newspaper established and distributed in Pretoria and the Tshwane Metropolitan for those who live and work in the area. The estimated readership, as of 2012, is 141000 readers (*Pretoria News* as soon on 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URL (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pretoria_News).

Witness is a daily newspaper owned by Naspers and is published in KwaZulu-Natal. *The Weekend Witness* is the weekend edition of the *Witness* and both have an estimated readership of 92000 readers. *Witness* and *Weekend Witness* mainly serve readers in Pietermaritzburg, Durban and the inland areas of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. (*Witness* as seen on 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URL (www.media24.com/newspapers/the-witness/).

Weekend Post is published on Saturday in the Eastern Cape and is owned by Times Media Group. The newspaper is targeted at readers who are between 7 and 10 Living Standard Measurement (LSM) with an estimated readership of 154000 readers. (*Weekend Post*. As seen on 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URL (www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weekend_Post).

Sunday Tribune is KwaZulu-Natal's weekly Sunday newspaper and is owned by Independent Media. The estimated readership is 435000 readers and is targeted at people in and around the KwaZulu-Natal region provides readers with news that affects their lives. (*Sunday Tribune* as seen on 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URL (www.independentmedia.co.za/en/our-brands/newspapers/weekly-&-weekend/sunday-tribune/).

Papers inclusive of student voices

Papers inclusive of student voices for this project are *Cape Argus, Saturday Argus, the Daily Vox,* and the *Mail and Guardian*

Cape Argus is a daily newspaper distributed in the Western Cape and the *Saturday Argus* is the weekend edition. The newspaper has an estimated readership of 319000 and is targeted at middle to upper income readers. (*Cape Argus*. as seen on 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URL (http://uat-www.independentmedia.co.za/en/our-brands/newspapers/daily/cape-argus/)

The Daily Vox falls under the category papers that are inclusive of student voices. *The Daily Vox* is an online digital platform that aims to put young citizens at the centre of news. It seeks to "find, curate and amplify the voices of young South Africans caught between the drudgery of old politics and new protectorates". (*The Daily Vox* as seen on 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URL (www.thedailyvox.co.za). *The Daily Vox* is in partnership with the *Mail and Guardian* and Khadija Patel is the editor of both publications.

Mail and Guardian is a South African weekly newspaper that is distributed nationally and focuses on political analysis, investigative journals and South African news. *Mail and Guardian* is published by *M&G Media* in Johannesburg with an estimated readership of 30 714 (2012). (*Mail and Guardian* as seen on 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URL (www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mail_%26_Guardian).

Sowetan is one of the largest daily newspapers in South Africa with an estimated readership of 2 million readers (2012). Sowetan is owned by the Times media group and is considered as having a left-leaning editorial tone. (*Sowetan* as seen on 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URL (www.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Sowetan).

Student newspapers

Student newspapers that are archived online will be cited for student narratives from the student's perspective. These online archived newspapers are as follows. *Varsity* is the official student newspaper of the University of Cape Town, since 1942. The newspaper is produced by a collective of UCT students, who create a newspaper covering every aspect of student life. *Activate* was established in 1947 as Rhodeo, and during apartheid became an active part of the struggle for freedom of expression as part of the now defunct South African Student Press Union. The newspaper is run entirely by the students and is published every second week during term time. (*Activate as seen on* 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URLwww.activateonline.co.za).

NUX is the official student newspaper of the University of KwaZulu Natal. Founded in 1934, is the oldest student publication in South Africa" (*Nux as seen on* 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URL (www.nux.ukzn.ac.za).

The *Wits Vuvuzela* is the official student newspaper of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). The newspaper is produced by the students of the Wits School of Journalism, and appears in both printed and online formats (*Wits Vuvuzela* as seen on2016, July 1). Retrieved from URL (www.witsvuvuzela.com).

NWU (North West University) *Student 24/7* is a student magazine, written by students, for students, about students. (*NWU. As seen on* 2016, July 1). Retrieved from URL www.nwu.ac.za/Student-24/7.

And lastly, *KovsieLife* is a 70 year old student newspaper that publishes student affairs on the official UFS (University of the Free State) website (*KovsieLife*, as seen on 2016 July 1). Retrieved from URL www.kovsielife.ufs.ac.za.

In conclusion

The key issue for this project was one of selection and representation, for instance, how does one deal with an online archive that may not be updated in cases where student newspapers are

disseminated on other platforms (*Facebook)* or in hard copy? One could also ask why only six campus newspapers are included and others excluded. The answer to that second question is that of the six student online newspapers only three had articles about #FMF 2015. *Vuvuzela* archived published two articles. *Varsity* newspaper had no archived articles about #FMF 2015. *Activate* archived two published articles relating to #FMF while *Nux*'s archive was last updated on the 13 of September 2011. *Student24/7* had no archived articles relating to #FMF because its archive ends on August 2015, a few months before the first wave of #FMF protests. The answer to the first question is a little bit more difficult to answer. Perhaps the largest limitation to this study, which is particularly important to bear in mind, is the fact that SA Media is an important but not accurate/complete repository of South African Media articles. Not all articles are recorded on SA Media and the classification of articles is done by humans, therefore leaving space for error. This error has representation implications. In other words, if only one article on #FMF 2015 appears in the *City Press* (via SA Media), this does not necessarily mean *City Press* published only one piece on #FMF2015. Furthermore what do you do if one media outlet is overrepresented or does not represent student voices, such as in the case of the University of the Free State? Does this still qualify as student media? This is vital to understand and has significant implications for chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR

MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN OF #FMF 2015

This project analysed 77 articles of which an overwhelming majority, 65 articles, reported on events related to #FMF 2015 such as university protest, violence, university shut downs and emergency council and parliamentary meetings. The minority of articles, 23, dealt with the composition, politics and make-up of the protestors of #FMF 2015. Papers covering student issues but not from the perspective of the students published 17 articles of which 13 articles focused on events and four articles dealt with the descriptive composition of protestors of #FMF 2015 and their politics. Papers covering student issues and were inclusive of Student voices published the collectively the most articles, 47 articles. Of which 30 articles reported on events and 17 articles that focused on the composition of the protestors of #FMF 2015. Student Newspapers published. Collectively student newspapers published the least number of articles, 14 articles that were related to #FMF 2015. This is very interesting because when I started my investigation I thought I would find more articles written since #FMF is a student-led social movement. Using Woods' (1994) thematic categories as a guide this project has three categories that the newspapers can be viewed. The first category is "underrepresentation of women, the second is "the stereotypical representation of men and women" and the last category is "an emphasis on traditional roles and the marginalisation of women"

Student Newspapers

Student newspapers collectively published 14 articles related to #FMF 2015. Of the 14 articles, 12 articles focus their attention to events like university shut downs and emergency meetings between SRC leaders and the parliamentary committee. Two articles articulate the composition and make-up of the #FMF 2015 participants. Perhaps what is most interesting in this analysis is the fact that of the six student online newspapers only three had articles about #FMF 2015. *Vuvuzela* archived two published articles. *Varsity* newspaper had no articles about #FMF 2015. *Activate* archived two published articles relating to #FMF while *Nux'*s archive was last updated on the 13 of September 2011. *Student24/7* published no articles relating to #FMF because its

archive ends on August 2015, a few months before the first wave of #FMF protests. Of the student newspapers *KovsieLife* produced the most articles (9) related to #FMF 2015 but what is interesting about these publications is that they are not written by students but by university management (e.g., Lacea Loader, Director: Communication and Brand Management and Prof Jonathan Jansen Vice-Chancellor and Rector of University of the Free State).

Underrepresentation of women

We see similar coverage of other university protests, focusing on describing events with little to no analysis. For example, in "What you need to know going into Day 3 of Rhodes strikes" Mitchell Parker (Activate, 20 October 2015) writes about the events that transpired at Rhodes University. The article is descriptive, rather than analytical, reiterating the events that transpired at Rhodes: "…Monday saw the beginning of the strike action. Multiple demonstrations and marches were held throughout the day and barricades were set up to block entrance in and out of campus…Entering into Tuesday, students rebuild barricades that broke down in the night and marched repeatedly around campus" (Parker. 2015. 1). Like in the Vuvuzela article, the focus is on the spectacle: "It is clear that students at Rhodes do not accept the 6% increase and will continue to strive for a decrease in fees, and given time, free education." as a justification for the actions of the students (Parker. 2015. 1). One of the notable features of #FeesMustFall 2015 is the predominance of women leaders and the large number of women participants. It is striking that the first two articles in student newspapers make no mention of this prominent feature of the movement.

A second article circulated by *Activate*, "SAPS and Law Societies Speak on Protests" by Mako Muzendaon (20th of October 2015), looks at the student Societies and external bodies that had released statements on the demonstrations that had taken place at Rhodes. This article highlights the recourse to various rights protected in the Constitution, including the right to freedom of speech: "The Black Lawyers Association (BLA) was the first to release a statement. Heavily referencing the Constitution in regards to freedom of speech and expression, the BLA affirmed their support for the protesters and the call to make Rhodes University more affordable" (Muzenda. 2015. 1). The framing of the student protests as legitimate rights-bearing protestors was an important theme that developed in 2015 (something that was not sustained in 2016). The general sentiment in the media coverage was sympathetic to the protestors and showing

widespread support. For example, the article explains that the police issued a statement that the police are not a threat to peaceful protest and the actions of the police are in service of the people for their protection.

The statement suggests a retrained police force that is doing everything its power to avoid scuffles with students. "Captain Mali Govender of the South African Police Services (SAPS) assures demonstrators that the police force does not pose a threat to peaceful protesters. She is aware of the incidents at the University of Cape Town, where there were violent clashes with the police where rubber bullets and stun guns were used. Captain Govender is certain that those incidents will not be repeated at Rhodes University. "We are all entitled to express our rights in the form of protest." However, Govender also says that this right must be exercised within the limits of the law" (Muzenda. 2015. 1). The statement by the police in this article suggests that police are only doing their job of law enforcement thus vindicating them of any heavy handed tactics. Almost like teargas, stun grenades and chemical water are necessary evils in law enforcement. The article makes no explicit mention of women.

Of all nine articles published by *KovsieLife* related to #FMF 2015 none were published by students. Two articles are written by the Vice-Chancellor and Rector of University of the Free State Prof Jonathan Jansen and the rest were penned by Lacea Loader the Director of Communication and Brand Management for University of Free State. On 15 October 2015 Prof Jonathan Jansen responds to concerns around high costs of higher education in a letter to students. The letter lists all the things the university has done to help students. For instance, 'This is what we have done so far. We have maintained our position as one of the universities with the lowest tuition fees in the country… In addition, we took a decision earlier this year to become the first university to drop application fees for first-year students. We are proud of that achievement, since so many students fall at this first hurdle as they contemplate post-school education and training…". (*KovsieLife*. 2015a. 1). Furthermore the list of things done by the university is not gender specific further marginalising issues salient to women.

On 20 October 2015 *KovsieLife* reports that UFS had decided to close down all three its campuses on Wednesday 21 October 2015. The article reports in the emergency meeting called to discuss fee increases. The article however does not mention any prominent women leaders but focuses on the UFS SRC "This afternoon the UFS management and the Central Student

Representative Council (CSRC) met on the Bloemfontein Campus to discuss fee increases for 2016. Protesting students outside the Main Building moved outside the main gate onto Nelson Mandela Avenue."(*KovsieLife*. 2015f. 1)

On 21 October 2015 Lacea Loader writes the UFS management closed down all three campuses on 21 October 2015 due to protesting students. The article makes no mention of the reason for the strike other than the demand for free education. On 21 October 2015 Pro Jonathan Jansen published a letter to students about protest action at Fusin this article students are characterized as being violent and disruptive. The article does not engage the subject of the protest other than condemning violence. The article does not characterize the vandals as being anything other than a few students. "Students, we are deeply concerned by the violence, intimidation and threats from the small group of protesting students. These dangerous and demeaning behaviours, like disrupting classes and verbally abusing students and staff, undermine the legitimate quest of students for relief concerning tuition fees. Such behaviour is completely unacceptable and the university will take action where required. We must also remember that we have an obligation to all 30 000 students whose right to learn without fear of violence and intimidation must be respected."(*KovsieLife*. 2015b. 1)

On 21 October 2015 *KovsieLife* reports that UFS had obtained an interdict against protesting students. "A court interdict was successfully granted to the University of the Free State (UFS) this afternoon against conduct by anyone who intends to damage the property of the university or who interferes with the rights of others. Any disruption that happens as from now, will be illegal and the UFS will have the right to call upon the South African Police Service (SAPS) to enforce the interdict" (*KovsieLife*. 2015e. 1). On 22 October 2015 Lucea Loader reports that all activities on UFS campuses would be postponed until Monday 26 October 2015. The article reports that UFS student participated in the #FMF 2015 protests and all campuses were closed down. "All academic and administrative activities on the Bloemfontein and QwaQwa Campuses of the University of the Free State (UFS) have been postponed until Monday 26 October 2015. UFS students joined the national protests against the increases in class and study fees at universities across the country on Tuesday 20 October 2015. All campuses of the UFS were closed down on Wednesday 21 October 2015 and a court interdict was granted the same day against conduct by anyone who intends to damage the property of the university or who interferes with the rights of

others." (KovsieLife. 2015. 1). According to the article the university management is committed to finding viable solutions to help poor students. Prof Nicky Morgan, acting Rector of the UFS says "We are committed to working together as institution in finding viable solutions to the plight of poor students at our university. The university management is also committed to participate in national initiatives to revise the manner in which universities are funded" (*KovsieLife*. 2015d. 1). However the university management makes no mention of the composition of poor students. The university management makes no mention of gender based issues that could be addressed in trying to help poor students.

On 23 Oct 2015 *KovsieLife* published a report written by Lucea Loader stated that UFS had postponed examinations to Monday 2 November 2015. The article credits students from across the country from the decision but makes no mention of women's issues or leaders. "The management of the University of the Free State (UFS) decided today, in line with other universities in the country, to postpone the main examination to Monday 2 November 2015 and the additional examination to 23 November 2015. The decision comes after students across the country took part in a protest action against the increase of fees in 2016. Students from the UFS participated in the protest from Tuesday 20 October 2015" (*KovsieLife*. 2015b. 1)

KovsieLife published an article on 23 Oct 2015 written by Lucea Loader reports that the senior leadership of the University of the Free State welcomed the announcement made by President Jacob Zuma about a 0% increase in tuition fees for 2016. This was a victory for students in that one of goals of #FMF 2015 was a moratorium of on university fee increases for 2016. The article goes on to say that the university leadership commended the behavior of a majority of students during the protests but does not mention gender based concerns. 'We support the announcement by President Zuma, after consultation with university leaders. This will provide enormous relief for struggling students and their families across the three campuses. We now look forward to the details of how universities will be supported financially to enable this to happen,' says Prof Jansen". (*KovsieLife.* 2015. 1). The article also stated that the university had withdrawn the court interdict it obtained. "The court interdict obtained on 21 October 2015 has been withdrawn. "We would like to take the opportunity to thank the South African Police Service (SAPS) and our own staff for their unwavering support and cooperation during this week, especially those staff who performed essential services," says Prof Jansen" (*KovsieLife*. 2015d. 1). *KovsieLife* published an

article on the 28 October 2015 written by Lacea Loader informs students that due to the #FMF 2015 protest the language poll would be moved to a later date. This article, like many others analyzed by this project, does not bring to the fore gender based issues. This type of neglect of gender based issues is repeated across news reports.

The stereotypical representation of men and women

One of the *Vuvuzela* articles, "LETTER TO THE ED: We are fighting for free higher education; the biggest salary increase our mothers will ever receive!", was written by staff reporter Mukovhe Masutha on 20 October 2015 and focuses on the need for the higher education structure to change and be more inclusive. Masutha uses his own context to situate the issue "If you take my mother's annual salary and multiply it by three years, she still wouldn't afford to pay for a single year of study at the University of the Witwatersrand. She is one of many cleaning mothers across my country that leaves home at 4:30am and return from work around 6pm. Over the years, their salaries have been nothing but stagnant when compared to the ever increasing cost of food, transport, electricity and other basic necessities. This has been my mother's routine for the past 26 years and sadly, this routine has conditioned her to genuinely believe that what she receives as a cleaner is what nothing less is due to her, nothing more" (Masutha, 2015: 1).

Masutha highlights the precarious nature of his mother's existence and how university education is entirely unaffordable for many South Africans. Masutha (2015) suggests structural change that will see the adoption of the People's university through a specialized higher education tax. He envisions that "All funds collected from the higher education tax must fund the immediate widening of participation in higher education through the realization of free higher education by January 2016, massive investment in new higher education infrastructure, limiting universities' institutional autonomy (particularly their ability to determine the cost of academic programmes) and the adoption of a 'People's University' approach to further decolonize the higher education landscape in South Africa"(Masutha, 2015: 1). What is noteworthy is that while he envisions a "decolonized" university that is accessible to all, he does not mention of gender issues or the need to address gender-based concerns. This neglect of gender issues is repeated across news reports, which is surprising given the role of women leaders in the movement

An emphasis on traditional roles and the marginalisation of women

The first article published by *Vuvuzela* relating to 2015, was published on 16 October 2015 by Dana De Silva and is titled "Wits students promise long protest". The focus of the article was the shutdown of Wits University. Former SRC president Mcebo Dlamini said the protest would continue into next week" (De Silva. 2015. 1). The article focuses on the logistics and plans to continue protesting, but doesn't speak to the issue of gender or women leadership. It is interesting that while Nompendulo Mkatshwa and Shaera were prominent elected leaders of the SRC, the author chooses to quote Mcebo Dlamini who was not an elected leader. This focus on male leaders and male voices continues throughout the protests .By highlighting the activities of Mcebo Dlamini the article inadvertently plays into gender biases prevalent in society. The women leaders were effectively silenced by the non-representation of their voices. Also interestingly to note is that the article only focuses on the sceptical of #FMF and not the socio-historic circumstances that led to the event.

In conclusion, when one looks at these 14 articles one may notice that an overwhelming majority of the articles focused on the spectacle of #FMF 2015. We also find that even when the articles do focus on the politics that underpin the movement they are narrow in focus like the Wits FeesMustFall Manifesto that excludes any point of political reference other than race and thus reduces the #FMF 2015 protest to just a race debate. In terms of representing women the articles marginalise gender based debates and contentions that occurred within the #FMF movement at the time. One would imagine that student newspapers would express issues salient to all students including women students. *KovsieLife* published the most articles (9) however none of them where written by students, instead they were written by UFS management.

This means an overwhelming majority of articles published by student newspapers related to #FMF 2015 were not written by students. Perhaps what is most interesting in this analysis is the fact that of the six student online newspapers only three had articles about #FMF 2015. *Vuvuzela* published two articles. Varsity newspaper had no articles about #FMF 2015. *Activate* published two articles relating to #FMF while Nux's archive was last updated on the 13 of September 2011. *Student24/7* published no articles relating to #FMF because its archive ends on August 2015, a few months before the first wave of #FMF protests.

Papers covering student issues and were inclusive of student voices

The Argus, Saturday Argus, and *the Mail and Guardian* published 19 articles that report and describe student circumstances related to #FMF, while the *Daily Vox* published 29 articles. Collectively 48 articles were published related to #FMF 2015. Of the 48 articles, 17 articles focused on the composition of the protestors and nearly double (30) as many focused on the spectacle of #FMF protests.

Underrepresentation of women.

On the 18th October 2015 with the rise of the #Imbokodo/ #Womandla movement within the #WitsFeesMustFall movement, came the recognition of intersectionality. This was a deliberate attempt to challenge the persistence of patriarchy and hegemonic heterosexual-masculinity within the #WitsFeesMustFall movement and in society in general, which also brought into question heteronormativity. This "feminist rebuttal" stood for the recognition of the importance of women and their experiences. The group adopted the head-wrap (Doek) as a womanist statement. However of the 77 articles that were looked at student protests in 2015 only one article specifically looked at women leaders, but rather than focusing on women leadership it looked at the Doek and problematised Nompendulo's publicity. The article Daily Vox by Aaisha Dadi Patel (November 16, 2015) titled "Does Destiny's Ulo cover show it doesn't really get #FeesMustFall?" investigates Destiny magazine's choice for its December cover girl Nompendulo 'Ulo' Mkatshwa. The article centres on Tweets made in response to Destiny's choice. Questions about representation came to centre stage. "To put a single student on the cover, many argued, ignored the contributions made by everyone else… Her ANC affiliation was scrutinised by some, particularly as she was wearing ANC colours on the cover. But others pointed out that she'd never hidden her affiliation during the protests" (Patel, 2015a. 1). This article highlights the tensions within the movement, especially around women leadership. There were many representations of male leaders in the media, especially on television, which never raised the same level of discussion and debate about the nature of the movement. Mkatshwa's ANC Doek also raised a lot of consternation within the student movements as there was a feeling that the unity across political parties of the broad-based student movement was now being

collapsed into an ANC dominated space. “Her ANC affiliation was scrutinised by some, particularly as she was wearing ANC colours on the cover” (Patel 2015a. 1).

The social media furore sparked debate who can legitimately claim to be the face of #FMF if it has a single (woman’s) face: “Some commenters argued that Destiny had made it appear as though #FeesMustFall had been led by only one person. Others argued that although Mkatshwa had been put on the cover of the magazine, no one was actually calling her the face of the movement…” (Patel, 2015a. 1). #FeesMustFall 2015 had a number of emergent groups within it that were specifically highlighting issues of gender and sexual orientation, but these received little to no attention. For example, there is no mention of #Imbokodo/ #Womandla movement within the #WitsFeesMustFall movement or how the Doek came to be a symbol woman-centred struggle within the broader social movement. It was only when a female student was attacked by a male protestor that these issues came to the media’s attention.

It is curious to note an article written on November 12, 2015 by Jodi William “The media sells black pain: a woman’s experience from #FeesMustFall”, which focuses on the media’s portrayal of students in a negative light. “The media has been widely criticised for the way in which it portrays students as nothing but “ungrateful hooligans,” yet few have criticised the manner in which the media capitalises on the pain and vulnerable moments of poor black students, to sell papers and make money” (William. 2015. 1). The article is biographical with the author transposing her narrative into the grander criticism of media representations of students in general. The author goes further to expound the many dimensions that composed not only #FMF but her too as a black queer woman. “As a black, queer woman, the #FeesMustFall campaign was not without its challenges.

Often platforms for social change incubate safe spaces for hyper-masculinity and end up being dominated by voices of heterosexual black men. While the campaign was largely centred on socio-economic issues, there were clear intersections with questions of gender equality” (William. 2015. 1). William (2015) is critical of the commodification of pain by the media because she believes it compounds pre-existing challenges. William suggests “perhaps a new method of story-telling should be looked into; one that places students at the helm of the narrative. Beyond the audacious manner in which the media capitalises on the pain of black students, the media remains critical of our methods of protest and manages to paint us as nothing

but violent hooligans" (William. 2015. 1). The author points to the irony of the fact that those same "hooligans" help them sell papers. Here we see the representation of students being challenged, but interestingly William highlights race rather than gender or sexual orientation as organizing theme of her critique.

The *Daily Vox* article published on October 17, 2015 titled "Let's support the student movements – A message from a high schooler" is a bit of an anomaly because it is a letter of support from an anonymous school pupil. The letter venerates the actions of students and classifies them as heroic. "We take our hats off to everyone for their refusal to yield to any pressure that may have affected the outcome of what they were fighting for" (Daily. 2015. 1). The article continues to state that students had been through a lot that year and it was not limited to one place but country wide. "This is not exclusive to Wits students though. Throughout the year we (as South African students) have been through a lot: the Rhodes statue, bringing the Stellenbosch situation to light and now the Wits fees increase, among many other unpublicised events and situations." (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1).

From the online archive *SAMedia.com* the *Daily Vox* has 24 other archived articles related to the events and protests of #FMF 2015 or describes and characterises the "missing middle". For instance the article published on October 14, 2015 titled "#WitsFeesMustFall students stand firm". The article reports events that took place on the day. "Late on Wednesday, student leaders vowed to continue barring vehicles from entering or exiting the campus until they are granted an audience with university's Vice Chancellor Adam Habib" (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1). The article characterises students as being peaceful despite for "scuffles where people had tried to force their way through the picket line, either to get onto or off campus in their vehicles" (Daily Vox. 2015. 1). The article also mentions rumours of an urgent interdict to have removed however "Wits University spokesperson Shirona Patel told the Daily Vox that she was unaware of any legal moves to seek an interdict" (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1)

The *Daily Vox* article "Victory for Wits students as fee hike is suspended" published on October 17, 2015 also cover events for instance

> "In the early hours of Saturday morning, the call for #WitsFeesMustFall was heeded by executive members of the Wits Council… After three days of

> protest and a shutdown of the university, Council, the highest decision-making body at Wits, sat down to an emergency Exco meeting on Friday night, witnessed by hundreds of students in the Senate House Concourse. Vice-Chancellor Adam Habib sat with students on the floor of the Senate House concourse until the meeting was convened at 7pm" (Daily. 2015. 1)

The *Daily Vox* article published on October 20, 2015 focuses on the events at the University of Cape Town. "Dramatic scenes erupted at the University of Cape Town in the late hours of Monday night when riot police stormed students out of Bremner Building, UCT's administrative building. One student was injured after police fired teargas and stun grenades to disperse the peaceful protestors. (Pather.2015. 1). The protesters are characterised as being orderly, peaceful and passive while the police are characterised as being antagonistic and forceful. Police fired teargas once inside the building, but protestors emerged peacefully, in single file, clapping hands and singing as they were steered into a casspir.

The *Daily Vox* article published on October 26, 2015 gives an update of the events that transpired on the day at different campuses around the country. For instance at "15:52, WITS Students are to attend a mass meeting, set for 7pm this evening, to decide whether to continue with the academic programme tomorrow or not… Meanwhile at the University of the Western Cape, students have occupied the Life Sciences building... UJ Once things got off the ground at UJ's mass meeting earlier, students demanded that management set a time frame for achieving free education and ending outsourcing and that the university protect the right to protest at UJ and give assurances that students would not be victimised for participating in the #FeesMustFall protests." (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1)

"After fee hikes fall, where to for Rhodes?" Is the headline of an article published on October 26, 2015 by Stuart Lewis and it focuses on the shutdown of Rhodes University. "Protesters had demanded an end to the Minimum Initial Payment (MIP) which students had to pay before coming to Rhodes and which was set at nearly half of both tuition and residence costs. Earlier last week, management had agreed to replace the MIP with a 10% registration fee." (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1). The article titled "UWC: Free education at a historically black university" written by Ra'eesa Pather on October 27, 2015 focuses on the protestors at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) who had continued a campus shutdown. The author argues that not all universities

were created equal. The article reports that student disrupted the university functions which resulted in a shutdown. “Student protestors marched door-to-door at the university and its residences, disrupting classes and study sessions, until campus was forced to close. The students are demanding that student debt be scrapped, that the Kovacs student residence be institutionalised instead of privately owned, and that the university provide free education. In a university where a large population of students is poor, their demands directly confront the ongoing inequalities in South African society.” (*Daily Vox*. 2015a. 1). The author relates the circumstances of students to broader societal inequality.

The title of the *Daily Vox* article published on October 27, 2015 is “Did the PYA betray Wits students?” focuses on the events that took place after the Wits University and the Student Representative Council (SRC) have agreed that students will go back to class. The article argues that there are students who feel that they have not achieved the aims of the protest because “one of the main demands, from the beginning of the Wits protest, was to end outsourcing. Students spent most of the weekend in meetings deliberating whether to continue protests to achieve the goal of ending outsourcing and free education or to resume academic activities and focus on exam preparation.” (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1)

.The *Daily Vox* article titled “#EndOutsourcing: “I’m working in a university, but I can’t even afford to enrol my child there” published on October 28, 2015 written by Ra’eesa Pather pays attention to the picketing of students and outsourced workers from the UCT outside the Wynberg Magistrates Court in solidarity with students who had been arrested a week earlier. The article also heard from workers why insourcing meant so much to them. Cathy Sepahela a 51 year old cleaner from Metro Cleaning Services in Gugulethu. According to Cathy “Outsourcing affected my life very bad. I was working at UCT from 1990, and I was permanent in 1992. When you are permanent, you have plans. When we were outsourced, everything had changed. We had no benefits, no nothing. My life is miserable” (*Daily Vox*. 2015b. 1). Lindelana Tyhilana is a 37 year old security guard from G4S in Philippi. Lindelana says “We cannot feed our families with the money we get from outsourcing. Sometimes, it’s even difficult to take our children to doctors when they are sick, because the money is not enough. We need to end the outsourcing, because a lot of the money is not coming to us as workers, it’s just going to the companies, not us.” (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1). Zelda Mohamed is a 50 year old cleaner from Metro Cleaning Services in

Heideveld. “We get paid too little. Every Christmas we have to make a loan to buy meat. We get R3, 700, but it’s R3, 500 after deductions.” (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1)

Security guard from G4S Xolisa Kula is 39 years old from Khayelitsha and says “we want to get the benefits that other people are getting from UCT, and our children must get 75% discount to study at UCT. I’ve been working for 10 years, but when I went to check how much I have in my provident fund, I found out I only have R55,000” (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1). Nonkosinathi Silandela from Khayelitsha is a 35 years old security guard from G4S. “Most of the time, people are getting sick in the conditions we are working in at UCT. We are working outside, and we don’t have medical aid” (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1). And Bertram Wagenstroon is a 36 year old, security guard from G4S and lives in Belhar. “They’re paying people very little, but they are the private sector. They can do much better that what they are. Outsourcing must go, because these people are profiting and we’re the ones working for them to get rich. I’m working in a university, but I can’t even afford to enrol my child there” (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1).

The *Daily Vox* article titled “#FeesMustFall protests fracture further at Wits” published on October 28, 2015 centre of attention is the burning of the book at Wits University. “Ntokozo Moloi, a third year law student, was on the scene shortly after the fire broke out. “It looked like someone threw a [burning] bottle through the window. Books that were burnt were on the floor, there was smoke all over,” she said.” (*Daily Vox*. 2015). According to the article Moloi was part of an assembly 50 students who were meeting on the night of the fire in Senate House to “draft a memorandum on behalf of those who disagree with the SRC’s decision to return to campus.

The focal point of the *Daily Vox* article titled “At UCT management ignored workers’ #EndOutsourcing protest for years” published on October 29, 2015 is the signing of the agreement between UCT management and NEHAWU UCT to insource workers. Ra’eesa Pather, the author of the article, believes the student uprising had a profound effect on changing the status quo in relation to outsourcing of workers. “The student uprising at UCT has led to remarkable changes on campus in less than a year. The statue of Cecil John Rhodes was removed, the university confirmed that there would be zero increase on academic and residence fees for students from across the African continent, and, this week, UCT management and NEHAWU UCT finally came to agreement on insourcing. The insourcing victory is however

very different. In every student struggle this year, students have boldly taken on issues that affect themselves and their peers" (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1)

The *Daily Vox* article titled "Wits calls the cops as #EndOutSourcing protest continues" published on October 30, 2015 also pays attention to outsourcing at Wits University and the interdict the University obtained to prevent interruption of university functions. "The interdict comes as a group of students and staffs at Wits continue to protest against the university's outsourcing of labour. While lectures have resumed and the university appears to be operating with relative ease and little disruption, students and staff who have identified themselves as "Fees Must Fall" met with Vice Chancellor Adam Habib in "Solomon Mahlangu House" on Wednesday afternoon to discuss their grievances. Halfway through the meeting, large crowds of singing workers from Education Campus entered the concourse, and in the chaos of the growing crowd, a fight broke out" (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1)

The *Daily Vox* article titled "Seven days of protest at UWC and its still #UWCShutdown" published on November 2, 2015 concentrates on the University of the Western Cape (UWC) shut down. According to the article the university's management and students were caught in a deadlock because the student body was divided into those wanting to continue protesting and those wanting to start with exams. "The atmosphere at the university has been described as "tense" due to the reported continued presence of private security personnel, ambulances, and the South African Police Service (SAPS)" (*Daily. Vox*. 2015. 1)

The *Daily Vox* article published on November 4, 2015 titled "Zero percent, the ANC and the new student movement" focuses on the opinions of Kelly Gillespie in relation to how Wits students decided to co-ordinate the #FeesMustFall protests from the corridors of the university's anthropology department. According to Gillespie (2015) "Student after student stood up in meetings, debated in my office, called each other out on how they would not back down on their two core demands of free education and the end to the outsourcing of service workers on campus" (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1). According to the article the anthropology lecturer was offered a distinctive viewpoint on how the students of #FMF 2015 organised and got to see the comradeship and support at the core of the movement.

In the *Daily Vox* article titled "UWC students reject latest agreement from management" published on November 4, 2015 the author Amanda Ulu writes about students at UWC that rejected an agreement between the SRC and the Vice Chancellor. According to the article the agreement was meant to address key issues, including fee increases, registration fees, outstanding debt and outsourcing. According to the article students were not happy with the agreement because it failed to provide specific details. "But the #FeesWillFall group were not happy with the resolution that had apparently been agreed on. The group's spokesperson, Kaizer Festile said many of the students demands were addressed only in vague terms during the meeting" (*Daily Vox.* 2015. 1).

On November 6, 2015 the *Daily Vox* published an article titled "Mass arrests at UJ outsourcing protests" in which Lebogang Mokoena reports that 13 people were arrested on the previous Friday and 150 more arrested the afternoon of the publication. The article goes on further to explain that the University of Johannesburg (UJ) sought a police interdict to prevent disruptions on the campus after protests at escalated. The article also mentions that Shaeera Kaila who was among those arrested on the day. "Wits SRC president Shaeera Kalla, a prominent leader in the recent #WitsFeesMustFall protests, was among those arrested… Cynthia Fana, a member of the UJ Fees Must Fall/End Outsourcing group, said the protestors consisted of a mixed group of workers, UJ students, and students from Wits University who had joined the protest in solidarity. 'They were standing at the main gate, they were singing, they were very quiet,' she said… Those arrested are being charged with public violence and contravening an interdict, she said" (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1).

In the *Daily Vox* article titled "In principle" outsourcing not enough for UCT workers" published on November 13, 2015 Amanda Xulu reports that despite the gains made by the #FMF 2015 protests workers are despondent in relation to the way their Nehawu represented them. According to the article workers believe that Nehawu is not representing their immediate and long-term interests. "Many workers have praised the efforts of UCT's students in assisting to make insourcing a reality. "The students played a very important role in taking our demands seriously," said a worker for Supercare, another of the companies to be insourced. "Without their support, and their refusal to agree the university's demands, we would still be outsourced and paid peanuts." (*Daily Vox*. 2015a. 1).

On November 23, 2015 the *Daily Vox* published an article written by Tarryn De Kock. The article pays attention to the Cape Peninsula University of Technology's decision to move some of its exams to the Wingfield Military Base. The author likens the decision to one that would have been taken in the 1980's. For the author the decision "harkens back to the student protests of the 1980s and tells us something more about how race has played out in the student protests that continue on some campuses across the country," (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1). Furthermore the author believes that there is a self-perpetuating loop of violence in relation to the #FMF 2015 protests that is being undocumented. "There has also been increasing violence, whether on the part of police and hired security or frustrated students who face intimidation, and a silencing and ignoring of the protests on the part of management. The failure of university management to adequately respond to students' demands has only fuelled their anger, and this too has gone unreported." (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1).

This article published by *Argus* on 21 October 2015 seems to give context to the actions of student protestors but does not go into depth about the socio-historic circumstances that created the so-called missing middle. The article also generalises the circumstances of the Brackenfell family as being the circumstances of many South African families. "The Brackenfell family represents thousands of other parents who find themselves in a tight spot - earning just too much to qualify for the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), and too little to comfortably afford the exorbitant cost of repaying debt in respect of university fees. Others, still, don't have access to borrowing." (*Argus* 2015 10 21)

The article published by *Argus* on 22 October 2015 that reports the events that took place at UCT. The article curiously mentions the names of students with famous parents. "Unconfirmed reports suggest Ilan Price, the son of UCT vice-chancellor Max Price, was among the arrested. Others include struggle stalwart Reverend Frank Chikane's son, Kgotsi, and Markus Trengove, whose father, advocate Wim Trengove, is seen as one of the country's sharpest legal minds." (*Argus* 2015 10. 23). The article also mentions that UCT students barricaded entrances to their university for the four days preventing operations.

The article titled "All our voices are not being heard" published on 27 October 2015 by *Argus* deals with articulating the composition of the #FMF students. According to the article the group was "a collaborative effort between various student movements – including #Patriarchymustfall,

Queer Revolution TransCollective, Left Students Forum (LSF), UCT Sasco, Sasco Western Cape, UCT Pan African Students Movement of Azania (PASMA), Equal Education UCT and UCT SRC." (*Argus* 2015 10 27) the reason for this was so that the movement would representative of as many students as possible. The article continues to say that the movement had no leaders but in the vacuum leaders emerged but this process caused confusion among students. "But by the end of the week, Rhodes Mast Fall (RMF) had overtaken the leadership of the campaign- alienating other movements and causing confusion among students. The author argues "when there are no clear leaders, there is no one who can be held accountable. And when co one can be held accountable, the students suffer" (*Argus* 2015 10 27)

The article published on 28 October 2015 by *Argus* is titled "Factions force cancelation of UCT catch-up classes" penned by Zodidi Dano focuses on the events that transpired at Rhodes University on the 27th of October 2015 when protest and pass tutoring sessions had to be cancelled because the Rhodes must fall movement would disrupt proceedings. The article characterises the students as afraid and scared for their safety. "The students spoke to the Cape Argus from a hide-out, and said yesterday's study session had to be cancelled early in the morning. After consultation with officials at the university's student affairs department and Nehawu representatives, PYA was advised to call the study off. Some members said they feared for their lives" (*Argus* 2015a 10 28)

The *Argus* article published on 03 November 2015 focuses and reports on political parties in relation to the DA's opposition to tax increases to fund the zero percent increase of 2016 as proposed by President Jacob Zuma. According to the article "the DA says it is opposed to tax increases, or a wealth tax, to fund the zero -percent fee hike for next year because there was enough money available in the existing budget to make up universities' shortfall of around R 2.6 billion." (*Argus* 2015 11 03). The article published on 05 November 2015 focuses on the police's response to #FMF. The police in the article say used maximum restraint because there were no fatalities. POLICE countered the #FeesMustFall with one of their own, #MaximumRestraint, the success of which meant there were "no fatalities" during last month's student protests, acting national police commissioner Lieutenant-General Khomotso Phahlane told MPs yesterday." (*Argus* 2015 11 05).

According to an article published on 10 November 2015 by *Argus* eight Langverwacht Landscaping contract workers were apparently fired after for joining in an outsourcing assembly at Stellenbosch University yesterday. "Nyamezile Tomose said he was uncertain of what today would hold for him because he had been fired from the job he had held for seven years." (*Argus* 2015 11 10). The article published 11 November 2015 reports on the 27 protesters arrested for public violence during a protest at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT). According to the article their case was postponed to 22 January 2016. "Police on Friday arrested protesters who had allegedly smashed windows and set fire to campus buildings during a demonstration that turned violent. National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) spokesman Eric Ntabazalila said the students were "let out on warnings' and were charged with assault and public violence" (*Argus* 2015 11 11). In the article published on 18th of November 2015 the Argus reports that more than 50 staff members at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) have signed a petition calling for an end to the eviction of students. "The university has requested that all students vacate residences no later than 4pm today. Students at CPUT's Bellville campus caused extensive damage after setting the finance building alight for the second time this week" (*Argus* 2015 11 18)

Saturday Argus published 7 articles relating to #FMF in 2015. Of the reports five deal with events and the other two analysis of the composition and make-up of the "Fallist". For instance the article published on 20th October 2015. "6 000 protesters backing the #FeesMustFall movement clashed with police, who fired stun grenades, rubber bullets and sprayed them with blue dye. As the crowd retreated to nearby Bishop Lavis, there was pandemonium. Police gave little warning to protesters…People fled in all directions as stun grenades and rubber bullets were fired. Police then pursued marchers… with most protesters doubling back across peak -hour traffic on the busy thoroughfare, which runs between blocks of flats, and running into a park where children were playing. Several residents cheered on the students" (*Saturday Argus* 2015 10 24)

The *Saturday Argus* article published on 24th October 2015 focuses on the meetings that the student leaders had with President Jacob Zuma about fee increases. According to the article students were not happy with the outcome of the meeting. "Student leaders who were locked in a meeting with President Jacob Zuma yesterday were unhappy with the decision not to raise fees

next year… The student organisations said they were unhappy… and that the government had failed to commit to help them in the long term." *(Saturday Argus.* 2015. 10. 24*)*

In another *Saturday Argus* article written by Noloyiso Mtembu published on the 24th of October 2015 reports that a charter of demands that was put on social media had gone global as the "SA fees revolution". The article also reports that messages of support for the #FMF movement have been coming from across the world with academics from different universities voicing their support. "Kelly Moult, of the Academics Union at UCT, said they stood with the students in their demand for no fee increase in 2016. She said the university should drop charges and reverse the court interdict against protesting students. The university obtained the interdict on Monday following campus -wide protests which led to clashes with police. "We also demand that the university holds government to account" (*Saturday Argus* 2015 10 24)

Wendyl Martin writes for the *Saturday Argus* and states that UCT academics stand by students in an article that reports in the support the #FMF is garnering from different academics and interest groups. "Dressed in their red robes, academics joined and led a marching group of students and UCT staff through the university's campuses yesterday. Fired up by the nationally trending #FeesMustFall campaign, the group of about 2 000 people gathered at the Jameson Steps and then marched en masse down the campus to the university's management centre. The Black Academic Caucus and the Academic Union were at the front of the group, leading the chanting." (*Saturday Argus* 2015 10 24)

Jan Cronje writes for the *Saturday Argus* and writes on the 24th of October that there was UCT worker protest over consultations. "In an announcement sent to staff and students at 6.30 pm yesterday university spokeswoman Gerda Kruger said the group of 'mostly workers' had" disputed whether the Nehawu (National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union) joint shop stewards council has represented them adequately in the insourcing agreement". (*Saturday Argus* 2015 10 24). The last article published on the 24th October 2015 by Argus relates to how the fees protest has highlighted governments overspending. "Meanwhile, it's become clear that the ANC, after initially condemning the #FeesMustFall demonstrations, wants to hijack a campaign whose participants have so far indicated a strong antipathy towards traditional political parties". The article wrestles with the idea of free education but ridicules its participants as mere vandals or anti-Semites. Let's take for instance, "This is unsurprising, given the number of familiar

revolutionaries who have emerged in the vanguard of the forces sweeping across our campuses and elsewhere. They include #RhodesMustFall's Chumani Maxwele, the faeces tosser who has already spent many years at the University of Cape Town reading politics and former Wits SRC president Mcebo Dlamini, ardent admirer of Adolf Hitler and noted anti-Semitic." (*Saturday Argus 2015* 10 24)

The stereotypical representation of men and women

In the article written by Pontsho Pilane for the *Daily Vox* titled "Black students' dissent on Afrikaans campuses is about more than just language policy" published on November 3, 2015 pays particular attention to the debate about language polices. The author argues that it would be an unjust to see students dissent as merely a matter of language. The article suggests that the actions of protesting black students challenged the nooks of white privilege.

> "The student movements that emerged at Tuks, NWU-Pukke and Stellenbosch University (SU) in the days before #FeesMustFall protests challenged the privileges of whiteness at campuses where Afrikaans is a medium of instruction. The tendency was to reduce students' dissent to just a matter of language. The perspective that Afrikaans-only spaces should continue to exist is not the problem – it is the expectancy that these spaces should exist at the cost of the inclusion of black students that is a cause for concern" (*Daily Vox*. 2015a. 1)

An emphasis on traditional roles and the marginalisation of women

A *Daily Vox* article written by Pontsho Pilane ("Dear black man, do better", December 9, 2015) is a series of questions presented to the black man in an attempt to tease out the answer to the real question, why are black men misogynists.

> "Dear black man, why does it take likening sexism to racism for you to "get it"? Is our humanity not enough? You have shown us it is not enough. That is why a comrade can rape another comrade in a revolutionary house like Azania and still be defended. That is why #ImbokodoLead was created during #FeesMustFall" (Pilane. 2015b. 1).

The author characterizes the woman experience as being one of constant violence against the senses. “Those of us who are not black men and don’t perform gender through your narrow expectations are tired. We will not stand by and be raped, harassed, abused and have the life sucked out of us because you don’t value our gender choices” (Pilane. 2015b. 1). This article focuses on the precarious position women find themselves even within the student movement. Pilane highlights the irony in black men’s struggle against racism, but still use the same sexist patriarchy to harass women. The hypocrisy of the black man fighting for his own humanity to be recognised, but failing to recognise the humanity of women demonstrates the secondary nature of women’s issues within the movement. Issues of racial identity came to dominate the political discourse with little reference to intersectional issues of gender and class

The *Daily Vox* article published on October 23, 2015 titled “A change is going to come: on the right to peaceful protest and its history” deals with the right to protest. The author disagrees with the characterisation of those who exercise their right to protest as being rebels. The author argues “that its very existence is as a direct result of its historical origins and importance to South Africa. If there was ever a right that had to be exalted or protected above others, it has to be this right” (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1). The author believes people power was what ended Apartheid.

> “This country has a very rich culture of non-violent protests. Examples are the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s against repressive government legislation or maybe the Women’s Resistance Campaign in the same period. Maybe we should mention the Sharpeville Massacre or perhaps the Soweto Uprising of 1976?” (*Daily Vox.* 2015. 1)

The *Daily Vox* article titled” Did NWU Potchefstroom create a terrible time machine?” published on November 2, 2015 the author centres around the idea that events at North West university Potchefstroom are the result of deeply conservative and backward attitudes that are relics of Apartheid. According to the article the Reform PUK movement called for the removal of a statue of Afrikaans poet, writer and academic Jakob Daniel du Toit but were met with resistance from white Afrikaans students who wished to protect the statue. According to the article the Reform PUK is made up of black students who are minority in the university.

> "It seems that the machine has been ferrying attitudes and ideas from the depths of our apartheid past to the 21st century. Perhaps it would be possible to dismiss the statue saga as an outlier, a collective brain fart and not as a result of a time machine, or, alternatively a culture of non-inclusive thinking. But as last week wore on, the deeply conservative attitudes that prevail around Potchefstroom seemed to become more prominent" (*Daily Vox*. 2015. 1)

The *Daily Vox* article published on December 3, 2015 titled "Higher education is not a privilege, it's a constitutional right" Aaisha Dadi Patel reports on Ofentse Makgae a 23 year old student who was awarded the Rhodes Scholarship to do his PhD at Oxford University. The article focuses on Ofentse's life story and we find out that Ofentse is from a poor background and finances were a challenge.

> "I am the son of a cleaner and an unemployed former miner. They had to work during my childhood, so I was raised by my grandmother. I went to a public school called Manamakgotha High School in a village near Moruleng in Rustenburg, North West province. I got distinctions for English and maths when I matriculated, and thereafter I enrolled at TUT to study chemistry… Finances were a challenge, especially during my first year away from home. If it wasn't for my best friend Tshepo Setshogoe, who made sure I had food and a roof over my head in my first year when I was uncertain about how I was going to pay for my education" (Patel. 2015a. 1)

Aaisha Dadi Patel reports for the *Daily Vox* on December 9, 2015 about graduation ceremony of Mcebo Dlamini. According to the article the ceremony was filled with ululation and songs like iYoh Solomon before Dlamini's name was called.

> "Breaking all conventions of normal stage time, Dlamini shook the hands of the academics on stage to the jubilation of the crowd. In a bittersweet moment, his nemesis vice-chancellor Adam Habib gave him a hearty embrace, and before he stepped off stage, so did current SRC president Nompendulo Mkatshwa." (Patel. 2015b.1)

The article published by *Argus* on 23 October 2015 relates to the protests to broader societal concerns. By using the word oppressed the article suggests that protest related to macro socio-economic issues.

> "It only makes sense that the particular language of this struggle ("Must Fall!") would find expression in spaces occupied by the most oppressed in society. What is happening across universities is directly connected to bread and butter issues" (*Argus* 2015 10 23).

The article published by the Argus on 23 October 2015 places its focus on the events that took place at UWC. "POLICE, fired rubber bullets and stun grenades and deployed a water cannon at students at UWC late last night as country wide protest over high tuition fees showed little sign of abating." (*Argus* 2015 10 23)

The *Saturday Argus* article titled "it's not about fees, it's really about equality" published on 31 October 2015 seems to praise the actions of student protestors.

> For instance "there is inspiration in seeing young South Africans risk life and limb once more for a principle in a manner reminiscent of 1976, this time in the precinct of Parliament, the hard-won People's House and on university campuses. Their principle is to fight for access to education, to confront entrenched inequality and the costs of our transition to democracy…" (*Saturday Argus* 2015 10 31).

The article almost suggests that this is a just and righteous campaign and students have every right to be behaving in the fashion they have been.

> "These are not simply students protesting. This is not business as usual. This is not just about percentage increases. This is about defining our future by the way we treat our emerging intelligentsia… Instead, we see attempts to engineer this national crisis into vote wining soundbites, self-interest, the hijacking of the student voice" (*Saturday Argus* 2015 10 31).

SAmedia.com archived one *Mail and Guardian* article relating to #FMF 2015 titled "Students aren't looking for a free ride - they're broke" penned by Subethra Pather who lectures in

academic development at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. The article presents data from a recent study about factors that influence first year's experiences and academic performance. According to the research 94% of the participants of the study needed funding such as student loans, bursaries and scholarships.

> "Most of the students I interviewed can't rely on their families for financial support. In the study sample, only 21.45% of fathers and 22.2% of mothers could offer help. Students keenly felt this lack of support, with one saying: 'If I had the financial support from my family I would have maybe done much better in some of the [academic] work'. "In total, 41% of the participants in my study received some financial support from their parents, 53% relied on external funding — 10% received student loans and 43% student bursaries — and 6% paid for their own studies. The students' priority was to secure financial aid before focusing on academic activities" (Mail and Guardian 2015 12 04).

Using the data from the research the author attempts to convince us that students are not merely looking for a free lunch but the socioeconomic circumstances of students dictate a need for macro level intervention.

In conclusion in the depth of silence created by the absence of student articles from student newspapers, platforms like the *Daily Vox, Mail and Guardian Cape Argus* and *Saturday Argus* have capitalized by claiming to be inclusive of student voices. When one looks at the papers that are inclusive of student voices, one will notice the same pattern as student papers in that the majority of articles largely underrepresented women. The *Argus* and the *Saturday Argus* published 18 articles that report and describe student circumstances, while the Daily Vox published 29 articles. Collectively 47 articles were published related to #FMF 2015. Of the 47 articles, 17 articles focused on the composition of the protestors and nearly double (30) as many focused on the spectacle of #FMF protests. We find, by highlighting the activities of male protestors and Male SRC leaders the articles also plays into gender biases prevalent is society. Gender based discussions are marginalised in favour of narratives about zero percent fee increases for 2016, university shut downs, emergency meetings between SRC leaders and parliamentary committees and students violent clashes with police.

Papers that cover student issues but not from the perspective of the student

Papers that cover student issues but not from the perspective of the student collectively have 15archived articles on *SAmedia.com* related to #FMF 2015, of which 13 articles focused on the spectacle of #FMF 2015, while four articles reported on the composition, politics and make up of #FMF 2015 protestors. This group is made up of ten publications namely: *Business Day, City press, Diamond Field, Sowetan, Pretoria News, Weekend Witness, Witness, Weekend Post and the Sunday Tribune*

Underrepresentation of women

In the first article archived of *Business Day* the focus is on the event of Wits University's commitment to end outsourcing at the university.

> "The University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) yesterday became the latest institution in the country to commit to doing away with outsourcing of services, including cleaning and security, following intense protests. Last week the University of Cape Town agreed to gradually phase out outsourcing" (*Business Day* 2015 11 02).

The second article also has to do with the world of work in that it focuses on the University of South Africa council's decision to force members with expired terms to step down.

> "Students and staff protested at the institution's Pretoria campus on Friday, calling on all council members who have served for more than two terms to step down. They also demanded that Unisa ended outsourcing." (*Business Day* 2015 12 08)

The last archived article by *Business Day* relating to #FMF 2015 titled "ANC's loss of control heralds a new national conversation" is penned by Palesa Morudu and focuses on the ANC governments response to fees must fall. The author believes for the first time since the end of Apartheid the African National Congress has lo9st control of South African politics.

> "When tens of thousands of students took to the streets last month to demand that fees must fall, the ANC's initial response was flat-footed and tone deaf, with police firing stun grenades and tear gas at overwhelmingly peaceful students If one considers how the ANC has handled student protests and vocal challenges in parliament, it is apparent that the governing party has an obsession with authority." (*Business Day* 2015 11 06).

The author suggests that this heavy handed response is likened to the era of Louis XIV who famously declared "I am the State"

Diamond Field has two archived articles relating to #FMF 2015 and the first article deals with the possible moratorium on fees hikes. The article reports that a source close to Blade Nzimande, South African Higher education minister, is of the view that the continued protests would turn into a crisis if left to continue.

> "Yesterday university vice chancellors from UCT, CPUT and Stellenbosch University threw their weight behind the #FeesMustFall campaign. This comes after a week of mayhem as thousands of university students, staff and workers shutdown campuses throughout the country". (*Diamond Field* 2015 10 23).

The second *Diamond Field* article deals with the cost cutting measures that were to take place at Sol Plaatje University (SPU). The article suggests that the #FMF 2015 protests necessitated the cost cutting measures.

> "While the majority of students at the Sol Plaatje University (SPU) will remain unaffected by the recent announcement by President Jacob Zuma that there will be a zero increase in university fees in the2016 academic year, it has necessitated the implementation of cost-cutting mechanisms at the university. However, "He concluded by slating those who burnt books during the recent protests, describing the action as "an unspeakable, inconceivable idea" that "completely crossed the line". (*Diamond Field* 2015 10 30)

Pretoria News has one archived article written by Tebogo Monama relating to #FMF 2015 titled "More #FeesMustFall protests in 2016". The article also focuses on the meeting between student

representative council (SRC) presidents and secretaries, Dr Blade Nzimande and the Parliaments portfolio committee on education that discussed the feasibility of free tertiary education. It would seem with so many interest groups that make up the composition of #FMF 2015 protestor the focus would be on broader transformation of universities and society. The #FMF 2015 movement called for more than just free quality education. Gender based concerns did not feature in the discussion in meeting. This article also negates to mention that students at most universities had rejected their SRC say they did not represent their interests. This contention between students and their SRC's relating to representation is key to this project because I looked at the representation of women of #FMF 2015 and it would seem at the highest levels in South African politics gender based concerns are marginalised too.

> "The SRC leaders said they were waiting for feedback from the task team set up by President Jacob Zuma to investigate the feasibility of free tertiary education following the protests at institutions across the country. The student leaders said they were concerned about large-scale financial exclusions when universities reopen for the new academic year, despite Zuma's announcement of a no-fee increase for 2016" (PNEW 2015 12 04).

Furthermore the article mentions SRC president Busisiwe Mashiqa asked Nzimande to apologise for saying students must fall, "Nzimande said he was joking at the time. 'I can't be the minister of higher education and wish students to fall. If anybody was offended that was not my intention and I apologise unconditionally', "he said to applause" (*Pretoria News* 2015 12 04)

The Sowetan newspaper had only one article archived on *SAMedia.com* relating to #FMF 2015 by education reporter Bongekile Macupe and it reported that universities were on edge after students vowed that the #FMF protests would intensify in 2016 after a meeting with the National Assembly portfolio committee on higher education and training, was attended by student representative council (SRC) presidents, secretary-generals, members of the committee and Minister of Higher Education Blade Nzimande. According to the article the student leaders were reacting to a statement Nzimande made at the meeting that it was not government policy to offer free higher education to everyone.

> "Student leaders hit back at Nzimande, saying the government needed to make a commitment before registration opens next month or they would protest. The #FeesMustFall campaign led President Jacob Zuma to implement a 0% fee increase for next year" (Sowetan 2015 12 04).

The article focuses mainly on organised leadership namely the SRC leadership. This article does not discuss the issue that most university students had rejected their SRC's relating to issues around legitimacy and representation. Gender based representation is among the concerns that were not highlighted by the SRC leaders further marginalising the narratives of women in the upper echelons of society.

SAMedia.com archived one article by *Weekend Witness* related to #FMF 2015 titled "A milestone towards free education". The article focuses on the reaction of University of KwaZulu-Natal Student Representative Council (SRC) president Dithobe Mosana after a meeting with President Jacob Zuma, Vice Chancellor, chairs of councils and SRC leaders. According to the article Mosana believes the #FMF movement is not only about fees but also free education. "For us this is a milestone towards free education" (*Weekend Witness* 2015 10 24). Furthermore Mosana is cited as saying

> "There are those who tried to score political points and claim a political victory. Why did they have to be violent when we were inside negotiating on their behalf? Those were not students: students are disciplined and have been disciplined throughout the campaign." In relation to the violence that took place at the Union Buildings. (*Weekend Witness* 2015 10 24).

Mosana is a male student leader who only focuses on free education as the milestone instead of paying attention to broader transformative gender politics. In this instance Mosana characterises protesting students as being disciplined thus absolving students of responsibility.

SAMedia.com archived three *Weekend Post* articles related to #FMF 2015 and the first of which reports on the announcement Jacob Zuma made in relation to fee increases in 2016. According to the article

> "more than 15 000 students from across Gauteng, Limpopo and North West descended on the Union Buildings in Pretoria on a day which was meant to be free of violence but saw police fired rubber bullets and stun grenades during a scuffle between students and police at one stage" (*Weekend Post* 2015 10 24).

The article states that students and activists marched peacefully but anger was the reaction when President Zuma did no address them.

> "Thousands of students, youth and political activists marched alongside one another in an almost peaceful day of mass protest on the lawns of the Union Buildings, many angered at the no-show by the president to address their concerns" (*Weekend Post* 2015 10 24).

The article pays no attention to the participation of women's movements within the protestors. The thousands of students, youth and political activists was made up of thousands of women with vested interest in #FMF 2015

The second *Weekend Post* article written by Zandile Mbabela and published by Weekend Post reports on the praise former President Thabo Mbeki gave to students at the NMMU Beyers Naude lecture.

> For instance "Former President Thabo Mbeki commended students on the recent countrywide #FeesMustFall protest, saying they displaced the conscious leadership instrumental in bringing about South Africa's liberation" (*Weekend Post* 2015 10 31).

According to the article Mbeki cautioned against letting the opportunity to be leaders slip by. The former president stays mom on the subject of gender transformation n universities or broader society. The question is begged then, what about women's liberation in South Africa. South Africa is riddled with gender based violence and discrimination however the former president does not engage these topics further marginalising salient issues in the lives of South African women.

SAMedia.com archived three *Witness* articles. The first article related to #FMF 2015 published by Witness New is titled "MPs demand answers from police over Parliaments security" and

concentrates on the police's explanation of the events that took place at Parliament on October 21, during the #FeesMustFall campaign.

> For instance, "At 12.19 pm, police recorded that a single tyre was set alight on the road. The deputy secretary of Parliament came out but was unable to identify any leaders in the group, but a woman had told the delegation that they wanted Minister of Finance Nhlanhla Nene to address them. At 2:14 pm, a "splinter group" forced its way in through Plein Street and another through the Spin Street entrances. Armandale said the groups were given verbal warnings in English and isiXhosa and they responded violently by throwing rocks and bottles at the police. Annandale said officers then pushed the students back by using 21 stun grenades, their batons, shields, two smoke canisters and three pepper spray canisters. Six arrests were made in the precinct, and outside the precinct. Nobody was injured, according to the police report…" (*Witness* 2015 11 05).

The article also mentions the Democratic Alliances' (DA) representative Alliance MP Zakhele Mbhele who wanted to know how the "Bellville Six" arrested at Parliament on the day could be charged with high treason. However the article does not go into detail about the make composition of the protestors and as such women protestors or issues related to women are not dealt with. The article focuses on student struggles with police and parliament management but gender based struggles are not mentioned in any of the articles.

The second *Witness* article titled "Ramaphosa hails students" pays concentrations on the statement made by Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa in relation to #FMF 2015.

> "There is nothing wrong with our young people. There is everything that is right about them. They just want to be given the right opportunities and this is the time we can do so." he said. Ramaphosa said it was "almost a new dawn, a new moment" that had brought with it questions over the autonomy of universities." (*Witness* 2015 11 05).

The Deputy President seems to equate the struggles of students with university autonomy as if autonomy is sorted out then everything else will fall into place. The article negates the struggles of women protestors that go beyond the scope of university autonomy.

The third *Witness* article pays attention to the statements Professor Jonathan Jansen made at the Cape Town Club in relation to #FMF 2015. “Jansen, speaking at the Cape Town Club on the recent student protests and the future of tertiary institutions, highlighted the protests were never simply just about fees. He also said the protests furthermore differed between predominantly English, Afrikaans and black universities.

> "At universities like [University of Cape Town] and [University of Witwatersrand], there are deep set concerns about transformation” (*Witness* 2015 11 06). The issue of transformation in this article seems to be based on race and no mention of gender transformation is mentioned.

The stereotypical representation of men and women

What is most curious about the only *City Press* article archived by *SAMedia.com* related to #FMF 2015 is that it does not deal with the events of #FMF at all but rather deals with Little Simz’s music video that features footage from the #FMF 2015 protests. The article is titled “#FeesMustFall is in a UK rap song” and is written by Biene Huisman who suggests the video was met with much online enthusiasm.

> “The video shows students crowded in front of the Bremner building at the University of Cape Town (UCT), and then marching to the university's upper campus. Cape Town film maker Imraan Christian wrote on Facebook: "For many of us, #FeesMustFall it something in our essence that can't quite be described, nor extinguished. We experienced a special energy, a radical connection, inconsolable pain." (*City Press* 2015 12 06)

The last article archived by *SAMedia.com* of the *Weekend Post* is titled “Fashion, #FeesMustFall: a dress and a degree”. The article is autobiographical and the author testifies to not feeling unsafe during the protest march to the Union Buildings despite the medias portray of violence.

> "First of all, lets calm down the criticism: although the media have shown images of violence and mayhem, I want to speak out and say, hey, wake up, I was at the Union Buildings that day and the mood was not what so many of you feared. Instead, it was exhilarating and inspirational to see how all races and faith: peacefully demonstrated — side by side" (*Weekend Post* 2015 10 31).

The author believes that further education is denied to many people because of poverty and judging the whole movement because of the actions of a few would be inappropriate.

> "Please, also, don't dismiss the entire #FeesMustFall movement due to the few who are hooligans and vandals. The older generation's unheard anger is now bursting out through the voices of the young and #FeesMustFall has put our country at a tipping point, with students and many others saying "no", this injustice must not and cannot continue" (*Weekend Post* 2015 10 31).

The author however pays no attention to women's struggles within the broader #FMF movement or how thousands of women were protesting too.

An emphasis on traditional roles and the marginalisation of women

SAMedia.com archived one *Sunday Tribune* article by Suntosh R Pillay related to #FMF 2015 titled "FeesMustFall". According to the article David Dickinson, a staff representative on the Wits council confirms that 3000 students were excluded in 2015. The article goes on to note that these students were excluded despite meeting academic requirements. Pillay (2015) believes that hard work alone does not determine success.

> "Encouraging students to simply work harder – either academically or by getting part-time jobs - reveals a naive narrative of what enables student success. Historically disadvantaged students who succeed via this type of "hard work" do so in spite of the system, not because of it." (*Sunday Tribute* 2015 10 25).

The author asks the question how far the decolonial project has come and suggests that organic movements are safe spaces to answer this question.

> ”Notwithstanding some success in the last 20 years, undoing 300 years of external and internal colonialism is slow and painful. How far have we come in terms of improving access to black staff and students, supporting them in the system, decolonising curricula, reviving marginalised knowledge agendas, and making universities in Africa look like African universities? The organic rise of these social movements, interdependent and perhaps ancestrally infused with a higher quest towards a true humanity, has provided an emotionally cathartic and safe space for expression.” (*Sunday Tribute* 2015 10 25).

This article fails to mention that gender equity is part of the decolonial project. The neglect for gender based issues in trying to conceptualise decolonisation show a neglect of issues salient to women.

In conclusion this category of newspapers collectively had 16archived articles on *SAMedia.com* related to #FMF 2015, of which 13 articles focused on the spectacle of #FMF 2015, while four articles reported on the composition, politics and make up of #FMF 2015 protestors. Gender based discussions are marginalised in favour of narratives about zero percent fee increases for 2016, the state’s and university’s responses to the protests and outsourcing. And when the articles did focus on the composition of the #FMF the focus is narrowly on students need for funding higher education. Although an important part of the make-up and politics of #FMF there were other dimensions like gender debates within #FMF that influenced the movement profoundly

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This project has analysed 77 articles and found very little difference between articles written by student newspapers, articles written about students but not inclusive of student voices and articles written about students and are inclusive of student voices. The data suggest that all three categories represented women in the same way. Of the six student online newspapers analysed only three had articles about #FMF 2015. Furthermore, of the 77 articles analysed only one article made explicit mention of the Doek. The data suggests that issues salient to women are marginalised or ignored by the media. The women of #FMF 2015 were not focused on by either student newspapers or print media outlets not inclusive of student voices or articles written about students and are inclusive of student voices. This is interesting if we take into account Walkins and Emerson (2000) who asserted that dominant news media organisations tend to marginalise salient issues in the lives of women. In terms of this research project, only one article mentioned #Imbokodo or #Womandla or how the Doek came to be a symbol of womanist struggle within the broader #FMF movement. If we keep in mind the argument by Duncan and Reid (2013) that a media system that is not monopolised by a few big players will serve better as a means of informing the wider citizenry but even if the media system is diverse, you are likely to see a confluence in the way the media represents women and issues important to them. This suggests that a diverse media system on its own does not ensure that the citizenry is informed, because it seems all media represent or do not represent women of #FMF in the same way.

In totality, the minority of articles, 23, dealt with the composition, make up and politics of the #FMF protestors. This suggests that very little time was spent expounding the nuances and under currents that influenced the #FMF movement. Furthermore, in terms of the representation of women the above is true because such movements as #Womandla and #ImbokodoLead got very little media attention from either student newspapers, or papers covering student issues, inclusive of student voices or papers that were not inclusive of student perspectives. Papers that were not inclusive of student perspectives published 17 articles, of which 13 focused on spectacles like university shutdowns, arrests, violence from students and police and emergency meetings involving SRC leaders, the parliamentary committee and the President Jacob Zuma. This

suggests an overwhelming majority of articles focused mostly on events and very little time was spent to explain the root causes of the unrest among students and outsourced workers. Papers covering student issues inclusive of student perceptives collectively published the most articles (47). However, again, the articles I collected suggest there is a skew towards reporting on events and spending little time expounding the core issues that influence students to participate in the movement. The evidence suggests that the majority of articles simply ignored issues salient in the lives of women involved in #FMF 2015 in favour of reporting about spectacular events.

Papers that reported on student issues but not from the perspective of students collectively published 17 articles related to #FMF 2015, of which 13 articles focused on the spectacle of #FMF 2015, while four articles reported on the composition, politics and make up of #FMF 2015 protestors. Here too, we find gender-based discussions are marginalised in favour of narratives about zero percent fee increases for 2016, the state's and university's responses to the protests and outsourcing. When the articles did focus on the composition of the #FMF the emphasis is narrowly on students need for funding higher education. Although an important part of the make-up and politics of #FMF 2015 movement there were other dimensions like gender debates within #FMF that influenced the movement profoundly. One would imagine that student newspapers would fare better in terms of representing the core issues that affect students but they do not, in fact, they collectively published the least number of articles (14) related to #FMF. Nine of these articles were not even published by students but by university management in the case of KovsieLife and the University of Free State. The other student newspapers either had outdated archives or did not publish anything at all related to #FMF 2015.

The key themes that recur throughout the reports centres on a zero percent fee increases for 2016 academic year, the state's and university's responses to the #FMF protests, outsourcing at universities, emergency meetings between SRC leaders, the parliamentary committee on higher education and the President, Jacob Zuma. This project finds that gender-based issues salient to women in #FMF were largely ignored or marginalised. Answering the question what ideologies underlie these themes and how are they legitimized, requires further research however if the media is a macrocosm of society then by highlighting spectacles and marginalising gender based debates the articles inadvertently play into gender biases prevalent is South African society. The reports characterize woman as secondary actors in relation to male activists. Much time is spent

reporting on Mcebo Dlamini and yet little time is spent of #Womandla or #ImbokodoLead. As a result political agency is removed from women and women are seen as reactive victims if seen or heard at all.

#FMF was undoubtedly one of the most significant political movements of the democratic era and understandably generated considerable media interest. In fact, between mid-October and mid-December 2015 it was the main news story across media platforms. By interrogating media representations of women in this movement I have potentially contributed to understanding how the media perceives and portray women in protests. This project introduced an important new and interesting element: a comparison between commercial media and campus publications and found very little difference in the manner in which women are writing out of history. Even a cursory glance at the media's representation of the #FMF movements reveals a pre-occupation with male leaders. This project was interested in the representation of women activists involved in a particular struggle and found these women activists did not change the dominant media representations.

The "feminist rebuttal" that came with the rise of the #ImbokodoLead/ #Womandla movement within the #WitsFeesMustFall movement stood for the recognition of intersectionality, the importance of women and their experiences. This deliberate attempt to challenge the persistence of patriarchy and hegemonic heterosexual-masculinity within the #WitsFeesMustFall movement and in society in general brought into question heteronormative misogynistic behaviour in South Africa. If art imitates life and life imitates art then the media's inability to capture the narrative of this "feminist rebuttal" speaks to the very same patriarchy and hegemonic heterosexual-masculinity ideologies that women of #FMF 2015 were protesting against.

This study has corroborated other studies, like Mendes and Carter (2008) that state that women's issues are generally under-represented in the mainstream media but also in student newspapers. In the exploratory and descriptive manner in which this study has been presented it opens the path for further research, in particular, how media platforms were mobilised by particular women reporters, like Pontsho Pilane, who moved in the time of the protests from the *Daily Vox* to the mail and Guardian. It is also the case that few women became far more prominent through the protests as the result of their general media presence, with particular individuals being celebrated by the mainstream media, beyond those known at the beginning of the protests through their

leadership roles (like Shaeera Kalla and Nompendulo Mkatshwa). Further research is needed to investigate the critiques of their own representations amongst women of #FMF and it could important to tap into these by possibly interviewing some of them. Finally, analysing the print media does not limit one to textual analysis. In fact, many of the most iconic photographs of #FMF and its leaders appeared first in newspapers. In trying to broaden our understanding of how women of #FMF were represented by the print media, it could be an interesting avenue of research to analyse such images.

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